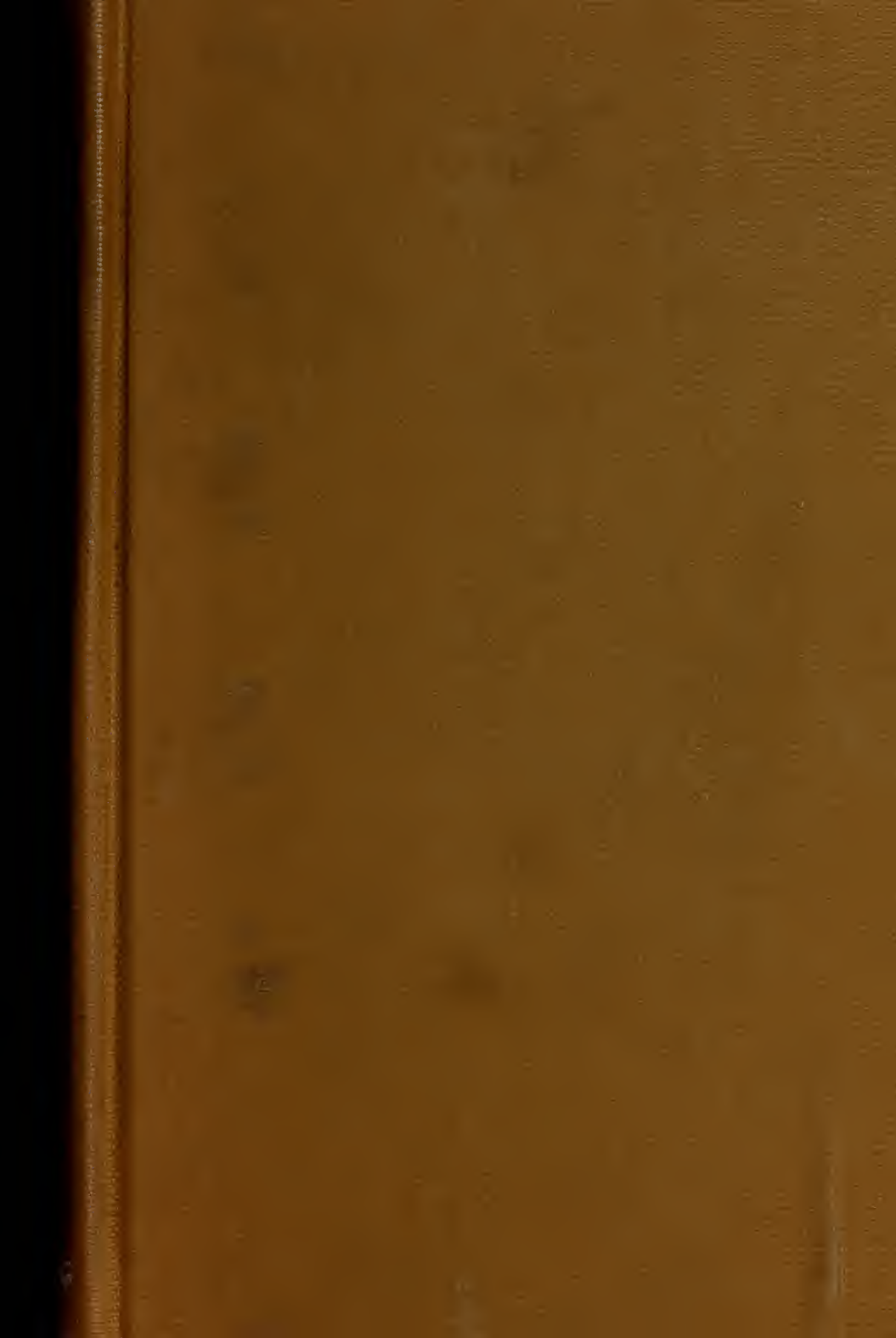




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EDITED BY WILLIAM W. WILLIAMS

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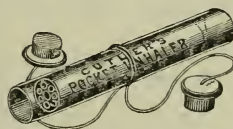
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R. A. Seger

Magazine of Western History.

VOL. IV.

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No. 1.

THE EAST AND THE WEST RELATIVELY CONSIDERED.

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WASHINGTON made eight tours into the west. After returning from the seventh to the headquarters of the army at Newburg, where it was quietly awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations for peace, he thus wrote to the Chevalier de Chastellux, October 12, 1783:

Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States from maps and the information of others; and could not but be struck with the immense extent and importance of it, and with the goodness of that providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest contented till I have explored the western country, and traversed those lines, or a great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire. *

After returning from his eighth tour in the following year, 1784, he wrote to Governor Harrison of Virginia his impressions made by it, and the letter is almost a state paper from its scope. Forecasting the development of that

immense extent of country, which he is moved to call "a new empire," entrusted by divine favors to the young republic, and referring to the vigorous settlements there, and anticipating the states to come out of it, he adds: "When they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive, etc." † One year now, and a century preceding have been constantly filling the east with surprises by the fulfillments of that prophecy. Irving well says:

The suggestions of Washington in his letter to the governor, and his representation, during this visit to Richmond, gave the first impulse to the great system of internal improvements since pursued throughout the United States. ‡

Those eight western tours, short for a traveling salesman of to-day, but then very extended, elevated Washington from a provincial to a continental states-

* Sparks' 'Writings of Washington', Vol. VIII. p. 489.

† 'Sparks' Writings of Washington,' Vol. IX, p. 62, October 10, 1784.

‡ 'Life of Washington,' Vol. IV, p. 459.

man, and enabled him to say, from travel and study, what few have been able to say, then or since, that the west would show great strength "sooner than most people would conceive." * That growth has ever since kept in advance of the conceptions of the average Atlantic statesman, and is constantly surprising even the students of western development. A few aggregate statements, made up to date, will confirm the prediction of Washington, and the comments which we have made on it.

Of the thirty-five cities classed in the last census as having a population of fifty thousand or more each, fifteen of them are beyond the Alleghanies. Even Boston, after all its annexations, is shut in, for its numerical positions, between Chicago and St. Louis—the latter a foreign town when Washington made the tour, and the former not born till near half a century afterwards.

Between 1870 and 1880, the population of the United States increased 11,920,000. "This is three times the European rate of increase and double that of England or Germany." "The increase of population in the United States exceeds the aggregate number of inhabitants in three kingdoms of Europe, namely, Holland, Denmark and Portugal." † When it is considered that the centre of population in 1880 was eight miles west by south from the heart of the city of Cincinnati, it will be seen that much of this increase must have

been in the west. And that centre is about two hundred and twenty miles farther west than any point which Washington reached. He gained his impressions of "the immense extent and importance" of the United States without crossing that meridian of Cincinnati.

In these ten years the live stock of the farming interests has increased thirty-three per cent., so that in 1880 the United States had 12,550,000 horses, 33,600,000 cows, 38,000,000 sheep, and 35,000,000 hogs. In 1870 the wheat crop was 231,000,000 bushels and in 1880, 496,000,000. For the same years the corn was 992,000,000 and 1,480,000,000 bushels. This was a grain product of 18½ per cent. above home consumption; and for the same time the meat supply was 36 per cent. above home consumption. "And yet," says Mulhall, "the Americans are apparently the best fed of all the nations." Of the grain, the average consumption per person in the United States is much more than double what it is in Europe. Of meats, the American consumes 120 pounds a year and the European 50½. This is very sensible and easy, since the United States produce thirty per cent. of the grain and thirty per cent. of the meat of the world, and have a surplus of 370,000,000 bushels of grain, and 1,076,000 tons of meat. And conversely, the scant rations of Europe are sensible and hard, since "Europe has a deficit of 380,000,000 bushels of grain, and 853,000 tons of meat annually." † It is needless to say that all these food supplies, for American tables totally,

* Sparks' 'Writings of Washington,' Vol. IX, p. 62, October 10, 1784.

† 'Balance Sheet of the World for ten years, 1870-1880.' By Michael G. Mulhall, F. S. S., London, 1881, pp. 117, 118, 6.

† Mulhall, pp. 111, 119, 38, 39, 118, 12.

and for European so largely set forth in these vast figures, are furnished almost wholly by the west. All the wheat of New England would not call for her hot ovens three weeks a year. All the oats raised in New England in 1880 would feed all the working horses of the country only three days at a peck a day.

The Americans now make one-fifth of the iron and one-fourth of the steel of the world . . . one half of the gold and one half of the silver of the world's supply. . . . Taking, *in globo*, all the mining interests, of the world, the United States represents thirty-six, Great Britain thirty-three, and the other nations thirty-one per cent. of the total.*

During the last ten years, 1870-1880, railway mileage has doubled in the United States, being forty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three miles. This is more than the entire increase in Europe for the same time.† In the industries of the world, "at present Great Britain holds the foremost place, but the United States will probably pass it in the ensuing decade."‡ As to taxation in the United States, it is nine and one-fourth per cent. on the earnings of the people, as against thirty-one per cent. in Italy, seventeen and a half in France, and twelve in Great Britain. After this array of facts, measuring the growth of our country, in so many of the essentials in national prosperity, Mulhall may well say: "It would be impossible to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years."§

* 'Mulhall' pp. 110, 111.

† 'Mulhall' pp. 113, 114.

‡ 'Mulhall,' pp. 3, 41.

§ Page 108.

It will be observed that the most of these items, as population, live stock and cereals, and the practical and special metals which have carried our nation, in a century, to the fulfillment of Washington's predictions, and to the very front among the nations of the world, were produced "out west." The aggregates given may not be unfamiliar to our princely and international men of commerce, and to eminent railroad men, but the great body of the people receive such statements with profound surprise and with the skepticism usually underlying the remark, "western stories." These immense gains of national strength have come "sooner than most people conceive."

The very extent and development of our new country have put it to a disadvantage before the older sections, as regards its areas and increase and importance to the entire body politic, by compelling statements of them which seem incredible to the unread and untraveled. Sometimes a lack of apprehension has been followed, rationally, by a lack of appreciation; and sometimes it has been so far measured and estimated as to create jealousy and stimulate repression by the older states. As to any attempts, however, locally and provincially, or nationally, to repress western growth, it was as futile as to serve an injunction on an active volcano, or move to stay proceedings in the process of an eclipse. Yet our history is not barren in this line. Failure to foresee and anticipate has led to some unfortunate neglects, and the loss of grand opportunities. Wealth has

rare foreknowledge, and the bees have discovered rich fields afar and made new hives in them; while sedentary benevolence has indulged memories rather than anticipations, and worked over and over again the somewhat exhausted acres of the fathers.

In his own delicate and comprehensive way Washington hinted at the neglect by the Atlantic east of the west, which feeling he soon saw developed, even to opposition. The letter of General Putnam to him in 1783, revealed a chance for a noble movement into the west, and he gave it his favor, and soon learned how skeptical and suspicious the east was of the west. The letter was more than an epistle, in both volume and topic, and will hold place among eminent papers on the Mississippi valley, as inaugurating both the Ohio company and a general policy. By act of congress, October 27, 1787, then in session at New York, grants of wild lands in the Northwest Territory were made to the company, amounting to near five millions of acres. In obtaining these lands it acted for other parties jointly with itself, and finally obtained, as its own, 964,285 acres, and Washington signed many of the patents May 10, 1792. The Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler acted as agent for the company before congress. In a diary, quite minute, he says:

The delegates from Massachusetts, although exceedingly worthy men, and in general would wish to promote the Ohio scheme, yet, if it should militate against the particular interest of this state, by draining her of inhabitants, especially when she is forming the plan of selling the eastern country (province of Maine), I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor; and I dare not trust myself

with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that government is wisely inviting the eastern people to settle in that state. . . . Few Bingham and Kearney are our principal opposers. . . . New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar an acre.*

The opposition which the Ohio company encountered in Mr. Bingham was eastern, and personal, and financial. This William Bingham, to whom reference has been made, and then delegate from Pennsylvania, was about this time the owner of nearly two and a half millions of wild land in the Province of Maine, and naturally would oppose the scheme before the continental congress, to put five millions of Ohio land on the public market. There were other heavy eastern operations in wild land which stood in the way of the Ohio movement, and one more may be stated. In a letter to his secretary of state, Washington says:

It will be fortunate for the American public if private speculations in lands, still claimed by the aborigines, do not aggravate those differences which policy, humanity and justice concur to deprecate.

To this Sparks, editing the writings of Washington, adds this note:

Alluding to the large purchasers of new lands, situated in the eastern part of Massachusetts, which had recently been made by Robert Morris of Gorham & Phillips. The quantity, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, was 1,300,000 acres, at five pence an acre, with an additional tract for the gross sum of £100,000.

This additional tract, at the same price, would be 4,800,000 acres—total purchase by Morris, of 6,100,000 acres.†

* 'Walker's History Athens County, Ohio,' pp. 38, 39, 65, 67, *et alibi*.

† Washington to Jefferson, April 1, 1791, 'Writings of Washington by Sparks,' Vol. X, p. 151.

When Louisiana was added to our domain in 1803, the question of its settlement by immigration became a leading, and, at times, a very warm one. Under the treaty of cession Major Amos Stoddard took charge of the upper province for the United States, and thus states the great question :

Will the United States permit the sale of the public lands in Louisiana, and by this measure encourage the settlement of that country? . . . It has been suggested that the more effectually to promote the national interests, we must first dispose of the public lands on the east side of the Mississippi. . . . Settlers entertain a predilection for the lands in the upper Louisiana.*

Here, as in the case of the Ohio company, the sale and settlement of the new lands in the west are made of doubtful policy because the east has so much unsold on the market. When the acquisition of Louisiana was probable, either by negotiation or conquest, popular discussion took up the topic, and in a tract, those who wished it through war are thus set forth :

The speculators of all kinds anticipate new scenes for their rapacity, and the eastern states indulge their apprehensions of the rising prosperity and strength of the western.†

Another author pleads the seaboard side of this question more pointedly, and shows the advantage of the purchase for the east, "in having effectually secured ourselves against future rivalry in the sales of our lands on this side the Mississippi. Our western lands now command two dollars per acre at the

lowest."‡ Here is the plan to keep up the price of wild land east of the Mississippi, now much in private hands and tending that way, by withholding the new purchase from the market. But it did not succeed, and the price dropped to one dollar and a quarter. The author goes on to say of the purchase :

It secures us against the danger of depopulation by immigration from these states to Louisiana. . . . The rage for acquiring lands in Louisiana and migrating thither to settle, if encouraged, must at no very distant day weaken and reduce the population in the Atlantic States, and not improbably all that lie eastward of the Mississippi. The consequence of such a seduction must prove ultimately fatal to the United States, for we may boldly pronounce that the confederacy can never be permanently extended beyond the Mississippi, nor preserved among its present numbers, whenever Louisiana shall become a populous country. Whenever that event takes place, the constellation of the present United States will probably set forever.

Yet Iowa and Minnesota, and Missouri and Kansas have not caused an eclipse of that constellation!

Must we, then, never dispose of this immense quantity of valuable lands which we have purchased at such a price? No, never, as long as the United States have lands to dispose of and settle on this side the Mississippi. . . . In no possible view can I perceive any benefit likely to result to the United States by opening a land office in Louisiana, whilst a thousand mischiefs threaten to flow from any attempt of the kind.§

And Sylvestris balances, finally, his hopes and fears over the Louisiana purchase with a fair prayer, in a pagan tongue, that the United States might discover the fact that they are already well off.||

* 'Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana.' By Major Amos Stoddard, 1812, pp. 259-262.

† 'The Mississippi Question Fairly Stated.' By Camillus, 1803.

‡ 'Reflections on the Cession of Louisiana to the United States.' By Sylvestris, August 10, 1803.

§ Do., pp. 16, 22, 23, 24.

|| "*O fortunati, nimium, sua si bona noverint!*"

In 1807, Rhea of Tennessee proposed in the house some surveys in the Louisiana, that more of the public lands might be put on the market, but Varnum of Massachusetts opposed the scheme, and it was laid over.

A political and partisan philippic will show some of the darker shades of this question, as set in New England light, when the admission of the state of Louisiana was claiming attention :

There is no subject of complaint against the Democratic administration which presents such a variety of disgraceful features, which involved so many and so various causes of censure, in its origin, principles, progress and effects, as this shameful purchase of a colony of Frenchmen. In its origin it was corrupt.

. . In its principles, it was hostile to our constitution and unfriendly to our Republican habits.

. . In its effects it has been a vast whirlpool which has not only swallowed up the original purchase money of eleven millions and a half, but the immense sums which have been expended in exploring its unknown frontiers; in regulating, with France, the adjustment of boundaries purposely left unsettled; in fortifications and a navy for its defense, as well as the maintenance of an army who have gone thither only to fertilize its soil with their miserable remains.

. . The origin of this monstrous purchase, the effects of which will be felt to our latest posterity, it is well known, is to be found in the necessity which the transmontaine or western states were under to have the free navigation of the Mississippi . . . all to be charged to the account of those backwoodsmen, who are so hostile to commercial interests, etc.*

It would be unjust to the topic in hand not to introduce evidence from another source, and all the more worthy as furnished by a representative and deliberative body. What the Hartford convention of 1814 was called to do, or did, or failed to do, does not concern

our inquiry. Only its expressed sentiments on the east as related to the west are now pertinent.

In reporting the causes which the committee of the convention thought had sadly depressed the commerce, manufactures, trade and general business of New England, they state this as the sixth :

The admission of new states into the Union, formed at pleasure, in the western region, has destroyed the balance of power which existed among the original states, and deeply affected their interest.

In recommending measures of action for relief and future safety, a second committee reported :

2. That it is expedient to make provision for restraining congress in the exercise of an unlimited power to make new states, and admit them into the Union.

So far as the records show, this recommendation was adopted.

In commending this restriction of congressional power, the first committee, in their report, say :

By the admissions of these states that balance (between the original thirteen) has been materially affected, and unless the practice be modified, must ultimately be destroyed. The southern states will first avail themselves of their new confederates to govern the east ; and finally the western states, multiplied in number and augmented in population, will control the interests of the whole. . . . Those who are immediately concerned in the prosecution of commerce will, of necessity, be always a minority of the nation. They are, however, best qualified to manage and direct its course by the advantages of experience and the sense of interest. But they are entirely unable to protect themselves against the sudden and injudicious decisions of bare majorities, and the mistaken or oppressive projects of those who are not actively concerned in its pursuits. Of consequence, this interest is always exposed to be harassed, interrupted and entirely destroyed upon pretense of securing other interests. Had the merchants of this nation been permitted by

* 'The New England Patriot.' Being a candid comparison of the principles and conduct of the Washington and Jefferson administrations. Boston, 1810, pp. 58, 59.

their own government to pursue an innocent and lawful course, how different would have been the state of the treasury and the public credit! . . . The immense population which has swarmed into the west, remote from immediate danger, and which is constantly augmenting, will not be averse from the occasional disturbances of the Atlantic states.*

As the results of one hundred years show, Jefferson had broad and forecast-ing views as to the ownership of the Louisiana, and it would be difficult to name another act of statesmanship which has so rounded up the republic with grace and strength and promise:

We should take care not to think it for the interest of that great continent to press too soon upon the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they are too feeble to hold them until our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece. The navigation of the Mississippi we must have soon. This is all we are yet ready to receive.†

This was in 1786.

The unintelligent neglect of the west by the east—apathy and sometimes opposition—may be best seen by grouping, somewhat miscellaneous, a few scattered facts. In 1791 Vermont prevailed over the opposition of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia, and entered the Union. Madison, in a paper furnished by himself to Sparks, says: "The grounds of this opposition are, first, an habitual jealousy of a pre-dominance of eastern interests."‡

The citations following go more directly to show a willingness to limit the national growth westward. Lieutenant Pike, basing his remarks on observations made in his two exploring tours—

* 'History of the Hartford Convention.' By Theodore Dwight, secretary of the convention. pp. 369, 392, 371, 372, 373.

† 'American State Papers.' Boston Ed. V. 94.

‡ 'Writings of Washington,' Vol. XII, 548.

1805-7—says that the prairies, "incapable of cultivation," will serve as "a restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuance of the Union." In a letter to Astor, Jefferson speaks of the Astorian enterprise as the hopeful germ of a body of "independent Americans unconnected with us, but by the ties of blood and interest, enjoying, like us, the right of self-government." Our first governor of the Upper Louisiana, Major Stoddard, enters this most singular statement in his 'Sketches,' so discouraging to immigration into that exuberant wheat field of the world: "The country above the Falls of St. Anthony will never attract the attention of the agriculturalists. It is mostly of a cold and sterile nature." In a communication addressed to President Monroe, General Jackson advances this theory: "Concentrate our population, confine our frontier to proper limits, until our country, to those limits, is filled with a dense population. It is the denseness of our population that gives strength and security to our frontier."

In 'Flint's Travels in the Valley of the Mississippi, 1815-1825,' the author thus sets forth, in paraphrase, the views on the new settlers, and settlements, of a man famed for his scholarship, offices and published writings, among them four volumes, octavo, of travels in New England and New York.*

I have read, and not without feelings of pain, the bitter representations of the learned Dr. Dwight in speaking of them. He represents these vast re-

* Travels in New England and New York, by Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D. 4 Vols. Vol. II, Letter 14.

gions as a kind of reservoir for the scum of the Atlantic states. He characterizes, in the mass, the emigrants from New England, as discontented cobblers, too proud, too much in debt, too unprincipled, too much puffed up with self-conceit, too strongly impressed that their fanciful talents could not find scope in their own country to stay there.

These views of the president of Yale college—not drawn from observation—are quite in contrast with those of Daniel Webster, in his speech in the senate, in 1838, on "The Right of Preëmption," after he had visited regions beyond the Mississippi and looked upon our border men in their homes :

They have the general character of frontiersmen; they are hardy, adventurous and enterprising. They have come from far, to establish themselves and families in new abodes in the west. They appeared to me to be industrious and laborious; and I saw nothing in their character or conduct that should justly draw upon them expressions of contumely and reproach. †

Such impressions of the west as those given by Dr. Dwight have not ceased even yet, and among otherwise learned men, who confine their travels to their family carriage and to their native New England hills. Bradbury, an English traveler, who ventured so far from home as to spend the years, 1809-11, in the interior of North America, and while making the discovery of the surprising breadth of country between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains, makes these unintentional reflections on American geographers and travelers :

The territory west of the Mississippi, and extending from that river to the Rocky mountains .

. . . is not accurately known on account of the real situation of the Rocky mountains not yet being truly ascertained. But it appears from the accounts of hunters and travelers, that, on some of our best maps and globes they are laid down too far to the eastward.

Very like. It is not the Rocky mountains alone which have been easily moved about here and there, and by Americans, scholarly in the alcove and quite at home in the Alps and on the Jordan. Dr. Bushnell had a good word in that sermon of his in 1847, under the title, "Barbarism the First Danger :"

The sooner we have railroads and telegraphs, spinning into the wilderness, and setting the remotest hamlets in connection and close proximity with the east, the more certain it is that light, good manners and Christian civilization will become universally diffused.

His presumption is that knowledge would travel both ways, and needed information come east. A chapter of blunders in American geography would be a choice entertainment, and all the contributors to it would not be foreigners and western Americans.

William Sturgis, speaking once, somewhat representatively, for New England commerce, before the Mercantile Library association in Boston, said it would be a less evil for the American Union, to have the Pacific extend itself over Oregon territory to the base of the Rocky mountains, than to convert that territory into new states for the Union.

In his admirable letters, which shed so much light on the Oregon question, and aided so much to its final and fortunate settlement, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury from 1801 to 1814, favored the policy of an undivided Oregon, extending north to 54 degrees, 40 minutes, erected into an independent government. These letters were written in 1846.

In his seat in the lower house of congress in 1844, Winthrop guards against

† Webster's Works, Vol. IV, p. 399.

the preponderating growth of the west over the east, by making access to Oregon across the continent naturally impossible, and speaks of "the perpetual snows which nature has opposed to the passage of this disputed territory;" and again: "The west has no interest, the country has no interest in extending our territorial possessions." And again, in Congress, in 1846: "Are our western brethren straitened for elbow-room, or likely to be for a thousand years?" The "perpetual snows" have proved to be a figure of speech rather than a fact in nature; and from the speed with which "our western brethren" are filling up that impassable and inhospitable region, it seems likely to be necessary to shorten the "one thousand years" into a hundred and less.

In the line of thought which we are now opening it is a suggestive fact that "no bill relating to Oregon was passed by either house before 1843, nor was any decisive measure on the subject adopted by the American government."* It was in March of the same year that Dr. Whitman ended his wonderful ride at Washington, and first fully showed to the east the value and accessibility of Oregon, and in the summer took back eight hundred and seventy-five emigrants in two hundred wagons, with thirteen hundred head of cattle, and thus saved Oregon. Covering these and other great facts, Gallatin well says in his fifth letter:

Enterprising individuals have, without any aid or encouragement by government, opened a wagon road eighteen hundred miles in length, through an

arid or mountainous region, and made settlements on or near the shores of the Pacific, without any guaranty for the possession of the land improved by their labors. . . . Now that the tide of emigration has turned in their favor, they are suddenly invited to assume a hostile position, to endure the calamities, and to run the chances and consequences of war.

Early and primitive Oregon is a marked illustration of this neglect of the frontier. The government had its claims in Oregon, and the founders of the coming twentieth state in the Union were there. These were left without civil government or laws, except as those of an alien power, those of the Hudson Bay company, were imposed on them. So hemmed in were they by the critical issues of the Oregon controversy, and the nervous anxieties of the times, that they could not openly convene in council to take first steps from an inorganic to an organic civil state. A ruse was well planned to supply the deficiency of congress. They were stock owners, and the wild animals preyed on their herds, and they called the "wolf meeting," to concert measures for defense, and thence went up from wild animals to men, and established the first civil government of Oregon.* It was nothing new for the best blood and heroic spirits of the Republic, then at the extreme front planting out coming commonwealths, to be left quite unaided to struggle with wild animals and hostile Indians. The same thing was common to the border from earlier days, and, sad to say, is yet.

* 'The History of Oregon,' By W. H. Gray, 1870, Chap. xxxiii. 'Oregon—The Struggle for Possession,' By W. Barrows, 1884, Chap. xxvi.

*Greenhow: 'His. Oregon and California, p. 379.

The voice of many a John the Baptist is now crying in the wilderness of America, and doing brave and patriotic work for a Christian civilization, to whom very scant stipends come, and often tardily; and dubious wardrobes from the very comfortable east. Judge Innes of Kentucky, in a letter to the war department, under date of July, 1790, says:

The people say they have long groaned under their misfortunes—they see no prospect of relief—they constitute the strength and wealth of the western country, and yet all measures heretofore attempted, have been committed for execution to the hands of strangers (eastern men) who have no interest in common with the west.

Nor did matters much or rapidly improve for the advance belt of the American nation, as the years ran by.

The few roads that crossed the mountains (the Alleghanies, 1811) were so wretchedly bad that the wagons toiled over them with great difficulty; and a large portion of the merchandise was carried on the backs of horses. Even that was considered a triumphant result of enterprise, and a rapid advance in improvement. For a few years only had then advanced since Mr. Brown, a delegate from Kentucky in congress, had been smiled at as visionary, by the members of that August body, for asking the establishment of a mail to Pittsburgh, to be carried on horseback once in two weeks. He was told that such a mail was not needed, that probably it would never be required, and that the obstacles of the road were insuperable.*

Benton had pointed out the same unwise and cramping policy of the east toward the new country in the discussion of the resolution of Mr. Foot, offered in the senate in 1829. Mr. Foot was senator from Connecticut, and may be assumed to have carried the ordinary interests that eastern men then had in

visionary fortunes in wild lands, already purchased, both sides of the Alleghanies. His project was to stop all survey and sales of government lands till those already on the public market, at the national land offices, were sold. The opponents of the resolution urged that that state of things had already been attained which Webster, during the discussion, said would come under another system of sale, when individuals would get large quantities of land into their hands, and then "become themselves the competitors with the government in the sale of land." The east held inferior lands, which they could not sell without forcing the land market to a scarcity of supply. The resolution had this tendency and apparent design, and, if enforced, would greatly damage the opening of the new west. Hence Mr. Benton said: "If the sales are limited to the lands now in market, emigration will cease to flow, for those lands (now in market) are not of a character to attract people at a distance." They were the refuse of many years sales, as "shop-worn" goods. It was as if sharp speculators in wheat had loaded themselves heavily with inferior and unsalable grain, and would move to stop receipts of good grades till, under stress of buyers, they could unload. These speculative capitalists sought thus to use the government for private gains and to help them out of poor investments, by dwarfing and stopping the growth of the nation on the borders. Benton urged that the resolution would have the effect of "limiting the settlements in the new states and territories,"

* 'Notes on the Western States.' By James Hall, 1832, p. 225.

and by keeping back first-class lands "it would deliver up large portions of new states and territories to the dominion of wild beasts." In the same connection Benton said that the scheme of the resolution "was intended to prevent emigration to the west. It was a renewed effort to strangle the young Hercules. The same attempt had been systematically made for forty years. The attempt came from the same quarter now as formerly." In commenting on the discussion as developing eastern jealousy of the west and a selfish willingness to sacrifice it to the ill-proportioned growth of the oldest states, he adds: "The debate spread and took an acrimonious and sectional turn, imputing to the quarter of the Union from which it came an old and early policy to check the growth of the west at the outset." *

The defense of the east, in this regard, by Webster, must not be forgotten, as, indeed, there is no danger. Out of this resolution of Foote to stop the sales of the public lands came those two remarkable speeches of the great statesman, in which he defended New England against varied criticisms and attacks, as summed up by Benton, but formally and oratorically presented by Hayne. It is doubtful whether the English language, so well adapted for a forensic oration, was ever more nobly used. That masterly constitutional defense of the American Union left nothing more for argument, and all remaining protection to the sword. When the logical defense revived, in later days, all

turned to that speech for argument, and little was found that Webster had left unsaid. He towered above all others as a fortress of strength, and those who looked for a peaceable preservation of the Union turned to him, saying: "Thy neck is like the tower of David, builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." The prayer of his great American heart was answered, yet not much in advance of the visions he feared: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union—on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent—on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood!"

His defense, however, of the east, which should lie rather in the line of facts than of oratory, does not seem to have been as conclusive as his constitutional argument for the Union. His defense of the east is made up mostly of well-rounded and energetic affirmations and denials. His strongest point is put first: "It appears that we have, at this moment, surveyed and in the market, ready for sale, two hundred and ten millions of acres, or thereabouts." He also says, and to the honor of New England: "In 1820 the people of the west besought congress for a reduction in the price of lands. In favor of that reduction, New England, with a delegation of forty members in the other house, gave thirty-three votes, and one only against it. . . . In 1821 the law passed for the relief of the pur-

* Benton's 'Thirty Years' View,' Vol. I, 130-2.

chasers of the public lands," for which New England gave more votes than the south, who had a delegation one-fourth larger. At that time the government was selling its lands on credit, and this law eased the purchasers, now in arrears, at the rate of about thirty-seven cents to the acre. The total relinquished by the government, under this law, was six or seven millions of dollars.*

For the rest, the defense is mainly declarative :

I rise to defend the east. I rise to repel both the charge itself and the cause assigned for it. I deny that the east has, at any time, shown an illiberal policy towards the west. I pronounce the whole accusation to be without the least foundation in any facts existing now or at any previous time. I deny it in the general, and I deny each and all its particulars. I deny the sum total, and I deny the detail. . . . New England is guiltless of the policy of retarding western population, and of all envy and jealousy of the growth of the new states.†

Against these round periods, it would be fitting, as before a board of cool referees, that such men as Clay and Benton and Linn, speaking from their border ground and out of their experiences, should file in their facts. The ellipse, enclosing all which is pertinent to a fair judgment, has two foci, eastern and western. Of course, McDuffie is extravagant in remarks made on the National road bill, in 1825 :

I believe that if the public lands had never been sold the aggregate amount of the national wealth would have been greater at this moment. Our population, if concentrated in the old states, and not ground down by tariff, would have been more prosperous and wealthy.

This is the senator who, speaking of Oregon as a farming country, said : " I

would not, for that purpose, give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory."

Some years after his defense of the east, Webster admitted the strong opposition of the east to the west, which, in his great speech, he assumed to disprove :

I remember, sir, and indeed a very short memory might retain the recollection, when the first appropriations for harbors on the great lakes were carried through this body, not without the utmost difficulty and against the most determined opposition. . . . I remember when Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and Lake Michigan were likely to be condemned to a continuance in the state in which nature and the Indian tribes had left them, with no proof upon their shores of the policy of a civilized state, no harbors for the shelter of a hundred vessels, no lighthouse even to point out to the inland navigator the dangers of his course.‡

No one question has so drawn the line of demarkation between the east and the west, and continuously through decades of years and with deep sectional warmth as that of internal improvements. Donaldson in his 'Public Domain,' 1884, speaks of these struggles as "the fierce political battles after the year 1803." It will be enough to name some of the bills over which the provincial contests were shown and prolonged from 1802 till the west was able to take the matter into their own hands, and initiated the system of land-grants for railroads by passing the bill for the Illinois Central, September 20, 1850. There were the Cumberland road bill and the Maysville, with their vetoes by Monroe and Jackson ; and continuously, some portion of the National road, which was finally opened as far as Indianapolis. A quo-

* 'Webster's Works,' Vol. III, 249, 294, 295.

† Do., 261, 289.

‡ Remarks in the senate on the Louisville canal, May 25, 1836. Works, Vol. IV, 249-51.

tation here from the 'St. Louis Directory,' of 1821, the first of that city, will prove an item of information, and serve as a mile-stone of progress in the westward movement of the nation. The assessed valuation of this backwoods city then was \$940,926, and its taxes for that year were \$3,763, on a population of 5,500. The town was then within fortifications. "They consist of several circular stone towers, about fifteen feet in height and twenty in diameter, a wooden block-house and a large stone bastion," then used as a military garden. Referring back to the time when they killed buffalo on Mill creek, and around Chouteau's pond, now the heart of the city of 350,000 people, the author, Mr. Paxton, says: "What a prodigious change has been operated!" The Directory proceeds to say:

The roads leading from St. Louis are very good. . . Two stages run from this town; one to Edwardsville and the other to Franklin. . . It is expected that the Great National turnpike, leading from Washington, will strike this place, as the commissioners for the United States have reported in favor of it. . . It is contemplated at some future day to open a direct intercourse with India, by the Missouri and Columbia rivers.

The Straits of Anian, it will be noticed, were yet a beautiful and stimulating delusion. And the wag came nearer to being a prophet than was supposed, when he thus caricatured the ambitions of St. Louis by thus advertising in their city papers in 1815, a new town, called Neplusultra:

The streets were laid out a mile in width; the squares were to be sections, each containing six hundred and forty acres. The Mall was a vast standing forest. In the centre of this modern Babylon roads were to cross each other in a merid-

ional line, at right angles, one from the south pole to Symmes hole in the earth, and another from Pekin to Jerusalem.*

When this National road bill was under discussion in the house, in 1825, Mr. Beecher of Ohio, said:

Fifteen million dollars were expended annually, and what proportion of it went west of the Alleghany mountains? . . . The entire sum (to build the road) would not be equal to what was expended in some small ports on the Atlantic coast.†

There was the Wabash improvement bill and its veto by Jackson, and the river, harbor and improvement bill vetoed by Polk. There were, between 1824 and 1880, twenty concessions of public land for canal purposes, aggregating 4,424,073 acres, over which many of those "fierce political battles" were fought—the west steadily gaining for the next issue.

We have already seen how congress smiled at the visionary scheme to have a horseback mail once in two weeks over the Alleghanies into the west. Mr. Brown was told that such mail accommodations would never be needed, and that the obstacles to such a road were insuperable. It appeared, slowly, that the obstacles were not in the Alleghanies but in Washington. The struggles of the west for their national roads were constant and varied through multiplex and intricate and formidable opposition. This opposition, principally from the tide-water east, sprang from various causes; mainly it was from a failure to grasp and comprehend the west, and to

* 'Flint's Travels in the Valley of the Mississippi,' p. 187-8.

† 'Gales and Seaton's Congressional Debates,' Vol. I, pp. 190-1.

anticipate its future, and hence indifference to its development. There were, also, vast funded monies in commerce and in eastern lands, which would suffer under western growth. There were added the petty ambitions of the village statesmen, to whom his county and the country were almost synonymous, and who, therefore, picketed and fingered his ancestral garden in "pent up Utica." But slowly, somewhat imperceptibly and irresistibly the centre of national power moved westward, and still going west, it held its emigrating centre in 1880, as has been already stated, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, eight miles west by south from the heart of Cincinnati.

We have not had many men built on the plan of the breadth of our continent, who could easily turn it in hand, as a piece of property, and examine its Atlantic and Pacific, and lakes and gulf sides. The limitations of their comprehension compelled many of our leading men to be provincial in their feelings and sectional in their policies. Travel was not much indulged in to the interior regions, because of discomforts, expense and cost of time from the magnificent distances. A trip to the Ohio in the first quarter of the century was a greater undertaking than one to China to-day. So ignorant of the west, its distance from the colonial seaboard, and the lack of prophetic foresight by the east, as well as jealous anxieties concerning its growth, doomed its development by congressional aid to a constant struggle till the balance of power found a way over the Alleghanies

which congress could not find for a semi-monthly mail on horseback. Even Webster, one of the first to entertain a continental policy, came up but slowly to the eminence of a national statesman. It was as late as 1836, when the Louisville canal bill was under discussion, that he made that noble utterance: "For one, I look to the magnitude of the object, and not to its locality. I ask not whether it be east or west of the mountains. There are no Alleghanies in my politics." He crossed them the next year and spent five days, in June, beyond the Mississippi, in St. Louis.

In sketching here and there this eastern neglect of the west, it will serve to introduce a case boldly illustrative and somewhat extreme. The illustration will have weight in the fact that the life of the person covered eighty-eight years of the Republic, closing in the fourth year of the late war, and that almost his entire adult life was public, bearing state and national and civic and academic honor, while he sustained well a name eminent in New England history. Josiah Quincy served one year in the Massachusetts senate, entered congress, the lower house, in 1805, and retired in 1813, and was for sixteen years the president of Harvard college. The publicity of the man in offices so high and filled by election give prominence and weight to his views on national questions, some of the cardinal ones of which, his son and biographer says, he adhered to, "right or wrong," to the day of his death.

By the addition of Louisiana to the public domain, Mr. Quincy main-

tained that the constitution was violated and the foundations of the government unsettled, so that no state formed out of it could constitutionally enter the Union or become an equal with states founded in the original domain. *

On the fifteenth of January, 1811, and by a vote of seventy-seven to thirty-six, Louisiana was admitted as a state into the Union. On the day preceding, Mr. Quincy spoke against the admission, and in very strong terms, some of them remarkable :

I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of the Union are virtually dissolved ; so that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must. †

One would not be looking for the doctrines of secession from Massachusetts, and so many years in advance of South Carolina. But when the same doctrines came into congress from the south, Massachusetts also furnished their energetic denial and refutation in 1830.

"But," says the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Rhea : "These people have been seven years citizens of the United States." I deny it, sir. As citizens of New Orleans, or of Louisiana, they never have been, and by the mode proposed, they never will be citizens of the United States. . . . Why, sir, I have already heard of six states and some say there will be, at no great distance of time, more. We have thirteen now, and nine stately territories in vigorous progress. I have also heard that the mouth of the Ohio will be far to the east of the centre of the contemplated empire. If the bill is passed, the principle is recognized. All the rest are mere questions of expediency. It is impossible such a power could be granted. It was not for these men that our fathers

fought, it was not for them this constitution was adopted. You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into hotch-pot with the wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed, though more respectable, race of Anglo-Hispano Americans, who bask on the sands in the mouth of the Mississippi. . . . Do you suppose the people of the northern and Atlantic states will, or ought to look on with patience, and see representatives and senators from the Red river, and the Missouri, pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard one thousand five hundred miles at least from their residences and having a preponderance in councils into which, constitutionally, they could never have been admitted. . . . Take care, in your haste after effectual dominion, not to overload the scale by heaping it with these new acquisitions. . . . Already the old states sink in the estimation of members, when brought into comparison with these new countries. . . . We have been asked : "What are some of the small states compared with the Mississippi territory?" The gentleman from that territory, Mr. Poindexter, spoke the other day of the Mississippi as of "a high road between." Good heavens ! between what, Mr. Speaker? "Why, the eastern and the western states." So that all the northwestern territories, all the countries once the extreme western boundary of the Union are hereafter to be denominated eastern states." How accurately, how unwillingly and unintentionally correct ! For a north and south halving line of the Union of that day, including the "unconstitutional" Louisiana, would place the most of Minnesota and Iowa and all of Missouri and Arkansas and Louisiana and sections of Kansas, the Indian territory and Texas within the eastern states." . . . The extension of their principles to the states contemplated beyond the Mississippi, cannot, will not, and ought not to be borne. . . . The bill, if it passes, is a death blow to the constitution."*

Of this speech Mr. Hildreth says : "It was the first announcement on the floor of congress of the doctrines of secession." † Two years afterward Mr. Quincy returned to private life, and in April, 1813, gave the annual address before the Washington Benevolent Soci-

* 'The Life of Josiah Quincy,' by Edmund Quincy, 1874, pp. 91, 97, 205.

† Ibid, p. 206.

* 'Life of Joseph Quincy,' pp. 206-211.

† 'History of the United States,' Vol. III, p. 226.

ety of Boston. It is reported to have been received with great favor, and passages from it may, therefore, be taken. Specially may this be done in view of the fact that, the same year, the Massachusetts legislature passed a resolution instructing its representatives in congress to ask for the repeal of the action which admitted Louisiana, as a state, into the Union. Mr. Quincy says, in this address :

The new states govern the old, the unsettled, the settled ; the influences of emigrants prevail over those of the ancient natives ; a black population overbalances the white ; from woods and lakes and desert wilderness legislators issue, controlling the destinies of a seaboard people, paralyzing all their interests and darkening all their prospects. . . . A whirlwind from the west is passing over those massy pillars of our greatness, and they are almost prostrate. Our commerce, navigation and fisheries are gone. . . . Louisiana is spoken of as being an integral part of the nation, with as much indifference as though it had been admitted by an unquestionable authority. We hear of the intention of cutting it up into new states, with as much unconcern as though we had no interest in the matter. .

. . . That proportion of power which they (the New England states) possessed at the adoption of the constitution is gone. This proportion, thus diminished, is every day diminishing still further, in a geometrical ratio. . . . Out from your councils, out from your confidence, be every man who will not maintain the old foundations of New England prosperity. Follow no longer the doctrines and commandments from the mountains. Contend earnestly for the commercial faith delivered by your fathers, and let him who will not stand up for it be to you worse than an infidel. *

Of course we pardon much to the habitat of the man whose home commanded a full view of Boston harbor, and from whose windows every ship entering and leaving that port could be seen. His ideas of national prosperity

were inseparable from tidewater. Hence his extreme eastern and commercial notions drove him rashly to secession from agricultural and fresh-water growth in the deep interior. The Republican chick must not lose sight of its shell. We also pardon much to the gloomy times when the war of 1812, with its embargo, and with shipping and wharves decaying together, cast an eclipse over the Atlantic seaboard. Yet it would seem that an ardent man, educated and in the prime of forty-one years, should have had some of the instincts of a prophet and been open to the inspiration of a boundless continent. But we remember that a prince among prophets wrote a 'Book of Lamentation.' The surprise is lessened by the fact that, even yet, many men, very able in their sphere, fail to appreciate our magnificent interior development. They were born among ships, and when they travel it is in ships, and so their education is in local rather than in national interests and pursuits. They are able up to their limits, but lack an apprehension and an appreciation of what Gladstone has called "a national base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man." They have "Alleghanies in their politics."

It is with deep regret for the entire dominion of our flag that one holding such view, and in so pronounced a way, had the guiding and moulding for sixteen years of the American sentiment of so many young men coming prominently to the front in national affairs. The inevitable and, indeed, the accomplished, from 1803 downward, was declined and

* 'Life of Josiah Quincy,' pp. 309, 316.

disowned, and all of the Union west of the Mississippi was put under ban as an unconstitutional and enforced partner in the American Union. This was a rejection, so far as it had power, of more territory than the fathers gained in the Revolution; and as that immense valley, one half larger than the old Roman empire, is indivisible in interests and sympathies, the sense of alienation thus begotten extended from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. The indifference to its development and the ignorance of its geography and natural resources and prophetic growths, thus engendered in the east, are felt to this day. Scholars—and not at Harvard only—have taken their diplomas with a much better knowledge of Europe than of the United States, and are more at home in the ex-humed towns and cities of classic lands than in the land of their birth and life-work. Thalaba, among the ruins of Babylon, could not have been a more bewildered and amazed traveler than would be many eastern graduates in any one of a dozen living cities, ranging from a score of thousand inhabitants to the size of Boston, in that same alien territory. As a sectional sentiment, it was historically and prophetically correct to say “the old states sink,” while it is left for any one to say to-day that the United States, as a nation, stand abreast of the first in the world; or, as the English premier puts it: “I suppose that the very next census, in the year 1880, will exhibit her to the world as certainly the wealthiest of all the nations.” And the fact proved that Glad-

stone was correct, when the nations submitted their census tables for 1880.

The frequent reference to salt-water commerce, not yet obsolete, lacks the national in scope and interest. Nine hundred steamers chafing the levee at different times, and forty at once, at St. Louis, gave me different feelings. The influence of immigrants over the “ancient nation” was bewailed then as now, but were not the fathers “immigrants?” Complaint was filed that the west would come east fifteen hundred miles to manage a thousand miles of Atlantic seaboard; yet what if the east now propose to go three and four thousand miles westward to manage six thousand five hundred miles of Pacific seaboard? The lament arose, nor has it wholly died away, that the proportional power in each of the original thirteen states was diminished by the addition of new states. This is not kindly or generous or politic. The second son of Jacob lessened relatively the power of the first, but the twelve made a splendid family. The lament lacks the national air of “The Star Spangled Banner.” The “whirlwind from the west,” so bemoaned, has become the most magnificent and well regulated trade-wind of the world.

In the times now sketched it was a policy of the north and east to admit to councils and confidence and honors only those who would sacrifice new growths in the west to old foundations in the east, but that was when Hercules was in his cradle. The scales of patronage and power and honors, however, turned slowly but permanently west-

ward, and a singular reverse, typical of many, was witnessed at the convention of 1873, at Cincinnati, when Mr. Greeley was nominated for the Presidency. A name twice honored in connection with the highest gift of the people, was offered for the vice-presidency. When it was stated, on inquiry, that he had never visited the west, the name was dropped instantly and finally, thus illustrating, says a member of the convention and my correspondent, "a growing sentiment among our people that if a man aimed at high political office, where the welfare and perhaps destiny of the country were to be placed in his keeping, he must have manifested enough interest in the country and its people to have at least visited the various sections, rather than spend his leisure time and money in extended visits and enjoyments of other countries."

"When they gain strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive," said Washington, speaking of the west. In view of what he saw and foresaw, he favored an exploration and study of the new country, development of it, and a sympathetic affiliated cultivation of the mutual relations between the old and the new. The advice of the eminent statesman as well as soldier was not well heeded and followed, perhaps because it was too general or universal. For we recall what Webster said of him at the centennial of his birthday: "Washington stood not only at the commencement of a new era, but at the head of a new world."

It is evident to all that the nation is

moving west with the massiveness and grandeur of empire. In 1811, it was New England which said deplorably, "the old states sink." Very true, and the region beyond the Mississippi, then treated as an alien, now puts fifty-two representatives into congress, against the twenty-six from the jealous section which called her alien. The depression of the old thirteen is only relative, and what continental American does not forget provincial comparisons in national exaltation! It was the grand eminence and pivot of success in the dubious struggle for the union of the colonies, when Patrick Henry rose to the exigency of the occasion, by saying: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American!"*

The time for comparisons and rivalries and jealousies is gone by. With her acres, and natural resources, and votes and wealth, and wonderful increase in population, and with pre-eminently her young energy, the west can take care of herself. Fortunate is the aspirant for national honors who is born west of the Alleghanies, and if he has failed of this he is wise in recovering from the political misfortune by extensive travel.

It is to be regretted that benevolent wealth, moving off voluntarily and divinely, like the gifts of God, has not kept the educating and Christianizing forces abreast of the financial and civil, in

* 'Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the United States,' p. 400.

their westward progress. As a general thing, the hand to hand collections for such purposes have gone to new fields, while the princely gifts and the legacies have stopped in old fields near home, to enrich or embellish institutions already strong, and to lay more foundations, where they already are close neighbors to each other. If educating and Christianizing funds had been invested with the forethought which determines a good financial investment—where the greatest possible income is sure—more money, in benevolent channels, would have gone over the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. It would not be difficult to satisfy a board of Wall street and State street men, whether benevolent moneys should be invested in the east or in the west, for the highest dividends, on long time. Other things being equal, investments grow in proportion to the growth of population in the same place. Our

last national census showed for the preceding decade an increase of eighteen per cent, in the population of New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—nine states—and an increase of thirty-four per cent. in the northwestern—fourteen states—and of forty-eight per cent. in the seven Pacific states. The western increase is about double the eastern, and the greater the farther we go back in the decades. That is, for results, a gift of \$10,000 for the west is equal to one of \$20,000 for the east, so extensive and open and prolific are those new and unoccupied fields. Humbolt informs us that a follower of Cortez first sowed wheat in America. He had but three kernels to begin with, which he had found in their supply of rice, but he planted it in the right place. The crop or “dividends” in 1880 were 459,483,137 bushels.

WILLIAM BARROWS.

EARLY TIMES IN BELPRE, OHIO—1789-1806.

BELPRE was founded in 1789 by an association of forty citizens of Marietta who were stockholders in the Ohio company. Nearly every house in the town was occupied by a former officer in the Revolutionary army, and all the gentlemen were warm friends and admirers of Washington. He wrote of the members of the Ohio company: “No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum, I know many of the settlers per-

sonally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community.” The place was originally called *Belle-prairie*. These old soldiers had a great fondness for names borrowed from the history or language of their generous French allies. The first dwellings erected were small log houses built along the bank of the Ohio river.* In them they spent a few happy, uneventful months, followed by

* The people lived on farms, and Belpre extended down the river for about twelve miles.

years of excitement and terror. The story of their lives is interesting not merely to the antiquarian and historical student, but a charming element of romance and adventure runs through it. These pioneers were men of intelligence and great force of character, of broad views and high aims—"Ohio yankees," as some of their unsympathetic neighbors derisively nicknamed them. The almost *miraculous* passage by congress, all things considered, of the wonderful ordinance of 1787 ("the second Declaration of Independence") prohibiting slavery and establishing free schools in the northwest, enabled them to realize their noble political ideal and found a larger New England beyond the Ohio.

The crops of 1789 in the Northwestern Territory were partly destroyed by an unseasonable frost, and the people of Belpre were threatened in the spring of 1790 with famine. They lacked a sufficient supply of meat as well as grain and vegetables. Few of them were good shots or accustomed to hunt, or they might occasionally have added venison or game to their scanty stock of provisions. Afterwards such as could afford to do so, regularly employed professional hunters. For several weeks the settlers lived principally on moldy corn, bought at one dollar and fifty cents a bushel, which they ground in hand mills,* the only mills to be found on the Ohio, cooked in maple sap and ate out of pewter or wooden dishes. Pewter

was commonly used at that date, even by those who were not obliged to economize. They had, as a rule, a limited supply of other necessities beside food. They had no kettles large enough to make molasses or sugar, which would have made their mush more palatable and nutritious. All heavy articles of metal, even nails, they were obliged to do without on account of the difficulty of transporting them across the mountains. In 1791, Captain Devoll built a floating mill, which was anchored in the middle of Backus', afterwards Blennerhasset's island, opposite Farmers' Castle. It relieved the people of a great deal of work. Some of the settlers during this miserable summer were reduced to the necessity of living on nettles, celandine and purslane. Those who had any ready money assisted their less fortunate neighbors. Wanton Casey was appointed overseer of the poor, in 1790, but returned to Rhode Island the same year, and I believe for some time had no successor. A generous farmer named Williams, who lived on the Virginia shore of the Ohio, no doubt saved many from starvation that summer. His crop the previous fall was abundant, and indignantly refusing the large prices offered him by speculators, he sold his corn at fifty cents a bushel to all who needed it, prudently and resolutely "proportioning the number of bushels according to the number of individuals in a family," and giving credit till better times to the many who had no money.*

* At Marietta a large army coffee mill, owned by Colonel William Stacey, was in great demand, till a prominent citizen, Charles Greene, encouraged to do so by the Ohio company, built a floating mill on the Muskingum, protected from the Indians by the guns of Campus Martius and Fort Harmar.

* Hildreth's 'Pioneer History.' Nearly three thousand dollars were disbursed by the Ohio company during 1790, which the people called the "starving year," among sick and needy families.

After this gloomy year the crops were usually so large that the farmers found difficulty in disposing of them. There was no communication with the eastern market, and they could not consume all the grain themselves. It is said that to get rid of it they sometimes used it as fuel.

In 1791, the Indian War broke out. The people of Belpre abandoned their unprotected houses and took refuge in the newly built log stockade called Farmer's Castle. It was surrounded by a tall palisade of logs set upright in the ground, and had large, strong, heavy gates. Its towers and floating flag and numerous block houses presented an imposing and picturesque appearance, seen passing up or down the Ohio in boats. The fort was so strongly built and well defended by experienced Revolutionary soldiers that the inmates were in little danger, unless they ventured without the walls, from the Indians who lurked in the woods and watched it constantly for four years. Strict military discipline was maintained. The officer of the day inspected every part of the castle each morning, examined the water tanks placed in upper rooms of all the houses to be used in case of fire and saw that they were kept full, and reported all who disobeyed orders issued by the commandant. Offenders were obliged to submit to the infliction of the penalty they had incurred. A man who overslept himself and did not answer to his name at the sunrise roll call was ordered to cut a stump of a tree level with the ground, and as a result of this vigorously enforced penalty, at the close of the war

no stumps were to be seen around the stockade. The Ohio company shared the expense of the erection and defense of the stockade, which was built without national aid. During the war the company spent for military purposes without re-imbursement by the general government, \$11,000. At Belpre were stationed two spies or scouts, selected from among the best hunters in the country, and a drummer and five soldiers, all in their employ.* The spies received one dollar a day and the soldiers eight dollars a month—twice the amount paid privates in the regular army.

After 1791, a company of United States troops, sent from the east to do garrison duty, assisted in guarding the stockades, a few men being stationed at each. McMaster says in his 'History of the People of the United States,' that there were only two hundred and eighty-seven men in the country controlled by the Ohio company who could be collected and made to serve as soldiers. The pay was so small in the regular army that a good class of men could not be induced to enlist. The privates were a miserable set, usually too young or too old to do good service, ignorant of military discipline and neither hunters nor trappers; either unarmed or furnished with useless guns. And Major Ziegler testified on one occasion that they were also sometimes half naked and half starved. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Harmar and St. Clair were defeated! Farmer's Castle contained thirteen dwellings which were

* Colonel Sprout commanded the Ohio company's troops and the militia.

occupied as fast as they were finished. Two hundred and twenty persons were crowded into its block houses.*

In the winter of 1791 all the fat hogs owned by the people of Belpre were

killed and hung up in an outhouse at Farmers' Castle, which was burned. The hogs which they had not killed but left running at large were about the same time driven off by the Indians. There was great dread of another famine, and the settlers accordingly hastened to contribute the little ready money they could collect, and hired two men to make the journey to Red Stone, western Pennsylvania, to buy salt meat. The river froze up, and though the agents escaped molestation from the Indians, they could not return till the February thaw, when to the great relief of the people in the stockade, who feared they had either proved dishonest or fallen into the hands of the savages, their quaint ark or "Kentucky boat" was one day seen approaching the water-gate with a load of much needed provision.

One of the pioneers, who was brought from Rhode Island to Marietta in her childhood, December, 1788, used to entertain her grandchildren with fascinating tales of these early times, including anecdotes of all the prominent men of the colony, and stories half pathetic, half humorous, of the deceived and disappointed emigrants from France, who proved valuable citizens. Hardships and dangers, as she looked back upon them, became romantic and heroic adventures, delightful to talk of. She described a cultivated New England gentleman, liked and respected by all, coming west nearly a hundred years ago, fresh from Paris, where he was educated, with his trunks filled with books and rich French suits of variously colored velvet and silk, for which he was in

*The following letter written from Fort Harmar, January 8, 1791, by Captain David Zeigler to Governor St. Clair, gives us an idea of the excitement and terror felt by the people on the Ohio at this time: 'I have the misfortune to inform you that on the second instant in the evening, the settlements called Big Bottom, consisting of sixteen men, one woman and two children were destroyed by the savages and only two men escaped and three supposed taken prisoners, as the bodies were not found. As soon as I got acquainted, assisted Colonel Sprout to make a detachment with as many men as I possibly could spare toward the settlements; the Indians were gone before the party arrived. Since your departure no Indians had made their appearance here and they are to a great number at the Great Rock and at White Woman's creek. The fourth instant was the day I had appointed George White Eyes the old [Indian?] which is amongst us to go as far as said place, but now he is apprehensive of danger not only from them, but also from his own people, which obliges me to save him from trouble. Polly the Wyandot woman is also here and informed me the first instant, in a crying manner, that she apprehended all the savages were hostile inclined.

. . . Since this unhappy affair the Ohio company voted troops to be raised for their defense and for such time until more troops will be sent to this post. They also voted three block houses to be erected; the troops so raised to have the *same pay and rations* (but no clothing) as the troops got *last war* in the service of the United States. *This I am afraid will hurt the establishment.* On application from the directors of the Ohio, in giving them assistance, shall order Ensign Morgan with fifteen men, on his return, to guard one of those block houses, and any other aid possible on my part they shall have. All our settlements must become more careful, otherwise they may meet with the same fate. The French families, I expect, will take shelter in this garrison. . . . The women and children in the different settlements will repair to said place. *No new commissary has made his appearance yet, and of course no provisions.*—'American State Papers, Indian Affairs,' Volume I.

haste to substitute more suitable, coarse, plain clothes borrowed from his less experienced pioneer friends. In 1805 the United States ransomed by the payment of a large sum of money the American prisoners taken from our ships by *Algerine pirates. Her young sailor† brother, for a time a slave in Algiers, was one of those released from painful captivity and returned safely home. To the youthful imagination of her hearers, Rhode Island and the long road to Ohio, but especially all the Ohio country, was a sort of fairy land. The stockades were enchanted castles with solitary watchmen aloft in turrets, peering into the dusky forests beyond the treeless‡ clearings for skulking red-skinned foes. But mystic and charming above all was the only highway of the land—the beautiful river with its barges full of soldiers or citizens, “floating down,” as it were “to Camelot,” through brilliant summer days or soft moonlight evenings, melodious with songs§ of pleasure-seekers. For seen only in fancy, the bare, unfinished frontier towns, surrounded by rough fields and unsightly stumps, were by the child’s

imagination transformed to loveliest villages of the plain, smilingly asleep amid gardens on the river’s brink.

This lady was too young when the Indian war broke out to mind leaving her own home on the bank of the river at Belpre, or to be annoyed by the discomforts of the crowded block house, number five, Farmers’ Castle, where two families besides her father’s, twelve persons in all, were obliged to take refuge. But she was in her tenth year when the Indians carried off Major Goodale, the commandant of Goodale garrison, situated about half a mile from Farmers’ Castle, and consisting of two block houses surrounded by a palisade to which, for the sake of more room, they had lately moved. This dreadful event made a deep and ineffaceable impression on her young mind. The sorrow and horror which she herself felt and witnessed in others were vividly recollected and often spoken of in her old age. He was an intimate friend of her parents, and his daughter had married a relative. Henceforth she, in a measure, shared her mother’s apprehensions on the days when the big gates of the fort closed early in the morning on her father going forth with other inmates of the block houses to work in their fields beyond the shelter of the bullet-proof log walls, and exposed, as long as they remained without, to death or more horrible captivity among the Indians. Warned by the anxieties and sufferings of the year of famine, the inhabitants of the Belpre forts took turns in cultivating their farms and gardens, part going out into the unprotected country to work each

*Captives in Algiers suffered great hardships. On landing in Africa they were led by a chain round the neck to the slave auction, and sold to the highest bidder. See ‘Sumner’s White Slavery in Barbary.’

† Sometimes ships built at Marietta and carrying a cargo and crew from that neighborhood sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and thence to foreign ports.

‡ The Indians concealed themselves behind the trees and fired with safety at their enemies. For this reason every tree near the stockade was cut down.

§ The young people were in the habit of singing when rowing on the Ohio river.

day in the spring and summer, and the rest remaining within the inclosure to do military duty with the assistance of the corporal and five soldiers furnished by the United States government.

Major Goodale, to whose capture I have alluded, was at work March 1, 1793, with his oxen, on his farm, a short distance from the stockade, when a party of eight Indians suddenly surrounded and carried him off. An Irishman was working near the spot, but the Indians moved so quietly that he was unaware of what had happened till informed by some men sent out from the fort, where it had been observed with alarm that Major Goodale's oxen had been standing for a long time on the same spot, while he was nowhere to be seen. Moccasins were discovered on the snow which lightly covered the ground. Rangers were dispatched the next day to look for him, but no trace could be found of the highly esteemed and long lamented commandant. His family were overwhelmed with grief, and the whole community was excited and at the same time depressed. A greater misfortune could hardly have befallen them. Nothing was heard of him till 1799, when information was received that the Indians had intended to take him to Detroit, hoping to be paid a large ransom for him. But he fell sick somewhere on the Miami or near Sandusky, and was left at the house of an Indian trader, who also kept a store, where he died of pleurisy.

The life in the block house, in all its particulars, was vividly remembered and often described by the lady whom I

mentioned. Scarlet, bilious and intermittent fevers prevailed, and a number of children died. In 1793 smallpox was introduced into Belpre by a spy in the employ of the settlers, and both stockades were turned into hospitals. All who escaped the disease were inoculated. She and the other members of her family were among those inoculated at the lower stockade--Goodale's garrison--by De True, one of the Ohio company's physicians. She had a distinct and painful recollection of her childish experiences during those dreary days of danger and suffering.

The stockade, tiresome and depressing as it may have been at times to anxious parents and unemployed men,* was a delightful place to children. There was a large number of boys and girls in the block houses. When young Ebenezer Battelle beat the drum, which was the substitute for a bell, round about the castle and through its passages Sunday morning to summon the people to church in his father's block house, no doubt a delighted procession of children marched at his heels. Then there was Colonel Israel Putnam's amusing colored boy, Kit, to lead in all mischievous pranks, athletic games or hunting parties. No lurking Indian or half concealed deer escaped Kit's keen eye--always on the watch--when he was out with farmers or hunters. The four or five soldiers of the regular army, always

*The people "were united in the bonds of sympathy like one great family, and held together in a common brotherhood by the perils which surrounded them. In after years, when each family lived separately in their own domicile, they looked back on those days with pleasure and satisfaction."

stationed at Belpre, and especially the eccentric old corporal, petted the children and made little presents for them. Among the most valued of the gifts, I have often heard her say, were large copper cents (the first coin issued by the United States government), covered with the lead of which they made their bullets, and transformed by the children's fancy into silver money.

Something was constantly going on near the tall flagstaff, from which floated the stars and stripes, and which stood in the centre of the square of ground which the walls of the fort inclosed. Here was the well where lingered to gossip girls coming to draw water. Here stood the howitzer whose loud boom, morning and evening, the children loved to hear, because the sound, they were told, terrified the dreaded savages. It struck terror into the hearts of the children also when, at a signal from a sentinel in a watch-tower, it was fired to warn the men outside the gates that Indians were in sight, and to hasten their return to the stockade.

Near the flag lounged the unoccupied men, who, in the winter or when not in the fields in the summer, found time hang heavy on their hands. There was little to amuse or employ them. There was no mail, for instance, to receive and read, for a postoffice was not established in what is now the state of Ohio, till 1794. No newspaper was published in that region till 1801. Everything came by private conveyance, and few travelers ventured to visit the Northwestern Territory while the Indians were on the war path. The settlers could not carry

many books across the mountains (the boxes under the wagon seats were overflowing with articles absolutely necessary to life) so that this resource was in a measure, though not wholly by any means, denied them. A few cherished volumes of standard writers, some of them still reverently preserved by their descendants, they brought and read with all the more pleasure and appreciation, because of their variety.

At the flag staff Major Goodale or Colonel Cushing received reports and gave orders. Sometimes a boat landed at one of the carefully guarded water gates, and a spy or ranger in Indian dress, bringing news from a distance of Indians or friends or a hunter, carrying venison or game, was admitted.

There were about twenty young ladies in the castle. Promenading on pleasant evenings on the smooth roads between the block houses was a favorite pastime with them. And there was occasional boating on the river, the girls sometimes rowing themselves. But this was a pleasure which only the bravest and rashest could enjoy, on account of the danger from Indians. Four or five times a year, gay companies of ladies and gentlemen would come down the river from Marietta to Belpre to attend parties at Farmers' Castle. They came in a large row boat, escorted by a guard of soldiers, and brought with them musicians attached to the United States garrison at Fort Harmar and also a French fiddler from Gallipolis.*

Though brought up on the frontier, the young people of Belpre enjoyed the

* 'Hildreth's Pioneer History'.

advantage of associating with educated men and women, who were accustomed to the usages of good society. Some of the citizens of Marietta and Belpre had visited Europe, had lived in the cities of their own country, and associated, while holding important civil offices or during their army life, with distinguished foreigners and the most cultivated and polished people in America. But all the settlers in Ohio were obliged to live in small, plainly furnished houses, and though some of them brought a large amount of silver and china with them from New England, they kept house in simple and unpretending style. Many of them had been impoverished by their neglect of their affairs during the Revolutionary war, and came to the west hoping to retrieve their fortunes by economy and hard work. Some of them had been accustomed to the luxuries and refinements of towns, and all of them of course to the conveniences and comforts of long settled communities but, in spite of numerous deprivations, they were, as a rule, contented and happy. They did not much feel the lack of money* in a country where there was nothing to buy with it, and there was none of the social or pecuniary inequality which existed in their old homes in New England to excite ambition or envy.

The people were usually intelligent and fond of reading. The books of the first circulating library established in Ohio were kept over ninety years ago at

the house of Isaac Peirce† in Belpre. He was one of the founders of the town. The librarian made good use of the books himself. Another great reader from a neighboring town, Judge Cutler, used sometimes to ride up to the house in the morning, tie his horse at the gate, and seizing a volume on entering the room where the books were kept, sit wholly absorbed in reading till late in the afternoon, letting the dinner hour pass unheeded, and entirely oblivious of what was going on around him. The resident of the modern village, able to get all the new works as soon as published, can form but a faint conception of the pleasure and profit which that little collection of old English authors afforded some of those large-brained and well educated men, who had for years had only the most limited means for satisfying their hunger for books. They secured good schools‡ for their children, as the the letters and conversation of those educated in them would

† Isaac Peirce, jr., served in the commissary department of the Revolutionary army. He was a native of Rhode Island, and came to the Northwest territory in the spring of 1788. He was one of the subaltern officers appointed June 22 of that year by the Ohio company, to do military duty at Muskingum (Marietta). July 30 he was commissioned by Governor St. Clair a judge of the court of common pleas and an associate justice of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace. The latter court appointed him in 1795 commissioner of Washington county, and he served till 1804. He was appointed by the legislature a trustee of Ohio University, founded in 1802. He was often employed to settle estates and to attend to similar business. He died in Dayton in 1821.

* Their farms supplied them with food, flax and wool, which the women spun and wove and made into garments, blankets, table and bed linen.

‡ Belpre received fifty dollars a year from the directors of the Ohio company for religious and educational purposes.

prove if they were no other evidence. Miss Bathsheba Rouse, who taught in Belpre in 1789, was probably the first woman employed as teacher in what is now the state of Ohio. Special attention seems to have been given to instruction in penmanship.

Colonel Battelle was chaplain at Farmers' Castle, receiving a small yearly salary from the Ohio company. He read a printed sermon and prayers on Sundays in the southeast block house, where he lived. Sometimes during the Indian war, another gentleman, also a former colonel in the army, officiated as chaplain, I believe at the lower stockade—Goodall's garrison. As the settlers of Belpre were Congregationalists, unfamiliar with the prayer book, of which few had copies, when the book directed a change of position in the worshipers, the chaplain would call out in sharp, decided, abrupt tones, as though drilling a company of soldiers, "Kneel!" "Stand up!" "Sit down!" I have heard amusing accounts of some of the unconventional Sunday services at the stockades.

When the occasional cessation of Indian hostilities permitted, the parishioners of the Rev. Mr. Storey of Marietta would row him down to Farmers' Castle to preach on Sunday.* There were no roads and few horses in the country, and journeys between the towns were usually made in boats. After the war, in 1796, Mr. Story formed a Congregational church from the people from the four

neighboring towns in Washington county. He preached once a month in a house on the bluff at Belpre, Colonel Battelle officiating there on the other three Sundays.

As the boys and girls who had spent much of their childhood in the block-houses grew up, they found a happy life, but quiet and unprogressive, open to them at Belpre. Many of the young men left the village and made their homes in Cincinnati or Dayton, which seemed more likely to develop into large towns, and where there were more promising business openings. A lady, writing to a young niece in Belpre from Cincinnati, in 1806, says:

"You must be very lonesome at Belpre, so many of your acquaintances leaving it. Belpre is not calculated for a large increase of inhabitants. It is too circumscribed. The young fry must look out for a more extensive settlement."

The girls found plenty to do in house, dairy, garden, at the spinning-wheel and with the needle, but they had few amusements. The young folks occasionally went up to Marietta in boats to a ball,† or had a picnic or an excursion to Blennerhassett's island to gather wild fruit. On the island there was a garden of which I have often heard, where, in the season, parties went to eat strawberries and cream, and drink tea out of doors. Belpre was famous for native and cultivated fruits. At an early day boat loads of apples of the finest quality were sent from there to New Orleans. They always had a grand celebration on

* He was usually accompanied by a company of armed men. The Ohio company engaged him as pastor for all their settlements.

† A notable one was given to Aaron Burr, in 1806. But gentlemen who suspected his traitorous projects were unwilling that their daughters should attend it.

the Fourth of July, and St. Tammany's day, the first of May, was universally observed. The lady, so often quoted, remembered the May-poles that were erected and decorated with flowers, around which youths and maidens danced as briskly as if they had lived in merry England. Guns were fired, songs sung, speeches made, good dinners eaten and far too much punch drank in honor of the patron saint of the anniversary. St. Tammany was nearly as well beloved by western and southern children of the eighteenth century as St. Nicholas is by those of the nineteenth. Tammany is said to have been a chief of the Delaware Indians, friendly to the whites, who lived in the seventeenth century. He was born in what is now the state of Delaware, but removed to the banks of the Ohio in early manhood. He lived to a great age, and when he was very old people resorted to his wigwam from every direction to ask his advice and listen to his wise discourses. Why or at what date he was canonized and became the patron saint of May-day a hundred years ago, and of the Democratic party of to-day, I have been unable to discover. The seventh of April, the anniversary of the landing at Marietta from the Mayflower of the first party of emigrants, was also observed as a holiday. The young men were encouraged on such occasion by the Ohio company to play athletic games and run foot races, which were considered good discipline for Indian fighters. The people were fond of ceremonies, whatever the occasion. When Washington died, every one in Belpre

appeared with *crepe* tied round the arm, not laying it aside in public for many days, as I heard from one who wore this mourning when she was fifteen years old.

The Blennerhassetts, wealthy people from Ireland, who in 1798 bought part of the island opposite Belpre but in the state of Virginia, and built a large and expensive house on it, added much to the social enjoyment of the neighborhood. Mrs. Blennerhassett had the peculiar kind of ability and tact which might have made her *salon* famous had she lived in a city. She had a talent for conversation, whether light or grave, and was also a delightful reader and amateur actress, especially of Shakespeare's plays, and she was well read in history and English literature and understood the French and Italian languages. Her husband was cultivated and agreeable, and fond of literary and scientific conversation. She had a tall, commanding figure, winning and graceful manners; a brilliant complexion, abundant glossy brown hair, fine dark blue eyes, and the expression of her beautiful face was animated and intellectual. She was always richly and becomingly dressed. The Blennerhassetts' grounds and flower gardens, large and valuable collection of books, and the luxurious and tasteful furniture and decorations of their handsome residence, were sources of great pleasure to persons capable of appreciating such things but unable to procure them for themselves.

Mrs. Blennerhassett, so attractive in person and manner, so highly educated

and accomplished, was regarded with enthusiastic admiration and affection by all the Belpre people whom she honored with her friendship. She entertained a great deal informally, beside giving frequent dinners and balls. Most of the refreshments served at her parties she was obliged to make with her own hands or superintend their preparation by slaves trained by herself. To the youthful eyes and palates of some of her guests these suppers and dinners seemed absolutely perfect, and one of them, even when she was old and familiar with life in cities, still fancied that no professional caterer could surpass Mrs. Blennerhassett's skill, especially in making cakes, and confectionery and similar articles, which looked almost too beautiful to be eaten. For the decoration of her table, she made beautiful artificial flowers, so natural in form and color that the girls carried them home as highly prized ornaments to be worn pinned in hair or dress at future parties.* She won the hearts of young and old because she shared the tastes, sympathies and occupations of both classes. She rode gracefully and fearlessly, and they loved to picture her dressed in a long habit of scarlet cloth, dashing across the island on a spirited horse, her groom and dogs following fast after her. Though she was fond of books, music, drawing and conversation, she performed skilfully and with interest the necessary domestic duties of a pioneer woman—housekeeping,

gardening, spinning, weaving, dress-making and plain sewing. She must have been a woman of varied abilities, energy, great tact and power of adapting herself to unaccustomed circumstances. Yet it seems to me probable that after her tragical expulsion from her island, the tender memories and loving imaginations of her old neighbors did, in a manner, transform her into a sort of legendary heroine of romance.

I have often heard this fascinating woman described with enthusiasm, and the highest praise bestowed upon the charming qualities of her superior mind and fine character. Her misfortunes, no doubt, inclined her friends to judge leniently some defects and limitations which would have been as apparent to them as to less partial observers had her prosperity continued. Some writers have intimated, with how much truth, I do not know, that her ambition and the latent worldliness of her character were stimulated by Burr's brilliant presentation of his unpatriotic plans before he produced any effect upon the mind of her husband, and that it was her influence which induced the latter to become one of Burr's associates, risking fortune, reputation and all that made life desirable to promote projects which seem to have been only partially disclosed to him. He and his wife may have been the easier to persuade to join the conspiracy from the fact that they had not lived long in their adopted country, and did not regard it with warm feelings of patriotism. The lady who so often described Mrs. Blennerhassett to me,

* Some of those pretty buds and blossoms were long preserved as souvenirs of their lovely and unfortunate friend.

much as she detested Aaron Burr, did not condemn the Blennerhassetts, his most noted victims, but felt the greatest sympathy for them. She was convinced that he had lured them to their destruction by false representations of his purposes. She would describe the grief with which she witnessed the vandalism of the Wood county, Virginia, militia who, after the flight of Blennerhassett, were ordered to take possession of the island, and amused themselves by firing at the ceilings and injuring in other ways the beauty of the house and grounds. Nearly eighty years have passed since a number of Marietta gentlemen, frequent guests of the mansion in happier days,

carried of from the island, no longer a possible residence for her, the intrepid Mrs. Blennerhassett, her two young sons, several slaves and a few articles of clothing and furniture. She had persisted in remaining longer than her friends approved to endeavor to protect her property; but further resistance was useless. She never returned to the home where she had been so happy and which her talents and accomplishments and genial disposition had made so attractive. Indignantly and mournfully the Belpre people gazed henceforth on this ruined island Eden as they glided by in their boats.

MARY D. STEELE.

*MANUSCRIPT OF SOLOMON SPAULDING AND THE BOOK OF MORMON.

THE accepted theory of the origin of the 'Book of Mormon' connects it with a manuscript written by Solomon Spaulding, purporting to set forth the origin and civilization of the American Indians, and to account for the ancient mounds and earthworks and other remains of the ancient inhabitants which are scattered over the land.

The first publication of this idea seems to have been made by the late E. D. Howe of Painesville, in a volume published by himself at Painesville in 1834, and entitled 'Mormonism Unveiled.' He, with an associate, D. P. Hurlbut, of Conneaut, seems to have

been the first to gather evidence on the subject from the original sources; and most later writers on Mormonism have depended essentially upon the material furnished by him. The theory of the connection of the 'Book of Mormon' with Spaulding's manuscript has become traditional, and has found its way into all anti-Mormon literature and into the general cyclopædias, such as the Britannia, Chambers', Appleton's, McClintock & Strong's and propably others. Prof. George P. Fisher, in his work on general history, just published, adopts the theory.

The question whether or not the 'Book of Mormon' is based upon a manuscript of Spaulding is intrinsically of little

*A paper read before the Northern Ohio and Western Reserve Historical society, March 23, 1886.

importance. It required only a very moderate degree of literary ability and invention to produce the book, and several of the original leaders of the fanaticism must have been adequate to the work. It is, perhaps, impossible at this day to prove or disprove the Spaulding theory.

The unquestionable facts bearing on the case are as follows :

Solomon Spaulding was born in Connecticut in 1761, graduated at Dartmouth college in 1785, was ordained to the ministry, and preached in New England a few years, taught an academy for a time in Cherry Valley, New York, or carried on mercantile business there and failed, and in 1809 removed to New Salem, now Conneaut, in Ohio, where in company with one Henry Lake he established an iron foundry. His business not prospering, he removed to Pittsburgh, or its vicinity, in 1812, and a year or two later, to Amity, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1816 at the age of fifty-five years. Spaulding had a literary tendency, and while living at Conneaut, he entertained himself with writing a story which purported to be an account of the original inhabitants of the country, their habits, customs and civilization, their migrations and their conflicts. From time to time, as his work went on, he would call in his neighbors and read to them portions of his manuscript, so that they became familiar with his undertaking. He talked with some of them about publishing his book, in the hope of retrieving his fortunes financially; and this appears to have been his purpose when he removed to Pittsburgh.

There is evidence that he conferred with a printer, at Pittsburgh, by the name of Patterson, in reference to the publication, but the book never appeared.

Soon after the publication of the Mormon book in 1830, Mormon preachers appeared in considerable numbers in northern Ohio, and attracted much attention in the neighborhood of Conneaut. At some of their gatherings where the new Bible was read, persons were present who had heard the Spaulding manuscript, and were struck with the resemblance between the two. Thus the opinion arose and was propagated that the Mormon book was written by Solomon Spaulding. It was the proper place for the testing of the theory. The fact that it obtained a foothold there affords a presumption in favor of the idea, and the testimony of parties on the ground, if fully trustworthy, establishes the fact beyond question. These testimonies were gathered in 1833, apparently with reference to their publication in Howe's book. As these are the entire basis of the theory, I will give from the book the essential portions of them, found on pages 278-87. The first is from the testimony of John Spaulding, the brother of Solomon :

In 1810 I removed to Ohio and found him (Solomon) engaged in building a forge. I made him a visit about three years after, and found that he had failed, and considerably involved in debt. He then told me he had been writing a book, which he intended to have printed, the avails of which he thought would enable him to pay all his debts. The book was entitled 'The Manuscript Found,' of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America, endeavoring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews, or the lost tribes. It gave a

detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of Nephi and Lehi. They afterwards had quarrels and contentions, and separated into two distinct nations, one of which he denominated Nephites and the other Lamanites. Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. Their arts, sciences and civilization were brought into view, in order to account for all the curious antiquities found in various parts of North and South America. I have recently read the 'Book of Mormon,' and to my great surprise, I find nearly the same historical matter, names, etc., as they were in my brother's writings. I well remember that he wrote in the old style, and commenced about every sentence with "and it came to pass," or "now it came to pass," the same as in the 'Book of Mormon,' and according to the best of my recollection and belief, it is the same as my brother Solomon wrote, with the exception of the religious matter. By what means it has fallen into the hands of Joseph Smith, Jr., I am unable to determine.

JOHN SPAULDING.

Testimony of Martha, wife of John :

. . . The lapse of time which has intervened, prevents my recollecting but few of the leading incidents of his writings, but the names of Nephi and Lehi, are yet fresh in my memory, as being the principal heroes of his tale. . . . I have read the 'Book of Mormon,' which has brought fresh to my recollection the writing of Solomon Spaulding; and I have no manner of doubt that the historical part of it is the same that I read and heard read more than twenty years ago. The old obsolete style, and the phrases "and it came to pass, etc.," are the same.

MARTHA SPAULDING.

Testimony of Henry Lake, partner of S. Spaulding, Conneaut, September, 1833 :

He (Spaulding) very frequently read to me from a manuscript which he was writing, which he entitled 'The Manuscript Found,' and which he represented as being found in this town. I spent many hours in hearing him read said writings, and became well acquainted with its contents. . . . This book represented the American Indians as the descendants of the lost tribes, gave an account of their leaving Jerusalem, their contentions and wars

which were many and great. One time, when he was reading to me the tragic account of Laban, I pointed out to him what I considered an inconsistency which he promised to correct, but by referring to the 'Book of Mormon,' I find that it stands there just as he read it to me then. Some months ago I borrowed the 'Golden Bible,' put it into my pocket, carried it home and thought no more of it. About a week after, my wife found the book in my coat pocket as it hung up, and commenced reading it aloud as I lay upon the bed. She had not read twenty minutes till I was astonished to find the same passages in it that Spaulding had read to me more than twenty years before from his 'Manuscript Found.' I well recollect telling Mr. Spaulding that the so frequent use of the words "and it came to pass," "now it came to pass," rendered it ridiculous.

HENRY LAKE.

Testimony of Miller, an employé of Spaulding. Springfield, Pennsylvania, September, 1833 :

. . . While there I lodged in the family of Spaulding for several months. I was soon introduced to the manuscripts of Spaulding, and perused them as often as I had leisure. He had written two or three books or pamphlets on different subjects, but that which more particularly attracted my attention was one which he called the 'Manuscript Found.' From this he would frequently read some humorous passages to the company present. It purported to be the history of the first settlement of America before discovered by Columbus. He brought them off from Jerusalem under their leaders, detailing their travels by land and water, their manners, customs, laws, wars, etc. . . . I have recently examined the 'Book of Mormon,' and find in it the writings of Solomon Spaulding, from beginning to end, but mixed up with scripture and other religious matter which I did not meet with in the 'Manuscript Found.' Many of the passages in the 'Mormon Book' are verbatim from Spaulding, and others in part. The names of Nephi, Lehi, Moroni, and in fact all the principal names are brought fresh to my recollection by the 'Gold Bible.'

JOHN N. MILLER.

Testimony of a neighbor, Aaron Wright :

When at his house one day he showed and read to me a history he was writing of the lost tribes of

Israel, purporting that they were the first settlers of America, and that the Indians were their descendants. . . . He traced their journey from Jerusalem to America, as it is given in the 'Book of Mormon,' excepting the religious matter. The historical part of the 'Book of Mormon' I know to be the same as I read and heard read from the writings of Spaulding more than twenty years ago; the names, more especially, are the same without any alteration. . . . In conclusion, I will observe that the names of, and most of the historical part of the 'Book of Mormon,' were as familiar to me before I read it as most modern history. . . .

AARON WRIGHT.

Testimony of O. Smith, a neighbor, with whom Spaulding boarded :

. . . During the time he was at my house I read and heard read one hundred pages or more. Nephi and Lehi were by him represented as leading characters when they first started for America. Their main object was to escape the judgments which they supposed were coming upon the old world; but no religious matter was introduced, as I now recollect. . . . This was the last I heard of Spaulding or his book until the 'Book of Mormon' came into the neighborhood. When I heard the historical part of it related, I at once said it was the writings of old Solomon Spaulding. Soon after, I obtained the book, and on reading it I found much of it the same as Spaulding had written more than twenty years before.

OLIVER SMITH.

Testimony of Nahum Howard. Conneaut, August, 1883 :

I first became acquainted with Solomon Spaulding in December, 1810. After that I frequently saw him at his house and also at my house. I once, in conversation with him, expressed a surprise at not having any account of the inhabitants once in this country who erected the old forts, mounds, etc. He then told me that he was writing a history of that race of people; and afterwards frequently showed me his writings, which I read. I have lately read the 'Book of Mormon,' and believe it to be the same as Spaulding wrote, except the religious part. . . .

NAHUM HOWARD.

Statement of Artemus Cunningham :

. . . Before showing me his manuscripts he went into a verbal relation of its outlines, saying that it was a fabulous or romantic history of the first

settlement of this country, and as it purported to have been a record found buried in the earth, or in a cave, he had adopted the ancient or Scripture style of writing. He then presented his manuscripts, when we sat down and spent a good share of the night in reading and conversing upon them. I well remember the name of Nephi, which appeared to be the principal hero of the story. The frequent repetition of the phrase, "I, Nephi," I recollect as distinctly as though it was yesterday, although the general features of the story have passed from my memory through the lapse of twenty-two years. . . . The Mormon bible I have partially examined, and am fully of the opinion that Solomon Spaulding had written its outlines before he left Conneaut.

This testimony of Cunningham is without his signature, but is called his statement.

Of these eight witnesses, five distinctly state that the religious matter in the 'Book of Mormon' was not contained in Spaulding's manuscript. The others state that the historical part of the 'Book of Mormon' is the same as of Spaulding's 'Manuscript Found.'

Mr. Howe inquired of Mr. Patterson, the printer, at Pittsburgh, with whom it was represented that Spaulding conferred in reference to the publication of his manuscript, but Patterson had, at that time, no recollection on the subject; but in 1842, some eight years after the publication of Howe's book, Mr. Patterson signed a statement certifying that a gentleman had put into the hands of the foreman of his printing office, "a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible," that he (Patterson) read a few pages of it, but as the author could not furnish the means, the manuscript was not printed.

Mr. Howe sent a messenger, D. P. Hurlbut of Conneaut, to the widow of

Solomon Spaulding (Mrs. Davison by a second marriage), who was then living with her daughter in Monson, Massachusetts, to ascertain farther about the manuscript and to procure it if it were still within reach. Mrs. Davison stated that her husband had a variety of manuscripts, one of which was entitled, the 'Manuscript Found,' but of its contents she had no distinct remembrance; she thought it was once taken to Patterson's printing office in Pittsburgh, and whether it was ever returned to the house again she was quite uncertain. If it was returned, it must be with the other manuscripts in a trunk which she left in Otsego county, New York.

This was all that Mrs. D. knew of the manuscript in 1834, when Howe published his book; but in 1839, five years later, a statement was published in the *Boston Recorder* under her signature, in which she describes the manuscript very fully, states very definitely that Mr. Patterson took the manuscript, kept it a long time, was greatly pleased with it, and promised to publish it if Mr. Spaulding would make out a title page and preface, which Mr. S. refused to do. She further states that at her husband's death, the manuscript came into her possession and was carefully preserved. This seems to be a great enlargement of memory or of knowledge since 1834, and it is difficult to read the extended and elaborate statement without reaching the conclusion that Mrs. Spaulding-Davison had very little to do with it. Rev. Robert Patterson, son of Rev. Robert Patterson, the printer, now editor of the Presbyterian *Banner* of Pitts-

burgh, published some years since a paper on this question, and in quoting a paragraph from this statement of Mrs. Spaulding-Davison, he says that it was made to Rev. D. R. Austin of Monson, Massachusetts, written down by him and published in the *Boston Recorder*.

Mr. Hurlbut, on his visit to Mrs. Davison, obtained from her permission to examine the old hair trunk at her cousin's in Hartwick, New York, in which the manuscript, if in existence, was to be found, and to carry it to Mr. Howe for comparison with the 'Book of Mormon.' He found but one manuscript, and this he delivered to Mr. Howe who describes it briefly, but somewhat inaccurately in his book, page 288.

This manuscript, lost sight of since the date of Howe's book, came to light at Honolulu, Hawaiian islands, a year ago last August, in the possession of Mr. L. L. Rice, formerly state printer at Columbus, Ohio. I had asked Mr. Rice, who was an anti-slavery editor in Ohio many years ago, to examine his old pamphlets and papers and see what contributions he could make to the anti-slavery literature of the Oberlin college library. After a few days he brought out an old manuscript with the following certificate on a blank page:

The writings of Solomon Spaulding, proved by Aaron Wright, Oliver Smith, John N. Miller and others. The testimonies of the above gentlemen are now in my possession.

D. P. HURLBUT.

The three men named are of the eight witnesses brought forward by Howe. This manuscript is now in my possession, and it is at hand this evening.

The manuscript proves its own antiquity. It is soiled and worn and discolored with age. It consists of about one hundred and seventy pages, small quarto, unruled, and for the most part closely written—not far from forty-five thousand words. It has been printed by the Josephite Mormons of Lamoni, Iowa, from a copy of the manuscript taken since it came into my possession. As thus printed it makes one hundred and thirty-two pages of three hundred and twenty words each—equal to about one sixth part of the ‘Book of Mormon.’ No date attaches to the manuscript proper, but on a blank page there is a fragment of a letter containing the date, January, 1812. Mr. Rice probably came into possession of the manuscript in 1839, when he succeeded Mr. Howe in the printing office at Painesville, but he has no recollection of ever having seen the manuscript until it came to his notice in Honolulu.

The manuscript has no resemblance to the ‘Book of Mormon,’ except in some very general features. There is not a name or an incident common to the two. It is not written in the solemn, Scripture style. It is a story of the coming to this country, from Rome, of a ship’s company, driven by a storm across the ocean, in the days of the Emperor Constantine. They never returned to their own land, but cast in their lot with the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the country, and it is chiefly occupied with an account of the civilization and conflicts of these tribes—the Delawares, Ohions, Kentucks, Sciotoes, Chiaugans, etc., etc. The names of

persons are entirely original, quite as remarkable as those in the ‘Book of Mormon,’ but never the same—such as Bombal, Kadocam, Lobaska, Hamboon, Ulipoon, Lamesa, etc. The introduction expresses the purpose or motive of the author in its composition, and is as follows—orthography uncorrected, and a few words lost by the crumbling of the manuscript:

Near the west bank of the Conneaught river there are the remains of an ancient fort. As I was walking and forming various conjectures respecting the character, situation and numbers of those people who far exceed the present Indians in works of art and ingenuity, I happened to tread on a flat stone. This was at a small distance from the fort, and it lay on the top of a small mound of earth, exactly horizontal. The face of it had a singular appearance. I discovered a number of characters, which appeared to me to be letters, but so much effaced by the ravages of time, that I could not read the inscription. With the assistance of a leaver I raised the stone; but you may easily conjecture my astonishment when I discovered that its ends and sides rested on stones, and that it was designed as a cover to an artificial cave. I found by examining that its sides were lined with stones built in a conical form, with . . . down, and that it was about eight feet deep. Determined to investigate the design of this extraordinary work of antiquity, I prepared myself with the necessary requisites for that purpose, and descended to the bottom of the cave. Observing one side to be perpendicular nearly three feet from the bottom, I began to inspect that part with accuracy. Here I noticed a big flat stone fixed in the form of a door. I immediately tore it down, and lo! a cavity within the wall presented itself, it being about three feet in diameter from side to side, and about two feet high. Within this cavity I found an earthen box, with a cover which shut it perfectly tight. The box was two feet in length, one and half in breadth, and one and three inches in diameter. My mind, filled with awful sensations which crowded fast upon me, would hardly permit my hands to remove this venerable deposit; but curiosity soon gained the ascendancy; the box was taken and raised to open. When I had removed the cover I found that it contained twenty-eight . . . of parch-

ment, and that when . . . appeared to be manuscripts written in elegant hand, with Roman letters and in the Latin language.

They were written on a variety of subjects, but the roll which principally attracted my attention contained a history of the author's life and that part of America which extends along the great lakes and the waters of the Mississippi.

Solomon Spaulding's attitude toward the sacred Scriptures and Christianity is brought to light by a record, apparently a copy of a letter, on two loose leaves found in connection with the manuscript, written on paper of the same quality, and in the same handwriting; the statement is without beginning or end, but the substantial part remains, as follows:

But having every reason to place the highest confidence in your friendship and prudence, I have no reluctance in complying with your request in giving you my sentiments on the Christian religion, and so far from considering the freedom you take in making the request, impertinence, I view it as a mark of your affectionate solicitude for my happiness. In giving you my sentiments of the Christian religion, you will perceive that I do not believe certain facts and certain propositions to be true, merely because my ancestors believed them and because they are popular. In forming my creed I bring everything to the standard of reason. This is an unerring and sure guide in all matters of faith and practice. Having divested myself, therefore, of traditionary and vulgar prejudice, and submitting to the guidance of reason, it is impossible for me to have the same sentiments of the Christian religion which its advocates consider as orthodox. It is in my view a mass of contradictions, and an heterogeneous mixture of wisdom and folly, nor can I find any clear and incontrovertible evidence of its being a revelation from an infinitely benevolent and wise God. It is true that I have never had the leisure nor patience to read every part of it with critical attention, or to study the metaphysical jargon of divines in its vindication. It is enough for me to know that propositions which are in contradiction to each other cannot both be true, and that doctrines and facts which represent the Supreme Being as a barbarous and cruel tyrant, can never be dictated by infinite wisdom. Whatever the clergy say

on the contrary can have no effect in altering my sentiments. I know as well as they that two and two make four, and that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. But, notwithstanding, I disavow any belief in the divinity of the Bible, and consider it a mere human production, designed to enrich and aggrandize its authors and enable them to manage the multitude; yet casting aside a considerable mass of rubbish and fanatical rant, I find that it contains a system of ethics or morals which cannot be excelled on account of their tendency to ameliorate the condition of man, to promote individual, social and public happiness, and that in various instances it represents the Almighty as possessing attributes worthy of a transcendent character; having a view, therefore, to those parts of the Bible which are truly good and excellent and sometimes speak of it in terms of high commendation, and indeed, I am inclined to believe that, notwithstanding the mischiefs and injuries which have been produced by the bigoted zeal of fanatics and interested priests, yet that these evils are more than counterbalanced in a Christian land by the benefits which result to the great mass of the people by their believing that the Bible is of divine origin, and that it contains a revelation from God. Such being my view of the subject, I make no exertions to dissipate their happy delusion.

The only important question connected with this manuscript is, what light, if any, does it throw on the origin of the 'Book of Mormon?' This manuscript clearly was not the basis of the book. Was there another manuscript, which Spaulding was accustomed to read to his neighbors, out of which the 'Book of Mormon' grew, under the hand of Sidney Rigdon or Joseph Smith, or both? If we could accept without misgiving the testimony of the eight witnesses brought forward in Howe's book, we should be obliged to accept the fact of another manuscript. We are to remember that twenty-two years or more had elapsed since they had heard the manuscript read; and before they began to recall their remem-

branches they had read, or heard the 'Book of Mormon,' and also the suggestion that the book had its origin in the manuscript of Spaulding. What effect these things had upon the exactness of their memory is matter of doubt. No one was present to cross-question, and Hurlbut and Howe were intent upon finding the testimony to support their theory.

In its more general features the present manuscript fulfills the requirements of the 'Manuscript Found.' It purports to have been taken from an artificial cave in a mound, and thus was naturally called the 'Manuscript Found.' It sets forth the coming of a colony from the eastern continent, and is an account of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, suggested by the mounds and earthworks in the vicinity of the author, and was written to explain the origin of these works. This purpose it pursues with a directness not found in the 'Book of Mormon.' These general features would naturally bring it to remembrance, on reading the account of the finding of the plates of the 'Book of Mormon.'

Of the eight witnesses brought forward by Howe, five are careful to except the "religious matter" of the 'Book of Mormon,' as not contained in the manuscript of Spaulding, and the theory is that this matter was interpolated by Sidney Rigdon, or some other man who expanded the manuscript into the book. This strikes me as an important circumstance. The 'Book of Mormon' is permeated in every page and paragraph with religious and Scrip-

tural ideas. It is first and foremost a religious book, and the contrast between it and the supposed manuscript must have been very striking to have led five of these witnesses to call this difference to mind and mention it, after the lapse of twenty years and more. The other three witnesses are careful to say that the 'Book of Mormon,' in its "historical parts," is derived from the Spaulding manuscript, thus implying the same exception expressed by the others. Now it is difficult—almost impossible, to believe that the religious sentiments of the 'Book of Mormon' were wrought into it by interpolation. They are of the original tissue and substance of the document, and a man as self-reliant and smart as Sidney Rigdon, with a superabundant gift of tongue and every form of utterance, would never have accepted the servile task. There could have been no motive to it, nor could the blundering syntax of the 'Book of Mormon' have come from Rigdon's hand. He had a gift of speech which would have made the style distasteful and impossible to him.

The minuter features of the testimony of these witnesses are obviously of more weight in their bearing upon the probability of another manuscript. When they speak of the Scripture style of the manuscript, the frequent recurrence of the expression, "and it came to pass," the names recalled, "Nephi," "Lehi," and others, the remembrance seems too definite to be called in question. But it must be remembered that the 'Book of Mormon' was fresh in their minds, and their recollections of

the manuscript found were very remote and dim. That under the pressure and suggestion of Hurlbut and Howe, they should put the ideas at hand in place of those remote and forgotten, and imagine that they remembered what they had recently read, would be only an ordinary example of the frailty of memory, and it would not be unnatural or improbable that such an illusion should be propagated among Spaulding's old neighbors at Conneaut. This view must, of course, be purely hypothetical, and could have little force against the positive testimony.

There has been an attempt to support the testimony of these Conneaut witnesses by following the manuscript through Patterson's office, at Pittsburgh, to the hands of Sidney Rigdon. This theory is sustained by abundance of conjecture, but by very little positive evidence. It has come to be a tradition that Rigdon was a printer in Patterson's office when Spaulding went to Pittsburgh, and thus became acquainted with the manuscript, either stole it or copied it, and after brooding over it fifteen years brought out the Mormon Bible. This would be interesting if true; but there seems no ground to dispute the positive testimony of Rigdon's brothers that he was never a printer, and never lived in Pittsburgh at all until 1822, eight years after Spaulding left, and then was there as pastor of a Baptist church.

Rigdon sent from Nauvoo, in 1839, to the *Boston Journal*, an indignant denial of the statement of Mrs. Spaulding-Davison, already referred to. A sen-

tence or two from this denial will be sufficient:

It is only necessary to say, in relation to the whole story about Spaulding's writings being in the hands of Mr. Patterson, who was at Pittsburgh, and who is said to have kept a printing office, etc., etc., is the most base of lies, without even the shadow of truth. . . . If I were to say that I ever heard of the Rev. Solomon Spaulding and his hopeful wife until D. P. Hurlbut wrote his lie about me, I should be a liar like unto themselves.

The claim in reference to Rigdon's connection with the Spaulding manuscript seems to become more and more definite with every new statement of the case, and without any addition to the evidence. Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, a grandniece of Mrs. Solomon Spaulding, in her 'New Light on Mormonism,' recently published, finds it easy to put imaginings in the place of facts, in her statements in reference to Rigdon, as follows:

At an early age he was a printer by trade, and is known to have been in Conneaut, Ohio, at the time Spaulding read his 'Manuscript Found' to his neighbors, . . . and it is easy to believe the report that he followed or preceded Spaulding to Pittsburgh, knowing all his plans, in order to obtain his manuscript, or copy it, while it was in Patterson's printing house—an easy thing to do, as the fact of the manuscript being left carelessly in the office for months, is not questionable.—P. 47.

Over against these fancies are the facts given in the testimony of Rigdon's brothers, published by Rev. Robert Patterson of Pittsburgh, that when Spaulding was reading his manuscript to his neighbors in Conneaut, Rigdon was a boy seventeen or eighteen years of age, on his father's farm in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania; that he never was a printer, and did not live in

Pittsburgh until 1822, six years after Spaulding's death.

Another example of the increasing definiteness of the tradition may be found in a volume just published at Cincinnati, giving an account of the various religious sects. Speaking of the 'Book of Mormon,' the writer says: "Rigdon, who afterwards became Smith's right-hand man, is known to have copied this (Spaulding's) manuscript. A comparison of the 'Book of Mormon' with the original manuscript of this novel, satisfies all, except professing Mormons, that the Mormon bible is simply the old novel revised and corrected by Smith and Rigdon"—an illustration of the facility with which a shadowy tradition becomes definite history.

It does not appear that Smith and Rigdon had any acquaintance with each other until after the publication of the Mormon book. In Howe's book we have a full account of Rigdon's conversion to Mormonism at Mentor, in the autumn of 1830, when Parley P. Pratt introduced to him two Mormon missionaries from Palmyra, New York. In a pamphlet published by Pratt, in 1838, he gives a similar account of Rigdon's conversion and states positively that Smith and Rigdon never saw each other until early in 1831. So far as I am aware, there is nothing to disprove this statement.

A somewhat prevalent theory, which

Mrs. Dickinson maintains, is that Hurlbut took *two* manuscripts from the old trunk in Hartwick, New York—one the genuine 'Manuscript Found,' which he treacherously sold to the Mormons, the other which he delivered to Howe, and which is present this evening. Of this there seems to be no proof. Howe intimates no such thing in his book. It is true that Mrs. Dickinson reports an interview of her own with Howe, in 1830, in which he expresses the opinion that Hurlbut had two manuscripts, one of which he sold to the Mormons, but in the appendix to her book (page 259) she publishes a letter from Howe to Hurlbut, written two or three months before the interview, in which he disclaims any such suspicion.

There are those who claim to know that the last manuscript is still in existence, and will be brought to light at some future day. It would not seem unreasonable to suspend judgment in the case until the new light shall come. Professor Whitsitt of the Southern Baptist Theological seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, has given much attention to the internal structure of the 'Book of Mormon,' and is about to publish a life of Sidney Rigdon in which he will maintain, and expects to prove, that Rigdon is responsible for the 'Book of Mormon,' and that he had Spaulding's manuscript as the basis of his work.

JAMES H. FAIRCHILD.

Oberlin, Ohio.

BANKS AND BANKERS OF CLEVELAND.

III.

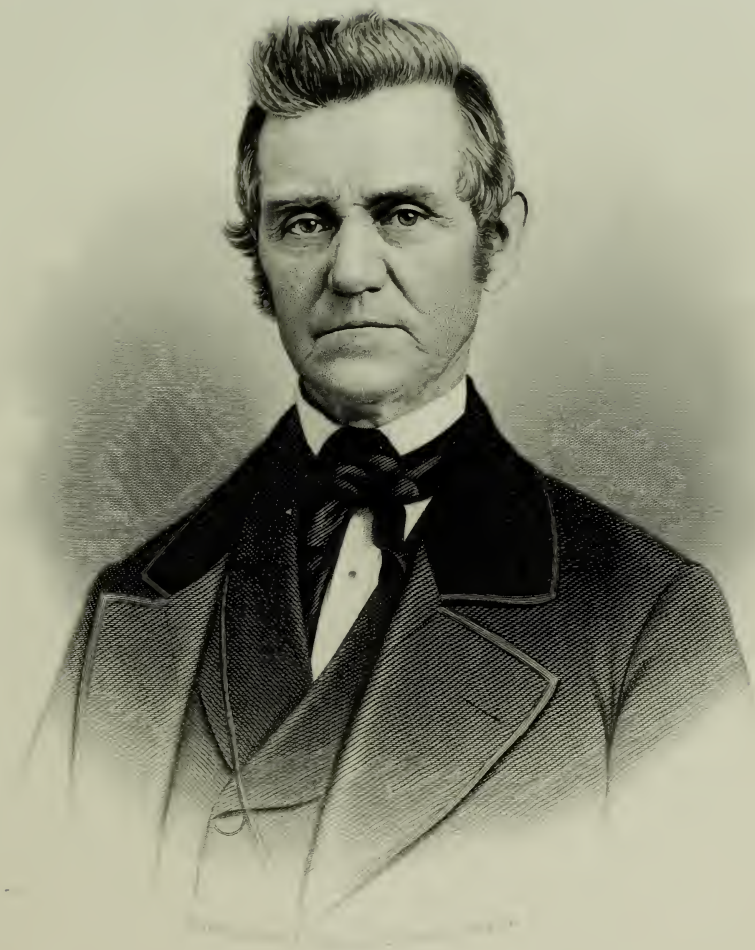
WILLIAM A. OTIS.

William A. Otis, who was one of the pioneer merchants of northern Ohio, one of the early iron makers of Cleveland, and a moving spirit in many lines of usefulness, had so potent an influence on the banking interests of this city, that a consideration of this question with no mention of him would be an oversight beyond excuse. One of the organizers of the Commercial National bank and for five years its president, one of the originators of the Society for Savings and its first president, and for some time a member of a prominent private banking house, he was from 1845 to 1868 a leading spirit in financial circles, and did much to give Cleveland that high repute for integrity and business honor she has so well maintained.

Mr. Otis was descended from a family that has for many years held an honorable position in America. John Otis, the earliest ancestor of whom trace can be discovered, was born in Barnstable, Devonshire, England, in 1581, and came to Hingham, New England, in 1635. Among his descendants was James Otis, the great orator and patriot of Massachusetts, of whom it has been said that he, perhaps, did more than any other man of his time "to place colonial resistance upon its true ground before the

world, namely, the rights of Englishmen under the British constitution as declared in the great instruments of English freedom from *magna charta* down." The subject of this sketch was a direct descendant of this great patriot and brilliant man.

Himself of New England birth, he combined with high moral character and a natural honesty, the elements of courage, industry and business sense, so necessary in making headway in a new and undeveloped land. Equipped with such advantages as were given to the New England youth of those days, he left home in 1818, on foot, to seek a location and to make himself a future in the west. He was ready and willing to enter any useful and honorable occupation that should command the service of his hands or head, and accordingly on reaching Pittsburgh, then the gateway to the west, he went to work in an iron foundry at Johnston, in the Alleghany mountains. He began in the simplest forms of the business, but did so well whatever he undertook that he was soon promoted to the higher grades of labor, and was paid what was a generous salary in those times. He remained there for over two years, leaving his savings in the hands of the firm. The failure of the company at the end



Wm A Otis

of the time specified above not only deprived him of a situation, but swept away all his hard-earned savings. The blow was a severe one, and yet the time was by no means lost, as the knowledge he had gained of the iron business was of great aid to him in after years, when he started one of the first iron-making establishments of Cleveland, and did much for the upbuilding of that great industry in this city.

Mr. Otis decided to make his second trial at some point further west, and accordingly proceeded to Bloomfield, Trumbull county, where he formed the acquaintance of Ephraim Brown, one of the chief owners of the place. In 1816 Mr. Brown had brought a stock of goods from Boston, and opened a store in the pioneer village. When the young man fresh from the labor of the iron mill, strong physically, with a pleasant address, and full of self-reliance, formed the acquaintance of the merchant, the latter was so taken with him that he persuaded him to remain and try his fortune at that point. The result was that Mr. Otis obtained an interest in the store, and thus became the second merchant of that township. He worked with a steady purpose and will, and while winning his way to material success, also gained the good will and confidence of all the people of that section. As a picture of his life and varied duties in those days, I quote the following, written only a short time after Mr. Otis' death, by one who knew him well—giving as it does, at the same time, some idea of the commercial methods of those days:

His physical constitution was equal to the labors of a new country, which had nothing to recommend it but a rich soil, and which required above all things perseverance and hard work. He cleared land, furnished the settlers with goods, for which they paid in ashes or wheat, and kept a comfortable tavern for the accommodation of travelers. The ashes were manufactured by himself into "black salts," or impure potash, more often styled "pots," which was the only strictly cash article in the country. It was necessary to haul the casks of potash to the mouth of the Beaver river, or to Pittsburgh, from whence they drifted on flat-boats down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, and from thence were shipped to New York. Much of the teaming he did himself. The "pots" were exchanged at Pittsburgh for goods, or if shipped, furnished a credit for the purchaser, with which his wagon was loaded on the return to Bloomfield. Currency did not in those days enter into the course of trade, because there was barely enough of it in the country to pay taxes. Mr. Otis was frequently obliged to furnish his customers with cash for this purpose. When the Erie canal was finished to Buffalo, the wheat of the settlers on the Reserve for the first time became a cash article. They had an abundance of grain which they were glad to dispose of at twenty-five cents a bushel, payable principally in goods. The canal furnished a better outlet for potash than the river.

While engaged in these labors, Mr. Otis decided to venture a consignment of flour to New York, a thing not then attempted from the Reserve. He had his own barrels made from the oak direct, bought his grain and had it ground in a grist-mill near by, and then hauled his flour through the mud to Ashtabula creek, thirty-five miles distant. It was then loaded aboard a schooner, on which Mr. Otis also took passage. At Buffalo the cargo was transferred to the canal, and from thence onward to New York. The merchants of that city were surprised and pleased, as they thus saw the possibilities of a new wheat region opened up on the

south shore of Lake Erie. The flour was purchased readily, and the enterprising young merchant was told to follow the first consignment by others. He did so, and also added pork and wool to his shipments. He was busy, and was prospered financially. During his residence in Bloomfield he had a part in many local improvements and enterprises, and worked in many ways for the public good. He was one of the projectors of the turnpike road that ran from Warren to Ashtabula, and also among the earliest friends and supporters of the canals when those great artificial waterways were first proposed. In 1834 he was elected, much against his wish, as one of the representatives of Trumbull county to the general assembly of Ohio, and gave to his public duties the same care, attention and command of practical good sense that were such prominent features of his business life.

In 1836 Mr. Otis, feeling the need of a wider field and opportunities more commensurate with his matured power, decided on a change of location, and selected Cleveland as his future home. The welcome given him here was equaled by the regret of his old friends and associates in Trumbull county. He became from the first the active, moving force in one place that he had been in the other. He had command of a considerable capital, and was justified in larger operations than had been possible before. He continued in the old line of business, buying and selling flour, pork and potash, to which iron was soon added. From the first he

took a leading position among the business men of Cleveland. The needs and prospects of the iron business took a strong hold on his interests from the first, and in 1840 he decided on a venture that took some courage and capital, but that seemed in his careful judgment to offer a sure reward for the future. He built the first iron works of any size in Cleveland, and thus laid the foundation of the marvelous industry that has since grown up within these borders. He was busy and helpful to the growing city in other ways. When the building of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad was proposed, Mr. Otis was one of the first men to put his shoulders to the wheel, and to freely offer his time and money to the advancement of an enterprise he had the vision to see would become one of Cleveland's surest roads to prosperity. He not only aided it himself, but he went forth and labored with others in its behalf. He was also an earnest friend to the Cleveland & Pittsburgh road, and to the Bellefontaine & Indianapolis line. He was a director in the two first named for many years, at a time when men managed roads in the interest of the owners and the public, and not for the benefit of a few railroad magnates. In these lines and the great benefit they have been to Cleveland, can be found enduring records of the wisdom, good judgment and honest purpose of William A. Otis and the men who labored with him in those days.

Mr. Otis, connection with the banks of Cleveland was of an enduring and beneficial character. The Commercial

bank of Cleveland was organized in 1845 as a branch bank of the State Bank of Ohio, with a capital stock of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Mr. Otis was one of the originators and chief moving spirits in bringing this great corporation into being, and was made a member of its first board of directors. He was also chosen its president, Mr. T. P. Handy becoming cashier. The capital stock was gradually increased as the demands of the business grew, until 1848, when it stood at one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. In November, 1858, Mr. Otis, by reason of the pressure of other business, decided to resign the presidency of the bank, and was succeeded by Mr. Handy. In January, 1862, Mr. Otis was again prevailed upon to accept his old place, and remained therein until the bank wound up its affairs, on the expiration of its charter in 1865. Its place was immediately taken by its successor, the Commercial National bank, that was organized with a capital stock of six hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Otis was one of the corporators, a member of the board of directors, and the president, which position he held until his death in 1868. The growth of the bank in business and reputation under his care was steady and permanent, so much so that the capital stock had to be increased from time to time. His wise counsel, good judgment, and far-seeing financial vision, were ever at the service of the bank, and his personal reputation was such as to inspire the fullest public confidence in the institution under his control. In 1851 Mr.

Otis became a member of the private banking house of Wicks, Otis & Brownell, but disposed of his interest to his partners in 1854. His work in connection with the Society for Savings was of a noble character, and demands for him the honor and gratitude of every person who has received benefit from that beneficent institution. It never could have become the great power for good into which it has grown had not Mr. Otis given it inspiration and aid in a time when it needed both. The history of that institution has already been given in these pages, and need not be repeated here. Mr. Otis was one of its corporators, and its friend from the day of its birth until the close of his life. He held the position of president for thirteen years, and that at a time when able financial management and the gaining of the confidence of the people were needed to make of it a success. He was also one of the means by which the State Bank of Ohio came into being, was one of its organizers, and a member of the board of control that had in its charge during the entire period of its existence. Of the work that was there done one of the historians of that institution* has said :

The State Bank of Ohio demonstrated the wisdom of its founders. It lived through some troublesome times, but kept its integrity. It did what it was designed to do, furnished a safe circulating medium for the people of the state, at all times convertible into coin, and at the same time paid its stockholders a good interest on their investment. But the success of the bank was assured under the control of such men as managed it. It is safe to assume that

* Honorable J. J. Janney, in *Magazine of Western History* for June, 1885.

no other organization existed in the state including such an array of men remarkable for intelligence, morality and upright business integrity.

Mr. Otis was connected with many of the great improvements inaugurated and carried forward in Cleveland during his residence here. He was one of the originators and first members of the Cleveland board of trade. He was one of the commissioners representing Cleveland in the negotiations that culminated in the union of Ohio City and the city of Cleveland into one great corporate body, and that result was greatly aided by his quiet influence and diplomacy in handling any measure entrusted to his hands. In a short history of the Cleveland water works I find the following reference to the subject of this sketch:

There was much preliminary discussion, many surveys and estimates made, and in 1854, a plan was adopted. To carry out this plan on the first day of May, 1854, the passage of an act of the legislature was procured, enabling the city to locate its reservoir and make its connections with the lake within the limits of the city of Ohio, and authorizing the city to make a loan of one hundred thousand dollars to carry out the project. The loan was conditioned upon a vote of popular approval, which was given. Backed by the credit of such sterling men as Richard Hilliard and W. A. Otis, the city readily negotiated the loan, and the work was entered upon.

The history of Cleveland from 1836 to 1868 is full of such references to Mr. Otis, showing where he had been of public service, and always proving him useful, industrious and on the side of progress and right. He was one whom men could respect and honor, and in his long business life in Cleveland, no stain was ever cast upon his reputation.

“During an acquaintance extending

through the last thirty years of the life of Mr. Otis,” recently said Hon. J. J. Janney of Columbus, “which brought me in close business relationship with him, I found him to be a man on whose wisdom and integrity I could rely for counsel on all occasions and under all circumstances; one who did not put religion on as a Sunday garment, but took it with him into the business of every week day; to be in its fullest acceptance, that highest type of human character, a Christian gentleman.” The echo of this sentiment could be discovered in the hearts of all who knew him well, and I could set down here many incidents in illustration of his stern and unwavering honesty, and how it was so carried out in little things as to make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of his children and those about him. He was simple in his tastes and habits of life, and as wealth came to him as a reward for his application and industry, there was no increase of display on his part, but his charities were largely increased, and especially among those connected with his church. As a business man he was conservative and cautious, yet he knew when and where to take risks, and once embarked in an enterprise had the courage to see it through to the end. Personally, he was of a genial, pleasant disposition, enjoying the society of his friends and family, and living loyally up to every duty of his public, business or social life. He was one of those men who can be independent without being obstinate; conservative, but not harnessed to dogmas or



O. K. Mathew

rules; seldom aggressive, but never crowded off the platform of his own judgment.

Like the shock fully ripe for the harvest, Mr. Otis was called away from the scene of his earnest activity, on May 11, 1868. When the announcement of his death was made there was universal sorrow throughout the city, and the people felt as though they had lost a benefactor and friend. A formal meeting of all the bankers of Cleveland was held, and the expressions to which they gave formal voice may well be taken for the feeling of the public at large. A tribute was paid to his "wise counsels, his high regard for integrity and mercantile honor, his exemplary Christian life," and the esteem and confidence in which he was held by everybody. The following were among the resolutions adopted:

Resolved, That, while we deeply mourn the loss of our departed brother, we commend his virtues and especially his high standing of Christian integrity for the imitation of the young men of our city, as the most certain means to a successful business life, and a fitting preparation for its final close.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the family of our deceased friend in the loss that both they and we are called to sustain, feeling assured that after so long a life of Christian fidelity this loss to him is an infinite gain.

An extended article in the *Cleveland Leader* upon his life and character, published soon after his death, contains these words:

Mr. Otis has been a resident of this city for a third of a century, and during the whole of his life among us his irreproachable character and eminent public and social virtues have won the esteem of the community. He was one of the first to apprehend and improve the unusual advantages which Cleveland offered as a manufacturing city, and his sagacious

foresight and judicious enterprise have contributed in no small degree to the successful development of our manufacturing interests. . . The current of his Christian life was calm and peaceful even to the close, and when at last the summons came it found him ready.

Soon after coming to Cleveland Mr. Otis united with the First Presbyterian church. He was soon elected an elder, and held that position until the Second Presbyterian church was founded in 1844, of which he became a corporator. He was among the first of its elected elders, and held that position until his death. He was a faithful and earnest official, and did everything in his power for the advancement and upbuilding of not only his own church and denomination, but of the Christian church everywhere.

Mr. Otis was married in 1824 to Eliza Proctor of Manchester, Massachusetts, and to that union three children were born, Hon. Charles A. Otis, of Cleveland, president of the Otis Iron and Steel company; Eliza P., wife of Hon. T. D. Crocker of Cleveland, and William H. Otis, late of Indianapolis, Indiana.

SAMUEL H. MATHER.

A wise and timely suggestion made many years ago by a young man who had cast his fortunes with those of the growing city of Cleveland, gave to this community an institution that has had a beneficial influence in many directions, has grown into a great power, and a source of pride to every citizen. I refer to the Society for Savings, and to Samuel H. Mather, its chief originator, and president. If Mr. Mather had per-

formed no other service, the work he has done in and through this savings bank of the people would make him worthy of public gratitude.

Mr. Mather's ancestral tree finds its roots set in American soil as early as 1635, when Richard Mather, an Englishman of good family descent, came to this country and settled as pastor of the church in Dorchester, Massachusetts, now a part of Boston. Those famous New Englanders, Cotton and Increase Mather, were among his descendants. Mr. S. H. Mather's grandfather was Augustus Mather, a physician of large practice in East Haddam, Connecticut. His father, Ozias Mather, was a physician, educated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the City of New York. He made his home in New Hampshire, to which the tide of Connecticut emigration was then running, as it did afterwards to New Connecticut, or the Western Reserve in the far west. He settled there about 1810, and practiced in Lempster and Washington. While at the former place he was married to Harriet Brainard, daughter of Jabez Brainard.

Two sons were born to them. The elder, Henry B., became one of the leading business men of Boston, being connected for over forty years with Hon. Amos A. Lawrence. He died two years ago. The younger, the subject of this sketch, was born March 20, 1813, in Washington, New Hampshire. In the summer following, his father, accompanied by a friend, drove in a private conveyance to Rochester, New York. On his return he was taken with

fever, which terminated in his death in September. Samuel H. was given good educational advantages, and graduated from Dartmouth college in 1834. Deciding upon the profession of the law, he entered the office of Sill & Kidder, in Geneva, New York, where he remained about fifteen months. In December, 1835, he came to Cleveland, which has been his permanent home from that day to this. He entered the law office of Andrews & Foote, composed of the Hon. Sherlock J. Andrews and Hon. John A. Foote. It was the leading law firm of Cleveland at that time, and the young student received a training that had its effect all through his professional and business life. He was admitted to practice in the Ohio courts at Columbus, in December, 1836, and to the United States district court in 1843. On his admission to the Ohio bar he began the practice of law in Cleveland, and was engaged therein for fifteen years, until he saw a wider and more imperative field of duty in another direction. While at the bar he met with success, and showed the possession of qualities that in time would have led him into the front rank. His business capacity, honesty and personal character were such that he won his way from the start.

Early in 1849, while Mr. Mather and Charles J. Woolson were in conversation, the subject of savings banks came up and the idea became fixed in the mind of the young lawyer. He believed that the experiments already demonstrated into successes in the east could be made with a like result here. He

was business man enough to know that the trial might be a long and difficult one, as nothing of that character had ever been attempted west of the Alleghany mountains. The people had not been educated into habits of systematic saving; and the conservatism of capital is never more clearly shown than among those to whom a small sum means their all, and who are asked to venture that all in a direction toward which their experience has not yet pointed. Mr. Mather saw all this, but decided to try what could be done. He called on Mr. William A. Otis and men of like experience and public spirit, and laid his plans before them. The reception was favorable, and through the encouragement thus received he prepared a charter. It was sent to the general assembly of Ohio, and passed on April 4, 1849. The Society of Savings thus began its legal existence, and entered upon the career of usefulness and prosperity it has since enjoyed. But the success did not come in a day or a year. It was a long, hard road to travel at first. A room but twenty feet square, in the rear of the Merchants' bank, and opening on Bank street was secured, a part of it being used for the bank, while the rest was occupied by Mr. Mather and others for their offices. The first deposit was of ten dollars. One can hardly understand the apathy, not to say distrust, then held by the public toward institutions of that character.

Mr. Mather has been officially connected with the Society for Savings from the day of its origin. He was elected its first secretary, but from the

fact that his law office was in the same room as the bank, and because of his peculiar interest in its welfare, he had the work of the treasurer also to look after. In 1852 he was elected treasurer, combining the two offices in one, and giving his whole time to the business of the bank. He continued in this relation until the death of Samuel Williamson in January, 1884, when he was elected president and has since held that position.

The growth of the bank was rapid after the early days of question and uncertainty had been passed. Success soon became a fixed fact. In 1857 more room was demanded, and the bank was removed to the corner of Bank and Frankfort streets. In 1867 the society completed its own structure on the public square and took possession, where it has since remained. The bank is now one of the great institutions of the city. It has the largest business of any of its character west of the Hudson river. Its deposits amount to over twelve million dollars, and the number of its depositors is over thirty-one thousand. The plan on which it was organized shows wisdom and far-sightedness on part of its founders. Its business is placed in the hands of twenty-four trustees, composed of the most substantial and best qualified citizens of Cleveland. It has now a surplus fund of over one million dollars, but no capital stock, every dollar of the assets belonging to the depositors, who receive its entire net earnings, except the amount required by necessary expenses in conducting the business. The

monies are simply held in trust by the management, who have not the power to control a dollar of it, except as provided in the articles of incorporation, which read as follows :

The said society shall be capable of receiving from any person or persons disposed to obtain and enjoy the advantages of said corporation, any deposit or deposits of money, and to use and improve the same for the purposes and according to the directions herein mentioned and provided ; that all deposits of money received by said society shall be used and improved to the best advantage, and in a manner not inconsistent with the laws of the state ; and the income or profits thereof shall be applied and divided among the persons making the deposits, their executors or administrators, in just proportion, with such reasonable deduction as may be chargeable thereon ; and the principal of such deposits may be withdrawn at such times and in such manner as the said society shall direct and appoint.

The real life work of Samuel H. Mather is to be found in this institution. He has, so to speak, cemented his integrity and ability into every layer of this great and solid structure. He was with it in the early days of trial and doubt, and could all the inside history be understood we would probably find that he more than once gave the courage and faith needed to decide between failure and success at some critical point. The good service thus commenced has been continued on into the present. With a natural aptitude for finances and a thorough knowledge of men, Mr. Mather combines an acquaintance with the law that has been of great help in making the peculiar line of investments incident to a bank of this character. Careful, conservative and watchful in the administration of the important trusts reposed in his hands, he unites a sound judgment therewith, and a vision that can

discern from the events of to-day the probabilities of to-morrow. His standing in this community is of the highest for honesty, fair-mindedness and honor, in all his personal as well as his business transactions.

Mr. Mather has served the community in ways other than those described above. His tastes and disposition do not run toward public station nor official life, but on several occasions he has waived his personal preferences and accepted public duties that were laid upon him. In 1840 he was appointed a member of the Cleveland board of education, and served one term. Ward managements and politics had not then entered the domain of education and only men of education and high standing were chosen by the city council to school offices. His associates on the board were Levi Tucker, Silas Belden, and Robert Cather. The public school system of Cleveland was then in embryo, and all that was done had to be done carefully and with reference to the future.

The only school buildings then owned by the city were the old academy building on St. Clair street, and two buildings erected by the city, one being the old Rockwell school on the site of the present great structure, and the other that on Prospect street now used for the normal school. It was during this term of service that Mr. Andrew Freese came to Cleveland, and was placed at the head of the Prospect street school. Mr. Mather was again appointed to the school board in 1854 serving through that year and the two following. During this period he was secretary of the board,



Western 500 70

W. A. Hanna

and therefore the business manager of the schools under the system that then prevailed. He gave care and attention to the duties of his position, doing what he could for the advancement of popular education, and aiding materially in helping the Cleveland schools onward toward what they have since become.

During the war, Mr. Mather was treasurer of the Cleveland committee of the United States Christian commission, that great organization formed for the purpose of giving direct personal and special relief to the soldiers and sailors of the Union army, and in doing missionary work among them—shedding as far as possible the beneficent light of Christianity upon the darkness and horror of war. The work of the Cleveland branch was not as large, proportionately, as at some other points, as the field was so fully covered here by the wonderful efforts and results of the Soldiers' Aid society. Still, many delegates were sent forth from here and much good done.

Mr. Mather was one of the originators of the Second Presbyterian church of Cleveland in 1844, and has been an elder thereof from that day until this. He was clerk of the session for thirty-nine years. He was married on May 9, 1842, to Emily W. Greogory, daughter of Dr. N. M. Greogory of Rensselaer county, New York.

M. A. HANNA.

Mr. M. A. Hanna, who is identified with the banking interests of Cleveland through his presidency of the Union National bank, has had so large a share

in various lines of commerce and business during the past twenty years, that one would hardly imagine that he is still a young man so far as activity and enthusiasm are concerned, and yet on the sunny side of fifty in the matter of years. He is an Ohioan in every nerve and fibre of his being, and by birth and nature in full accord with the best forms of Western Reserve thought and sentiment. He was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana county, Ohio, on September 24, 1837. His father, Dr. Leonard Hanna, was one of the leading men of that section of the country, and in 1852 removed to Cleveland, where he became one of the members of the wholesale grocery house of Hanna, Garretson & Co., his partners being his brother Robert Hanna and Hiram Garretson. The location of the firm was on Merwin street, and it was one of the leading business houses of the city; and among the many ways in which it aided in building up the trade of Cleveland was the establishment of a vessel line between here and the then opening region of Lake Superior.

The early boyhood of the subject of this sketch was spent in Columbiana county; and the vitality, energy and capacity for work which so greatly characterize Mr. Hanna had their foundation in those days. Those who knew him then say that he was never a laggard at his tasks. On the removal of Dr. Hanna to Cleveland in 1852 the son was given a thorough education in the Cleveland schools, and supplemented by a season in the Western Reserve college at Hudson. At the age of

twenty he entered the employ of the firm of which his father was a member, and continued with that and its successor, Robert Hanna & Co., until 1867. During his service in that house, where he showed the possession of the finest business qualities and performed his duties with industry and faithfulness, he originated the Buckeye Oil company, which he managed in connection with his other duties. On September 27, 1864, he was married to Miss C. Agusta Rhodes, daughter of the late D. P. Rhodes, and in 1867, on the retirement from business of the firm of Rhodes & Card, he went into its successor, the firm of Rhodes & Co., that consisted of Robert Rhodes, G. H. Warmington and Mr. Hanna. They were heavy dealers in coal and iron, with office and yards on the river, and for a number of years did a most extensive business. Their mines were located in the Tuscarawas valley, while their trade extended all over the country. Their office was afterwards removed to Water street, and more recently to the Grand Arcade block on St. Clair street. In April, 1885, the partnership was dissolved, and was succeeded by the firm of M. A. Hanna & Co., which purchased the business, and continued it as heretofore.

While Mr. Hanna's labors were for a number of years mainly given to this great enterprise, he was interested in many ways in other lines of commercial and business activity. In 1872 he organized, in connection with other leading Cleveland capitalists, the Cleveland Transportation company, which built a

line of steamers and their consorts for the Lake Superior iron ore trade. Mr. Hanna has been one of its directors from the first, and was for several years its general manager. When his other business interests grew to such an extent as to demand the most of his time, he resigned that position. In 1881 he organized the West Republic Mining company of Marquette county, Michigan, and was elected its president, which position with that of director he still holds. He is a director and president of the Chapin Nut and Bolt company. In 1882 he organized the St. Paul & Pacific Coal and Iron company, with headquarters at St. Paul, Minnesota, and was elected its president and continues in the same position. It is a large and important company, working in connection with the Reading Coal and Iron company of Pennsylvania, and having built large docks at Superior City, on the head of Lake Superior. He was a director in and vice-president of the Hubbell Stove company of Buffalo. In 1882 he purchased a controlling interest in the West Side Street Railroad company, and with his usual courage and enterprise put money and management enough into it to make it a street railroad in fact as in name. He was elected the president of the company, and on its recent consolidation with the Woodland Avenue Railroad company, was continued in the same capacity under the new regime.

Mr. Hanna was one of the founders of the new Union National bank in 1884, and was elected one of its directors and president. The position is not

regarded by him as a merely honorary one, but he gives to it the same care, close attention and business sagacity that he has displayed in other enterprises. It has ever been one of his fundamental principles of action to give the same honest care and good faith to the interests of others when reposed in his hands, as he expends upon his own. In 1877 he purchased the Euclid Avenue Opera house, which he still owns, and which he has made one of the finest and most popular theatres in the west. In 1880 Mr. Hanna purchased an interest in the *Cleveland Herald*, a Republican newspaper which had been seeing hard times for a number of years, and was chosen president of the Herald Publishing company, which position he held until its sale to the *Leader* and *Plain Dealer*, in 1885. He has also been interested, through the holding of stock or otherwise, in other enterprises needless to enumerate here.

Mr. Hanna has always been a Republican and a believer in a tariff for the protection of American industry. This belief has not come to him merely as the teaching of some one else, but through his personal observation and knowledge of the question, and because he has brought his business sense to bear upon it, and studied it from the practical standpoint. He is one of those who believe that every business man should exercise the right influence in the conduct of affairs, and not stand off and deplore public evils without doing anything to prevent or remove them. He believes in personal effort as a

matter of right and duty in all important political campaigns, local as well as state or national. For this reason he has recently taken part in political affairs to a greater or less degree, and not because he had any personal ambition to gratify. Every suggestion in the latter direction has been met with a refusal, as he has no desire or wish to hold public office. He has, however, been called upon to serve his party in several important instances, being selected as one of the delegates-at-large from the Republican state convention of 1884, to the national convention at Chicago; and also serving on the Republican state executive committee in 1884 and 1885. His devotion to his party is founded on the belief that its principles are right, and that in their advancement the greatest good is done the country at large, and therefore he advocates them with that vigor and earnestness put forth in his business affairs. While in control of the *Herald* and giving direction to its policy, his instructions were that the Republican party should be upheld and defended while it was in the right, and criticised and not supported when in the wrong. Its editor was left to a perfect freedom as to details of policy, and during his entire control, Mr. Hanna never gave one word of instruction that could be construed into an advancement of any personal or political interest of his own, as against that of any one else. In August of 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland as one of the government directors of the Union Pacific railroad. The position was unsought,

and was accepted because it was an honorary one to which no salary was attached, and in which he could serve the public without the charge of personal motives. In the fall of the year he was summoned west by reason of labor troubles along the line, and gave several weeks to a careful and proper settlement of the questions in issue, in connection with the other directors of the road.

The best estimate of a man's powers and qualities can be found in the work he has done, and in the repute in which he is held by those who know him well. Judged by these standards, Mr. Hanna must be set down as a business man who has commanded the highest success before reaching the years of his prime, and as a recognized financial and personal force in this community. His capacity for work is immense. His industry and energy are qualities suggested in his tone and bearing. His honesty and honorable methods of business have never been questioned, and the moment he becomes connected with an enterprise it can command all the capital it needs. His word is, according to the old saying, as good as any man's bond, and when he outlines a course of policy or conduct, his associates and employes understand that he means what he says and will stand by it. Personally he is pleasant and sociable in disposition, is open to the approach of any one, and all in all is a fine and robust representative of the younger business men of America.

P. M. SPENCER.

Among the younger bankers of Cleve-

land who have made a creditable record of labor and success, Mr. P. M. Spencer, cashier of the Cleveland National bank, occupies a leading place. He has won his way by hard work and natural ability, beginning at the very foot of the ladder and gaining ground inch by inch from messenger to his present position. He was born at Fort Ann, Washington county, New York, on March 1, 1844, of excellent parentage, and of Puritan descent. His parents are Lyman and Phoebe Spencer, his mother having been a Kingsley, whose lineage could be traced back to Martin Luther, the great Protestant reformer. His grandfather, on the parental side, served as a volunteer captain in the war of 1812, and was a descendant of a pioneer New Englander, who either came over in the Mayflower or in some vessel soon following her. The subject of this sketch, like so many of the successful business and professional men of this city, was raised on his father's farm, attending district school and a local academy. At the age of seventeen his young heart became fired by the patriotic calls for men, and laying aside his school books he shouldered a musket and marched off to the war. He was a member of company D, in the One Hundred and Twenty-Third New York infantry, and his enlistment occurred on August 11, 1861. He remained with his regiment, as a part of the Army of the Potomac, until November of 1863, when because of sickness he was mustered out by special order of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war. His regiment during his connection with it took part in the battles



ALBION, N. Y.

L. M. Sumner

of Antietam, Fredericksburgh, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburgh. It was at the close of the last named great struggle that he was taken seriously ill, and after long confinement was taken home where his order of release came.

The young man had always felt a liking for the banking business and on the recovery of his strength was offered a position of messenger in the First National Bank of Cleveland, where his brother, the late A. K. Spencer, was cashier. He accepted it, and on March 21, 1864, entered on the career in which he has met with such success. With a persistent determination to learn all there was to learn, and with a tireless energy, he so applied himself to his duties that promotion soon came as a natural reward of merit. He made no sudden upward jump, but won his way through the various stages to the position of assistant cashier, which place he filled for ten years. Believing that the growing business of Cleveland demanded more banking facilities than were then in existence, and that the move would be fully warranted by the result, he suggested the formation of the Cleveland National bank, and set himself earnestly at work to bring it into being. The result was its organization in May, 1883, and its opening for business on the twenty-eighth of the same month. Its success has been wonderful, and has fully justified the belief and faith that suggested and created it. On its formation Mr. Spencer was chosen as a member of the board of directors, and elected to the important and responsible position of cashier. He gives his entire

time to the duties of that office, and is counted as one of the most diligent and careful members of his profession.

Mr. Spencer has also been active in many other directions, and has ever taken a keen and lively interest in public affairs. He has always been a pronounced Republican, and has been again and again elected to the city council by the Fourth ward, serving four terms and being now a member of that body. He was its president *pro tem* during 1884, and has served on all the important committees, being a member of those on claims, judiciary, finance, appropriations, legislation, and others. In his work for the city he has brought the shrewdness and training of a business man to bear on all public questions, and has been a valuable and useful member. His aim has been to give the city the same care and caution that a man would use in his private affairs, and at the same time administer affairs on a broad and progressive basis. In looking after matters of city finance he has been of special service, and while he is a thorough believer in the principles of the political party to which he belongs, he never allows party interest to stand between him and public good. He is one of the trustees of the Homeopathic college, and has always taken a deep interest in the success of that institution. He is a Mason, takes pleasure in all matters relating to the Grand Army of the Republic, and is in all respects a progressive and public-spirited citizen. He possesses the confidence of the general public to a high degree, is honest and straight-forward in all business

transactions, has a keen financial faculty, good judgment, pleasing address and courteous manner, and in all respects is a typical, bright and progressive specimen of the young American banker and

business man. He was married on January 30, 1863, to Miss Hattie E. Pannell, daughter of James Pannell, the well-known Cleveland banker.

CHARLES ELWOOD WARREN.

MATTHEW B. TAYLER.

A BUSINESS life that extended over nearly half a century, many years of which were spent as executive head of a strong and leading bank, and a private and social life full of influence and beneficence, united in making Matthew B. Tayler of Warren, Ohio, one of the leading men and bright examples of the day and region in which he lived. He has a part in any summary of the moral and mental forces that have made Ohio the great state it is to-day. His record lies in the sight of all men without a blemish and without a flaw; but it was given to only a few to get close enough to his great heart and strong nature to see him as he really was.

Mr. Tayler's parents were among the pioneers of the section in which his busy and useful life was passed. His father, James Tayler, was born in Pennsylvania, married Jane Walker, and settled in Franklin county of the state last named. In 1814 they removed to Beaver county, and one year later made their home in Youngstown, Ohio, where Mr. Tayler purchased a fulling mill and woolen factory, which he operated for a number of years. He also owned a farm in Youngstown township, which he managed, and on which his sons found

employment and healthful exercise while on their way to manhood's estate. The parents were more than ordinarily careful in the mental and moral training of their children, and taught them well the lessons of honesty, honor and industry that became such prominent features of their lives. In 1831 Mr. Tayler removed to Youngstown village, where he died in 1834.

Matthew B. Tayler, the third son and fourth child born to this worthy couple, first saw the light of day at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, on March 17, 1815. His early years were divided between the work of the farm and attendance upon the country school. He was also favored with some time in an academy that was of a good quality for those days, and thus obtained the rudiments of a business education. In 1833, when but eighteen years of age, he commenced life on his own responsibility, and began the career in which he won such marked success. He went to Warren, then the centre of all that section, as it for years had been the county seat of all northeastern Ohio. He accepted a position of clerk in the dry-goods store of W. H. Goodhue. Those were the best and brightest days of War-



M. B. Haylen

ren's growth, and her people had a foundation for their general belief that it was to become the metropolis of the Western Reserve. "Between 1830 and 1840," says one historical record, "the growth of Warren was steady, and of a substantial character. The wealthiest business men on the Reserve lived there, and had enough confidence in the future of the place to make them enterprising." Young Tayler threw himself into his new occupation with great earnestness, and a tireless energy, and from the first became one of the marked figures in the busy life about him. He was never idle, and in his earnest, ceaseless activity was chiefly to be found the secret of his success. No trust placed in his hands was ever treated lightly even in his younger days. No obligation that duty or business laid upon him was ever forgotten or slighted. His honesty was of the character that made itself felt on those with whom he had to deal; and in these facts can be found the beginning of that confidence which not only Warren, but all this section of the country, ever held in Matthew Tayler.

Mr. Tayler remained in the dry-goods business for six years, when he entered the Western Reserve Bank of Warren as teller, his brother George Tayler at the time holding a responsible position in that institution. When the bank closed its account under the first charter in 1843, he decided to embark in business on his own account. He opened a forwarding and commission business on the Pennsylvania & Ohio canal, thus finding a wider range and a more open field

for the display of his power than he had yet enjoyed.

He entered on this portion of his business career in 1843, and remained there until 1856. These were thirteen years of close application and great activity. It is difficult for anyone whose only personal knowledge of the canal system of Ohio lies in the sight of a tow of coal boats sluggishly creeping between Akron and Cleveland, or what is worse yet, the grass-grown and waterless banks of some abandoned section of these great waterways of fifty years ago, to imagine the commercial power and business activity of the canal in the days when it was first opened, and before the railroad had shouldered it into the past, or degraded it into a mere drudge for slow and heavy freights. The section that passed through Warren was largely built by the liberality and activity of the merchants of that city, and without their aid it never would have been built.* It threw new life and

* The celebration of the canal's opening was one of the gala-days of Warren. Forty prominent citizens of Beaver, Youngstown and other points along the line came sailing into town on the packet *Ontario*, on Thursday, May 23, 1839. They were greeted by the roar of cannon and the shouts of the entire populace, not only of Warren but of the surrounding country. On arriving at the foot of Main street they were greeted by the Warren band; a procession was formed which marched through the public square to Townes' hotel, where a neat address of welcome was delivered by the late General John Crowell, mayor of Warren. He was responded to by Mr. B. B. Chamberlain of Brighton. The rest of the day was spent in hilarity. At 4 o'clock a banquet was served; General J. W. Seeley presided. "Wine flowed," says the ancient record, "and spirited music was rendered by the bands in attendance." Among the toasts proposed were these: "The Pennsylvania &

vigor into the trade of the town. "Old store rooms became too small for the increased stock, and new buildings began to be erected. Prices fell on manufactured articles, and farm products increased in value—circumstances which advanced real estate, encouraged settlement, diminished the difficulty of living and encouraged more liberal expenditure, all of which increased trade and built up the town." The "empty ditch" that lay idle through the lower part of Warren so many recent years, was then the living channel which bound it to the great world outside, and furnished means for reaching that world. Boats were constantly coming and going, loaded with merchandise and produce. Light packets dashed up with a lively flourish, let off some passengers and took on others, and dashed off again as rapidly as a fresh relay of horses could go. People said to each other that the transportation problem was at last solved, and that DeWitt Clinton had opened a new channel of greatness for the world.

Mr. Tayler's warehouse was located

Ohio canal—a new link in the chain of sisterhood between two states whose interests can never be severed." "The Pennsylvania & Ohio Canal company—may the prosperity of the company equal the zeal and energy with which the objects of its creation have been pursued." "The packet *Ontario*—the first boat that ever floated the waters of the Pennsylvania & Ohio canal." On behalf of the visitors, F. J. Clark of Beaver offered: "The Village of Warren—we admire it not more for its own beauty than for the liberality and enterprise of its citizens." In response, the Youngstown band played "In the Green Village." It was a grand season of fellowship and good will. On Friday the boat left for Beaver with about forty of the citizens of Youngstown aboard, who were delighted with their first trip by water to the Pennsylvania state line.

on the north side of the canal and the east side of Main street, and was daily a scene of great activity. In was in the heart of the Warren of that day; the owner was known to everybody; and he had his hands full. Year by year his business grew, and it brought to him a large financial success. His enterprise and labor were well rewarded. In 1856, when the promise of a railroad competition began to take from the importance of the canal business, he decided on a change of occupation. He became a member of the coal firm of Tod & Yates, which on his accession, became Tod, Yates & Tayler. One of his partners was David Tod, afterward the famous war-governor of Ohio. They were engaged in the development of the coal fields of the Mahoning valley, by means of the newly opened Cleveland & Mahoning railroad, and of the canal. The office of the company was at Cleveland, and although Mr. Tayler had to be in that city the greater part of the time, he left his family in Warren. This connection continued for about five years, when he dissolved it and soon after began what was in reality the main labor and devotion of his life, and with which he will ever be held in chief remembrance—his connection with the Western Reserve Bank of Warren, afterwards the First National.

The history of that institution is such a continuous record of honesty and good management that I cannot refrain from more than a mere reference to it here. In fact, the life of Matthew B. Tayler cannot be fully understood without an explanation of the high character of the

trusts he so long held. The "Old Western Reserve Bank" as it has since been known the country over, was chartered in the winter of 1811-1812. Among its incorporators were such men as General Simon Perkins, George Tod, William Rayen and Turhand Kirtland. The capital stock was one hundred thousand dollars and was soon taken. General Perkins was made president, and held that position until years and declining strength led him to resign in 1836. The bank opened for business on November 24, 1813, in a house that had formerly been used by Robert Erwin for a store, which stood on the east side of Main street. The "old bank building," which was for years one of the landmarks of Warren, was erected in 1816 and 1817, upon the southeast corner of Market street and Liberty street (now Park avenue), where the fine structure of the First National now stands.

It would be difficult to find anywhere in America an institution of the age of this, which has so continuously held so good a name as the Western Reserve and its successor have possessed. No stain of any kind has ever been laid upon it. Its obligations have always been promptly met. No man has ever lost a dollar because of it. Its stockholders and directors have always been among the best men of Trumbull county, and only those of unquestioned honesty and unsullied names have been counted among its officers. Its second charter expired on December 31, 1842, and its affairs were gradually terminated. In July, 1845, it was reorganized as an independent bank, and in

1863 was reorganized as a national bank. Its original capital was one hundred thousand dollars, which has since been increased to three hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Tayler always had a warm friendship for the bank, even after his retirement from it in 1843. In 1849 he returned to an official connection with the reorganized institution, by an election to the position of director, which office he held without break until his death. His brother, George Tayler, had been connected with the bank since 1836, and was cashier at the time of his death in May, 1864. The directors immediately offered that position to Mr. M. B. Tayler, and it was accepted. He held it until his death, and gave to it all the ability, experience, labor and strength of which he was possessed. His acquaintance, his personal popularity, his good judgment were all freely laid at its service, and no man could have been more loyal to a delegated trust than was he to the position he had agreed to fill. That his work here was appreciated and understood by his official associates, is shown amply in the tribute paid by the directors of the bank on the occasion of his death. Among other things of like character they say:

This board deem it a privilege, as well as a duty, to record their high appreciation of his integrity and keen sense of honor, in the faithful discharge of all trusts committed to him. His entire devotion to the interests of this institution, so long under his care, entitles his memory to our highest consideration.

In a memorial issued by the bank at a later date, can be found this more detailed and appreciative tribute to his

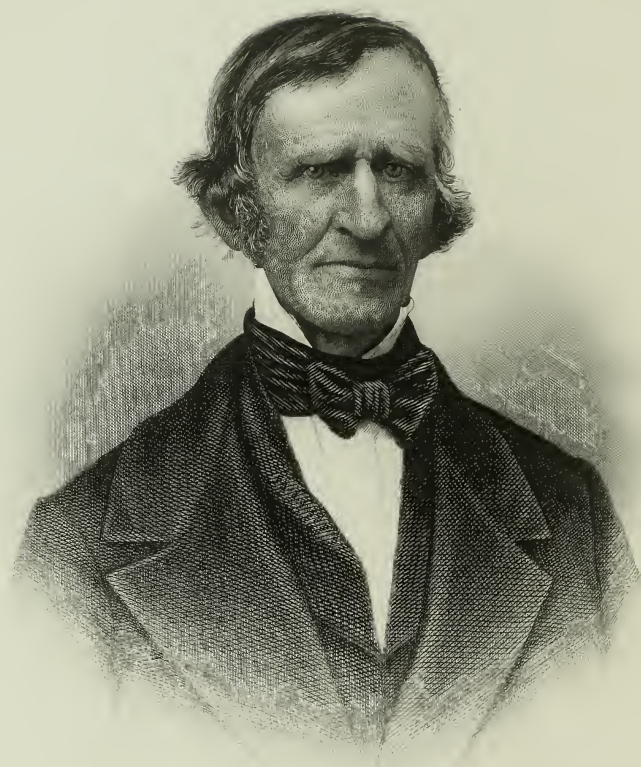
worth as a citizen, an official, and a man :

He was a man of remarkably clear and well poised judgment. Everything submitted to his consideration was carefully examined, and well weighed before a decision was given. He had the rare faculty of retiring all extraneous questions and personal influences, and judging things upon their merits alone ; his decisions were, therefore, accepted and relied upon as just, wise and conclusive. In matters of great interest, and in times of deep excitement, his equanimity was undisturbed, and his judgment unclouded.

Mr. Tayler had no disposition toward publicity, and he shrank from anything that would lead him into the public view. He allowed himself to be elected to the municipal council of Warren in 1849, and again in 1850, and while there gave close attention and good business sense to the interests of the public. He was always foremost in any religious or charitable work. He united with the Methodist Episcopal church of Warren in 1840, and from that time until his death continued a faithful, hard-working member and officer thereof. He became a class-leader in 1842, and held that position ever after—for nine years two classes being under his charge. From an early period in his church life he was a member of the board of trustees, and of the board of stewards. For many years, and up to his death, he was recording steward and treasurer of the church. He was one of the most generous among the supporters of the gospel in Warren, and during the period of the erection of the new church building, he was a member of the building committee and treasurer of the funds. He always carried his strict habits of business and discipline into

his administration of these trusts, and it has been aptly and tersely said by one who knew him well : " He was one of those few men who carry their religion into their business, and their business into their religion." With him nothing could be left at loose ends or in chaos, but all had to be done straight, fair and open to the understanding of the simplest. In 1875, and again in 1879 he was selected by the Lay Electoral College of the East Ohio conference as one of the reserve delegates to the next general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. In the memorial offering of his church we find him spoken of as one who " for almost forty years went in and out among us, and was known by us to be loved, trusted and honored ; quiet, wise, positive, generous, he excelled in those virtues that give symmetry and strength to Christian character." He was successful in business, but the fruits thereof were never used for selfish gratification. He was benevolent and kind of heart, having an ear to hear the wants of mankind, a heart to feel for them, and an open purse to relieve them. Many who needed help received it from him, and never knew from whence it came.

On March 17, 1841, Mr. Tayler was united in marriage to Miss Adaline A. Hapgood, a daughter of Mr. George Hapgood, then editor of the *Western Reserve Chronicle*. Of this union eleven children were born. The home life of Mr. and Mrs. Tayler was ideal in its happiness, congeniality and mutual love and esteem. Their home was ever one of the centres of Warren hospitality,



John B. Hawron

and was open and made welcome to any "stranger within the gates," whose only needed passport was character and a good name. The young and the poor received as true consideration and attention as was given to the honored or the rich. Mrs. Tayler was in all respects the equal of her husband in goodness and character; an earnest helper, a patient adviser and a pure-hearted Christian woman. She lived for her husband and her home; and in the hearts of her children her memory will ever be shrined as a precious thing. She did not survive the husband many years, but died on May 22, 1885, after a lingering illness and many months of suffering.

Mr. Tayler was in the very prime of his usefulness when the summons came. He died as he had often hoped that death might find him—with the armor of life upon him, his weapons of daily warfare in his hands, his face set in the direction of victory. He had been heard to say, musingly: "Why should we pray to be delivered from sudden

death? If a man is prepared to go, nothing seems more desirable than to fall at his post." His wish was given to him. Although ill health and weakness had fully beset him, he kept at his place of business until the day preceding his death. At eight o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, November 23, 1880, his spirit took sudden flight to the world of rest and peace that had been his dream.

The sorrow of the community in which and for which he had done so much, was universal. On Friday, the day of his funeral, the business houses of the city were closed, and trade was generally suspended. The High Street Methodist church, in which he had worshiped, was filled with sorrowing friends, among them many prominent men from neighboring cities. The services were solemn and heartfelt; and as the precious dust was laid away to rest, the universal feeling was that the world had lost a noble Christian man.

JAMES HENRY SEYMOUR.

DR. JOHN B. HARMON.

"THERE were giants in those days." Into no Mosaic of life can this quotation be more fittingly set than a history of the men who subdued this western wilderness and opened the path along which modern civilization has come with such splendid strides. By natural selection they were the bravest and best of New England's product, for the weak, and puny and deformed could not face and

bear the hardships of the new land, but were compelled to be content with their lot at home. Among these stalwart and strong-minded and strong-hearted men, the Harmons of Warren hold a prominent place, and no adequate record of Western Reserve pioneers could be made without more than a passing reference to them.

The family was for many years known

in New England. The first member thereof of whom any record is made was John Harman (so spelled in the records) who emigrated from England prior to 1644, at which date he settled in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he died on January 7, 1660. Reuben, his great-grandson, was born on February 18, 1714, and died at Rutland, Vermont, September 6, 1794. On June 30, 1780, he conveyed to his son Oliver, in Rutland, ninety acres of land, and to his son Reuben, jr., of Rupert, ninety acres. The last named was the father of the subject of this sketch. He was a man of power and influence in Vermont, a member of its general assembly and a large landholder. He had the privilege of coining copper coins on his own responsibility, which was in those days no light distinction. He was married in September, 1774, to Ruth Rising, a daughter of Aaron and Anna Rising of Suffield, Connecticut. She was a resolute, capable woman, above the average height, of a broad, muscular build, sociable, cheerful and indomitable patience and perseverance. Reuben, jr., was one of the patriot soldiers in the War of the Revolution. While he was absent with the army she was at Sunderland, Massachusetts, when it was attacked and burned by the British and Indians. She caught an unbroken colt and mounted it bare-back, with a three-week's babe in her arms, and fled, while the smoke of her burning home rolled up behind her.

In 1796 Mr. Harmon purchased of Samuel H. Parsons five hundred acres of land embracing the well-known "Salt

Springs" in Wethersfield township, Trumbull county, Ohio (but not yet so designated, as Ohio had not yet come into being). In the fall of 1797 he made a journey to his far-western possessions, and began the manufacture of salt, an article of absolute necessity and sure sale in the new country. He returned home in the spring, and no record has been left to show whether or not he left any one to continue the business in his absence. He made the trip to the west each year in that way, meanwhile erecting a cabin for the reception of his family. In the early spring of 1800 he returned to Vermont and prepared for the final removal to his new field of labor. Having made all things ready, the start on the long journey was made in June. He was accompanied by his wife, four daughters, four sons, and a family named Barnes, that afterwards settled in Fowler township. While wending their way westward fresh disturbances with the Indians occurred, compelling them to halt in Beaver, so that they did not reach their home at Weathersfield until August.

Here the father and his sons went to work with characteristic energy, to clear the land and make for themselves a home. In the spring of 1806 the father returned to Vermont, to give his business interests there a final closing up. On his return west he found that the agent whom he had left in charge of his salt works had disappeared, taking with him two thousand dollars of his employer's money, part of which he had collected from sales of salt, and part of which had been forwarded him from

the east. That sum of money was an amount that would have proved a serious blow to any one in those days of meager resources and low values, and Mr. Harmon felt it severely. But he went to work again with unfailing energy and courage. In the midst of his labors he was taken with a fever, and died on October 29, 1806, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His loss was not only a sad blow to his family, but to the whole Reserve as well. He was an honest, industrious and kind-hearted man. He had been for many years a member of the Congregational church at Rupert, Vermont, and in 1803 united with the First Presbyterian church of Warren. He was a man of much general knowledge and address, a good conversationalist, and much in demand for the drawing up of minor legal papers and the settling of neighborhood disputes. His death threw a double load upon the shoulders of his wife, but she was competent to bear it. She was the first white woman to settle in Weathersfield, and the many troubles and dangers she faced fearlessly showed that she was cast in a heroic mold, and fit indeed to be the wife of a pioneer. She fulfilled all the duties of a mother to her children, and passed away on April 10, 1836, at the residence of a son, Heman R. Harmon, in Warren, in the seventy-eighth year of her age. She was a member of the Methodist church of Warren for many years, and died in the full enjoyment of her faith. Of the children born to this worthy couple these brief references may be made: One child, a mere babe, was scalded to death in

1802. Ann was born on February 20, 1782, in Rupert, and died in March, 1841, in Bristol, Ohio. The greater part of her life was spent in school teaching. Clary was born on April 12, 1785, was first married to William Leavitt, and afterwards to Dr. John Brown. She died on January 22, 1844. Betsey was born November 12, 1788, and died November 7, 1853. She was married to Samuel Gibson, and on his death married Albert Opdyke. Lucretia was born February 11, 1791, and married William Draper. On his death she married William Frazier. She died in January, 1871, the last to survive of a large family of sons and daughters. Hiram R. was born on December 18, 1793, and died October 15, 1852. Heman R. was born February 12, 1798, and died on December 1, 1859. He was a well known merchant of Warren, filled the office of sheriff, and was one of the earliest manufacturers of Trumbull county.

Dr. John B. Harmon, the subject of this sketch, was born in Rupert, Bennington county, Vermont, on October 19, 1780. He was named after John Brown, a friend of his father's in the Vermont assembly. His early education was limited, but he was sufficiently acquainted with Latin to give him a good understanding of the terms in use in the medical books of the day. He was correct in spelling and grammar, quick and accurate in arithmetic, well versed in English and American history, and was fond of speculative inquiries, such as 'Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding,' 'Hume's Moral, Political and Religious Essays,' etc. He was partial to

poetry also. Pope, Burns and Shakespeare he often quoted, as well as Cowper and Watts. The Bible was at his tongue's end as much as with a Methodist or Disciple minister. In politics he was a Jeffersonian, afterwards a J. Q. Adams man and a Whig.

His early training fitted him for the part he was to play in after life. In helping his father carry on a large farming business in Vermont, he early began a life of exposure, often going through the winter storms on foot, with his dog and gun, from the home or valley farm to one several miles up the mountains. He came to the Reserve with his parents, and from 1800 to 1806 aided his father in the salt works, which were carried on extensively, and furnished salt to the settlers at distant points as well as those nearer. He enjoyed the common sports of the day, deer and bear hunting, and was one of the most expert at an off-hand long shot. One winter he had some twenty deer strung up on a hill a mile west of the springs. In 1803 he purchased from his father two hundred and fifty acres of the salt spring tract, for twenty-five hundred dollars in currency, which was resold in 1806.

The bent of his mind and his desire were both in the direction of medicine, and he came early to the conclusion to follow that profession. In 1796 he studied some under the direction of Dr. Josiah Blackmer, and even practiced some among his neighbors. Dr. Enoch Leavitt settled in Leavittsburgh, and young Harmon studied under him as opportunity afforded. In 1806, when the father made his final visit to the

east, as recorded above, John B. went with him and remained there under the tuition of Dr. Blackmer, who was a relative by marriage. In 1808 he returned from the east and located in Warren, where the remainder of his long and useful life was spent. He was a man of large heart as well as brain. Upon the death of his father, he naturally assumed the guidance of the family. While at Dorset he wrote his brothers Hiram and Heman "to be careful of their leisure hours, to shun all bad habits, study evenings, so as to fit themselves for future usefulness and honorable positions in life, and to cherish always a reverent regard for the great Author of the Universe." Afterwards he sent Heman to school at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, with the view of his studying medicine, but exposure led to necrosis of the femur, a large part of which the doctor removed. He was left slightly lame, and gave up the study of medicine to become a merchant, farmer and general business man, in which he was remarkably active, industrious and useful, but a fatality averse to financial success hovered over him. Of Dr. Harmon's early life in Warren, and of his service to his country, I find the following in a sketch of the Harmon family prepared some years since:

His practice rapidly increased, and although the fees were low, yet they enabled him to meet his large expenses easily. Part of this time he boarded at the tavern kept on Market street, by Colonel William W. Cotgreave, by whom he was commissioned surgeon of the second regiment, fifth brigade, fourth division of the militia of the state of Ohio, on the tenth day of August, 1813. This commission was repeated by Stephen Oviatt, colonel, February 5, 1817, and by Governor Worthington, July 17, 1818, only his

brigade was the first, and the rank of captain was assigned to him. He was present at the attack on Fort Mackinaw in 1813. When our forces first reached the fort, Dr. Harmon urged an immediate attack, but the general delayed some three days, during which it was reinforced, and the attack was repulsed with great loss. During the fight a captain was shot with a poisoned arrow in the body. His sufferings were great, and he cried out, "O, doctor, for God's sake give me a cup of water." A spring near by had been alternately in possession of the contending parties. The doctor got a squad of twenty men, and gained possession long enough to secure some muddy water. The captain drank a cupful and exclaimed, "Now, if I had a shot at that d—d Indian, I'd die content." On returning to Cleveland the doctor was left on the boat with his sick and wounded, while the officers proceeded to the tavern. He charged them first of all to send supplies to the boat; waiting until he became impatient, he went to the hotel and found the company at table. To an invitation to a seat, he sternly replied, "He did not eat till the sick were cared for." Their needs were attended to while the feasting was delayed.

Near the close of the war he resumed his practice in Warren, and was thenceforth a busy and hard-working man. His fame and his practice grew apace. He was in demand from all quarters of the Reserve, riding to Cleveland, Painesville, Ashtabula, Youngstown, Canfield, and in all other directions. His trips were, perforce, made on horseback. His appearance in these days of manhood strength has been thus described: "Six feet tall, with a round, full chest, a bundle of muscle and nerve of the finest quality, a high, square forehead jutting over deep bluish-gray eyes. He commanded the life-long respect and friendship of the early pioneers of the Western Reserve. This imposed upon him an amount of work and responsibility which very few men could have met so well." Many interesting stories have been told

of his adventures and the dangers he met while on his long and lonely rides or tramps through the wilderness, some of which appeared in this Magazine several months since. The physician of to-day, who rides in his carriage from door to door, over paved streets, has no idea of the hardship, through which the pioneers of his profession were called to pass. Often the roads were too bad for the use of horses, but for the doctor there could be no excuse. He was compelled to get across the country, with his saddle-bags on his arm, as best he could. On one occasion Dr. Harmon walked sixty-five miles in one day, leaving home at daybreak and not again reaching it until ten o'clock at night. He was ever at the call of the sick, whether he was to be paid for his services or not. He sometimes swam his horse across the Mahoning, swollen with floating ice, to meet a professional engagement. A large part of his life regular sleep was unknown to him. Within the memory of his children he has gone two weeks without undressing at home, because of daily calls. He learned to sleep on his horse, or in his sulky, and when he lay down, instantly fell asleep; would awake at a call, put up medicine in his bed, give directions, and be asleep before the waiter was out of the room. As a practitioner, and as a man of science, he stood in the front rank of his profession of the day. In medicine he was cautious and conservative, but progressive and ready to adopt new views and remedies so far as reason and experience showed them to be of value. In 1814-16 he abandoned vene-

section in camp fever. He early adopted stimulants and cold water in fevers, and chlorate potassa, tincture of iron, and digitalis in scarlet fever. Ether and chloroform he hailed at once as boons to the suffering. At seventy years of age he was more progressive than many doctors at thirty-five. He was bold and skillful in surgical operations, having a hand which remained steady to the last. But he always studied carefully every operation of danger before he began it. His knowledge of anatomy was derived largely from books and plates, but it was accurate and minute. His observation was acute to a proverb, and his sound judgment was admitted as master of all. The late Tracy Bronson, M. D., said of him: "He had the best judgment of us all. I thought I had as much science, but when we got in a pinch and didn't know what to do, he would see at a glance, and help us out."

He had other difficulties to face beyond those already mentioned, and among them was no small share of physical suffering. I again quote from the record already referred to:

In 1830 Dr. Harmon was prostrated by a severe run of fever, which nearly proved fatal. In 1833 he was pulled by a colt he was leading, from his saddle, and his horse ran, dragging him by the heels in his stirrup till the breaking of the girth released him. His back was so hurt that he could not sit down or get up for a long time without help. Years after, in attempting to do so, he would suddenly fall helpless. But he kept at his work. In February, 1838, his horse ran away and broke his ribs and one leg, and he lay in the snow for some time till found by John McConnell, whose son William he was visiting. He was helped in his sleigh, and went on and prescribed for his patient, and was brought home before his own injuries were cared for. About 1840 a tumor formed on his left side, beneath the deep pectoral

muscle. It was opened by Dr. Delamater, and again by Dr. Bronson, and a seton put in. The inflammation was severe, and was nearly fatal. In the summer of 1845 he was again severely sick, and again in 1854 he had a congestive chill, in which for four hours he seemed to be past recovery. All of these attacks were results of excessive work and special injuries, which his iron constitution enabled him to survive.

He continued in active practice until 1854, when he retired, although he was still in constant demand as counsel in important cases. He was of great aid to his son, Dr. Julian Harmon, who took his place and has most worthily held it from that day to this. His last case of obstetrics was in July, 1857, his practice in that branch having extended over fifty-five years. In general surgery he was recognized as a master until the time of Ackley. In his fine sense of touch and cautious judgment he occasionally proved himself superior even to him, or even to the still more celebrated Mott of New York City. In one important fight through the courts, Dr. Harmon was of great benefit to the surgical and medical profession generally. The case has been described as follows:

In 1838 he was sued for malpractice, in having, as was said, unnecessarily amputated a leg. The prosecution was conducted by the Hon. J. R. Giddings, with the help of Wade, Sutliff and Ranney. The defense was made by David Tod and R. P. Spalding. The leg had been crushed by a timber rolling down from the top of a cabin which was being raised. Drs. John W. and Sylvanus Seeley were called in, on the second day, as counsel, and the operation was done. They were all sued. The unquestioned ability of the surgeons, and the fame of the counsel, gave the case great notoriety. The issue was squarely made: Had an ignorant public the right to pass judgment on the action of three eminent surgeons, who had fully considered the case at the time? Giddings claimed the right, and had

succeeded a few years before in obtaining a verdict against a doctor in Ashtabula county, for not properly caring, as was charged, for an injured ankle. He was a monomaniac on the subject, as it were, and left nothing undone that a zealous and able man could do, to win his case. Tod and Spalding were equally zealous and able for the defense, and were completely successful. The expense was large. It cost Dr. Harmon more than he had ever made from surgery; but it showed to the public the essential impudence of such prosecutions, and has resulted in a better understanding of medical responsibility. There is no more sense in such a suit than there would be if a doctor should assume to prosecute three eminent lawyers for losing a case they had done their best to win, and such is the feeling now with the legal profession.

Senator Ben Wade was very much dissatisfied with his part of the case after he had fully looked into its merits. At the conclusion of the trial he met Tod, the doctor's lawyer, and asked him, "How does the doctor feel over this?"

"Pretty hard," responded Tod.

"Well," said Wade, "if he will forgive me this time I will never engage in so dirty a case again."

Mr. Tod told this to Dr. Harmon, who responded: "Tell him I will forgive him. If a man has done me a wrong and apologizes, I make it a point never to hold resentment against him."

Toward Giddings he felt no little anger, regarding his manner of conducting the case as persecution. He never fully forgave him, but when the old statesman resigned from congress because of the unwarranted course of that body in censuring him for his attitude on the slavery question, the big heart of the old doctor caused him to overlook the hurt of the past, and to aid in Giddings' triumphant return to Washington.

Dr. Harmon was busy in other directions than medicine. He purchased two hundred and eighty acres of land in Warren township, and carried on farming quite extensively. He devoted special care to raising thoroughbred horses, but kept also choice cattle and sheep. He loved horses, and a good race where speed rather than betting was the object in view. He was an earnest and loyal Mason, joining the Warren lodge in 1814, in which he held the position of treasurer in 1815, and of senior deacon in 1818. He loved amusements as well as any one, and in his early boyhood learned the game of checkers, at which he soon became an expert, his reputation for skill in that line being known to checker players from Maine to New Orleans, and many of their champions coming from long distances to meet him, only to be vanquished. A characteristic story is told of him in this connection, that is well worth repeating, showing the vein of quiet fun that ran through his nature. In 1854 he started on a visit to a sister in the western part of Ohio. By a break in the canal they were detained a day at Toledo. At the hotel where he stopped a checker player of some skill had been winning games at a dollar each from parties who would risk their money and skill against his. Dr. Harmon was dressed in a long dressing-gown and broad-brimmed hat, and was the last man in the group who would be taken for an expert at the game. After looking on for a time he remarked that he would be glad to try one game for skill but did not care to play for money.

The other man looked upon the reservation as one of fear rather than principle, and grew sarcastic. He would look up occasionally and say: "Well, old man, have you got your courage up to risking a dollar yet?"

The old gentleman stood it as long as he could, but his courage began to get the better of his purpose. Still he held back, remarking, "I have never played for money, and am now too old to break my rule."

But the man persisted, and the crowd urged. Finally along in the afternoon when the gamester grew too impudent to be longer tolerated, the doctor produced his dollar and sat down. He won the game and kept on winning until his opponent lost all hope, threw up the game, paid his bill, and started for another hotel, followed by the hoots of the crowd. It was the first and only time the doctor ever played for stakes, but the temptation to punish the fellow was too strong for any man to resist.

Dr. Harmon was ever ready to lend a helping hand to any one, and especially to the members of his own family. At an early day he established his brother, Heman R. Harmon, in trade under the firm name of Harmon Brothers. The store was on the west side of Main street, Warren, south of one formerly occupied by Ephraim Quinby. In connection with Walter King they built the three story brick in 1827-28, known as the King and Harmon block, which in April, 1882, was torn down. Harmon Brothers occupied the north half, keeping drugs in the south end and dry goods in the north end. It had a handsome

cherry circular counter, and was regarded as a grand affair in its day. King occupied the south end of his half with a jewelry store. Henry Stiles had the north part of King's half (a separate room) for a saddlery store. Harmon Brothers lost largely by outside business, dealing in cattle, clocks, etc., and by endorsing for others. In 1832 they failed. The debts were eventually paid by Dr. Harmon mostly, but the loss stripped him of his farms, and imposed on him the necessity of prolonged toil in his profession. He never did business in the store himself, but his surplus earnings were absorbed by it. In fact, his whole life was helpful to others far more than to himself.

I have reserved mention of Dr. Harmon's home life until the last, because it was there that he was at his best, and there he found solace and recompense for the cares and labors of the outer world. In 1816 he bought a house in Warren, finishing it in the year following and making it his home for the remainder of his life. Two of his sisters kept house for a number of years. On February 22, 1822, he was married to Sarah Dana of Pembroke, New York. His wife was a sister to Anderson Dana, a well known resident of Trumbull county, and the father of Junius Dana of Warren and Charles A. Dana of the New York *Sun*. Miss Dana was quite delicate in health, barely escaping death from consumption in early womanhood; but she possessed perseverance and energy sufficient to enable her to meet the demands of her day and station with the most ample success. She was a friend to all;

charitable, and full of mercy to the erring. She toiled cheerfully in the interests of her husband and children, and was anxious to see the latter educated as well as the circumstances of her husband and the school facilities to be then obtained, would permit. She was a member of the Presbyterian church, and ever remained a quiet, unobtrusive, but firm and consistent Christian. After the death of her husband she gave up the cares of the house, and led a life of ease, comfort and peace. She died on November 6, 1868.

Six children were born to them, of whom three are now living. The eldest, John B. Harmon, jr., was born on October 29, 1822. He graduated at Yale in 1842, studied law, and is one of the leading members of the bar of San Francisco. The second, Dr. Julian Harmon, was born on August 1, 1824, and after graduating from Western Reserve college and the Cleveland Medical college, began the practice of medicine with his father at Warren, in 1849, in which connection he remained until March 1, 1854. He then continued by himself until June, 1860, when he was, for about a year, associated with Dr. J. T. Smith. His practice was always large, and because of the severe strain it laid upon him, he left it for a short time and embarked in the drug business; but his heart was in the old work, and he soon went back to practice. He was in company with Dr. Metcalf from April, 1868, to April, 1875, since when he has been alone. He has acted as examining surgeon for Trumbull county, for pensions, for some twenty years; is an active member of

Trumbull County, Northeastern Ohio, and the State Medical societies, and has been a trustee of the Newburgh insane asylum and of the Western Reserve college. He married J. Rebecca Swift, daughter of George and Olive (Kinsman) Swift, July 30, 1857, by whom he has two daughters and one son. She died on February 13, 1868. He was married again, June 6, 1871, to Mary E. Bostwick, daughter of L. L. and Margaret (Wetmore) Bostwick of Canfield, by whom he has one son living, an elder one having died October 26, 1881. Dr. Harmon is recognized all through Trumbull county as a worthy successor to his father, and has always had a large and successful practice. As a man he is universally liked and respected. As a physician he has been prompt in attendance, quick to recognize and skillful in combating the dangerous forms of disease. He was eminently successful in 1854 during an epidemic of vesicular bronchitis among children. During the great prevalence of scarlet fever and diphtheria in 1861-62-63 and 1864 he lost but very few out of a large number of cases. In the gravest accidents of obstetric practice he has been prompt, skillful and successful. For many years he acted as surgeon for the Cleveland & Mahoning, and Atlantic & Great Western railroads, and has managed some desperately bad cases with most gratifying success. Unassuming in manners, devoid of all trickery, frank in speech, clear in convictions, enthusiastic in the love of his profession, he may fairly be called "a chip from the granite block."

The next son, Charles R. Harmon,

was born November 4, 1826. He was engaged in Warren in business for a number of years, and was killed while bravely fighting in his country's cause at the battle of Stone river. Edward D. Harmon was born May 1, 1831, and is a prosperous farmer and real estate dealer in Oakland, California. Sarah D. Harmon, the only daughter, was born April 3, 1833, and died in Warren, July 6, 1880. She was highly educated, and taught in the grammar and high schools of Warren, Dunkirk, Columbus, Elkhart and Poughkeepsie (select ladies' seminary), and also in Sandford's seminary at Cleveland. Never robust, she overworked in her school duties, and wore herself out prematurely, but had done a good life's work with great success, and bore a year and a half of intense suffering with great courage and resignation, and the firm hope of an humble Christian woman. Of the one of the six as yet unmentioned, the record heretofore referred to says:

Their youngest child, Willie, was born June 30, 1835, and died April 10, 1836, a pet favorite with his father never forgotten. The stern, stoical man, years after, would drop a tear when, coming to his home, some incident would recall his babe. The inner feelings of such men are seldom understood. A few years before his death, a poor woman said to him, "Oh doctor, you can't imagine how I felt when my child was scalded." "Ah, mother," he said, "yes I do; my youngest brother was scalded to death over fifty years ago, and I hear his cries again, every time I am called to care for such a case." This acute sensibility, coupled with resolute courage and self control, is largely enstamped upon his children, softened in some more than in others, by the quiet tenderness of his wife.

Dr. John B. Harmon's closing years were full of quietness and peace. He had nobly done his portion of the work

of the world, and had indeed a right to rest. As has been said in the above, he was consulted often, although not actively engaged in the practice of his profession. In January, 1858, he was attacked with pleuro-pneumonia, and all that love and skill could do for him were of no avail. He died on February 7. Many and marked were the expressions of grief from all directions. He had been not only physician but friend to the entire community, and his loss was a personal one to nearly all. The feeling toward him had been one not only of affection but of respect. As one who had traveled much and seen much, said: "He always impressed me as being the peer of any man I ever met." The excellent portrait of him which accompanies this sketch, shows immediately to the student of physiognomy the originality and dignity of his character. He was spared the weakness and breaking down of extreme old age. Young in face, hair but slightly gray and scarcely thinned, he took his daily walks up to the year of his death—straight as an arrow and with a light step. He read the news of the day and his medical periodicals, mingled with his friends, and was cheerful and happy to the last. I can close this imperfect sketch in no better way than to borrow the following tribute from a memorial article published in the *Cleveland Leader* on the occasion of his death:

It can be readily perceived that his life has been active, and intensely interesting, as well as useful. His professional life commenced with the settlement of a new, wild and remote region; its growth was his growth; its expansion called for a like expansion in his mentality and acquirements; its mature growth



John M. Willey

became his ; its greatness his greatness ; and its history in many respects his history. Generations have been born under his eye and his professional attention, and the same generations have passed away receiving to the latest moment of life the best treatment that his large experience and strong, active intellect could give them. . . . Such were the scenes, hardships and toils through which Dr. Harmon passed in the earlier years of his practice. He never drew back, never shirked or evaded, but met the duties, toils and privations of his position with a manly energy which overcame all obstacles. He was ready and prompt to render assistance whenever called upon. None, however poor, were turned away, and all united alike in the meed of praise for his disinterested labors and active benevolence. . . . As a man he was true in all the relations of life ; as a husband fulfilling to the utmost the duties which that relation imposed ; as a father kind and indulgent ; as a friend he was steadfast in attachment and generous to a fault ; as a citizen he was law-abiding in sen-

timent and conduct, patriotic in motive, and a helper and well-wisher of every good work having for its object the elevation and improvement of his fellow citizens. He was honest and upright in every transaction. . . . On the morrow will the corpse of Dr. Harmon be followed to its last resting place by a large concourse of mourners, sympathizing friends and citizens generally, and the sprig of evergreen will be cast upon his coffin when lowered into the earth by some professional brother, as a token that his virtues will be held in remembrance and his memory kept fresh and green in the recollection of all. No rude hand will attempt to snatch it away, nor disturb his grave. In peace he lived, in peace he died, and in peace will he rest. The nobleness of his life, its many generous deeds, its benevolent actions and active usefulness will assuage the pangs of separation, and sweeter will grow the recollections of those who dwelt upon his well-spent life. A great, a good and true man has departed, and

"We ne'er shall look upon his like again."

SEELEYE A. WILLSON.

THE MUNICIPAL GROWTH OF CLEVELAND.

I.

ON April 5, 1802, in obedience to a mandate from the territorial court of general quarter sessions, the electors of Cleveland* met at the residence of James Kingsbury, and organized a township government. Rudolphus Edwards was chosen chairman, while Nathaniel Doan filled the position of clerk. There seemed to be no contests over the various places to be filled, and there is no evidence to show any division along party lines. Amos Spaf-

ford, Timothy Doan and W. W. Williams were chosen trustees. Cleveland was then a part of Trumbull county.

THE TOWNSHIP OF CLEVELAND.

The first record book of the township is still preserved in the office of the city clerk. It is stained and dingy with handling and time, its leaves are yellow, the edges are wearing away with rust, and the leather cover is mouldy with decay. The record of the first meeting, referred to above, does not appear therein, but the second is set down in full, as follows—given verbatim :

April the 4, one thousand eight hundred and three. The inhabitants of the township of Cleveland met

*The township of Cleveland not only embraced the survey township of that name, but all of the present county of Cuyahoga east of the river, three townships of Geauga county, and nominally the whole Reserve west of the Cuyahoga, although this tract was still in the possession of the Indians.

at the house of James Kingsbury, esq., for a township meeting, and proceed and chose :

Amos Spafford, esq., chairman.

Nathl. Doan, town clerk.

Amos Spafford, esq., James Kingsbury, esq. and Timothy Doan, trustees.

James Kingsbury, esq. and James Hamilton, overseers of the poor.

Rudolphus Edwards, and Ezekiel Walley and Amos Spafford, esq., fence viewers.

Elijah Gunn and Samuel Huntington, esq., appraisers of houses.

James Kingsbury, esq., lister.

William Elivin, James Kingsbury, esq. and Timothy Doan, supervisors of highways.

Rudolphus Edwards, constable.

The next entry in the book is given literally, as follows :

June 21, one thousand eight hundred and three. The el— [rest obliterated] of the township of Cleveland, met at the house of James Kingsbury esq., to elect two justices of the peace, and proceeded and chose Samuel Jones chairman ; Amos Spafford and Timothy Doan justices of the peace.

June 21, 1803. Likewise proceeded and appointed Amos Spafford, Elijah Gunn, Samuel Jones judges of the election ; Stephen [obliterated], Nathl. Doan clerks, and after being sworn received the [torn out], and by examining the votes found that David [worn away] had twenty-seven votes for representative to congress, and that Michael Balding had six votes for representative to congress, as may be seen by the poll book in this office.

The next gathering is in October of the same year, when it is found that "Benjamin Tappan had seventy-one votes for senator, David Abbot seventy-two for representative to the assembly, Ephraim Quimby nineteen votes for representative to the assembly, Amos Spafford one vote for senator and one for representative to the assembly, and David Hudson one vote for representative to assembly, which may appear by the poll book in this office." The April election of 1804 was also held at the residence of Mr. Kingsbury, and most

of the names mentioned above appear in connection with the various offices to be filled. It was decided on this occasion to raise a town tax of ten dollars. Interesting points of minor history are found all along here. At one meeting of the trustees the town was divided into supervisors' districts, and each of those officials directed as to what portion he should have under his care, thus : "To Lorenzo Carter the road leading from the city of Cleveland to Hudson, to Daniel Rukers'." On another occasion the trustees met and appointed a number of jurymen. In 1806 the town reached the dignity of two constables, John Shaw and Ezekiel Holly being elected to those positions. Nathan Perry * is mentioned in 1807 as being elected one of the supervisors of highways. † On this occasion it was voted that "a town tax be assessed equal to the county tax, to defray the town charges and to be laid out on

* A full biography of Nathan Perry, sr., and Nathan Perry, jr., may be found in the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for November, 1885, in an article entitled "The Pioneer Merchants of Cleveland." The one referred to above was probably the father, as the son did not make Cleveland his home until 1808.

† Extract from Judge S. O. Griswold's admirable address before the Early Settlers' association, on its fifth anniversary : " I notice that one of the supervisors of highways chosen at the first election was Samuel Huntington, who was the same year elected as delegate to the state convention, the first senator elected from Trumbull county, afterwards chosen supreme judge, and subsequently elected governor of the state. Stanley Griswold also was town clerk, but soon appointed by the governor to fill a vacancy in the United States senate from Ohio, and at the end of his term appointed by the President judge of the Northwest Territory."

highways." The duties of the township clerk were varied, and at times unique. He kept a record of "ear marks" for cattle and sheep, and entries like the following are found in this book: "Philo Scovill is entitled to mark all cattle, hogs, sheep, etc., with a straight slope on the underside of the left ear, from this date." Nathan Perry's mark was "a square cross off each ear, and a slit in the right cross." The name of Levi Johnson first appears in the records in 1813, when he was elected fence viewer. He was also made constable in the same year, and received seventy votes for coroner. On one occasion when revenue was needed, a tax of fifty cents on each horse and twenty-five cents on each head of cattle in the township was ordered. The poormaster seems to have been busy from the very formation of the township. Many orders to poor people to quit the town are on record, but there is nothing to show that any of them were ever obeyed. Philo Scovill was elected constable, but "utterly refused to serve." A few years later Peter M. Weddell was chosen overseer of the poor, and not wishing to serve paid the fine of two dollars provided for such refusal. On one occasion Leonard Case and Samuel Cowles were elected to this office, refused to serve, and paid their fines. The trustees accordingly appointed James S. Clark and John Blair to fill the vacancies. They also refused, and paid their fines. The trustees again convened and appointed William Bliss and Reuben Champion. The former accepted, and the latter contributed the

usual amount to the township treasury.

THE INCORPORATED VILLAGE OF CLEVELAND.

The above relates to the township of Cleveland. The act of incorporation for the village of Cleveland passed the general assembly of Ohio on December 23, 1814, to take effect on the first Monday of June, 1815. In accordance with that law an election was held, and the book in which the first record was made is also in possession of the city clerk. It is old and weather-beaten, but in much better preservation than the one commenced in 1803. Its first entry is, in full, as follows:

Be it remembered that in pursuance of the act of the general assembly of the state of Ohio, entitled, "An act to incorporate the village of Cleveland in the county of Cuyahoga," the lawful electors of said village met at the court house in said village, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and fifteen, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock p. m., for the purpose of electing a president, recorder, three trustees, a treasurer, two assessors and a village marshal, agreeable to the provisions of the aforesaid act, made and provided. Samuel Williamson* and Nathan Perry being appointed judges and David Long clerk of said elections, *viva voce*, by the electors present, and having been duly sworn faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices aforesaid, the electors aforesaid having proceeded to to elect by ballot the officers aforesaid, according to the provisions of the aforesaid, a statement of the votes given at said elections was therefore by said judges counted and decided to be as follows:

For president, Alfred Kelley had twelve votes.

For recorder, Horace Perry had twelve votes.

For treasurer, Alonzo Carter had twelve votes.

For trustee, Samuel Williamson, David Long and Nathan Perry, jr., each had twelve votes.

For marshal, John A. Ackley had twelve votes.

For assessors, George Wallace and John Riddle had twelve votes.

* Samuel Williamson, sr., father of the late Samuel Williamson, president of the Cleveland Society of Savings.

Who were therefore duly sworn, as the law directs, before me,

ALBERT HORACE PERRY,

Recorder, clerk of elections and justice of the peace.

A meeting of the trustees was held in October of the same year, at which a number of streets were laid out,* on the petition of John A. Ackley, Aaron Olmstead, Daniel Kelley, Thompson Miller, Matthew Williamson, Amasa Bailey, William Trimble, Levi Johnson, Joseph R. Kelley, Stephen Dudley, John Randall, Hiram Hamter and Ashbel W. Walworth. After the streets are designated by the number of lots, the record continues :

And it is further ordered the said several streets in said petition mentioned and described, shall be severally distinguished, known and called by the following names, to-wit :

The first in said petition mentioned shall be called "St. Clair street," the second "Bank street," the third "Seneca street," the fourth "Wood street," the fifth "Bond street," the sixth "Euclid street," the seventh "Diamond street."

In the January following the trustees appointed A. W. Walworth corporation clerk, and ordered that the "said clerk shall not issue any amount of bills greater than double the amount of the funds in his hands." In March Alfred Kelley † resigned the presidency of the corporation, and the trustees appointed his father, Daniel Kelley, in his place. This action was ratified by an election in the following June ; and Mr. Kelley

was continued in the same office during 1817, 1818 and 1819. In 1820 Horace Perry was made president ; Reuben Wood succeeding him in 1821. From the latter year until 1825 Leonard Case filled the position ; but failing to qualify on his election in the year last named, therecorder, Eleazur Waterman, became president *ex-officio*. There is a blank in the record book from 1825 to 1828, and a rather hasty examination of the files of the *Herald* for those years failed to discover anything that would show that an election had been held. The probability is that Mr. Waterman continued to fill the offices of both president and recorder until 1828, when he was compelled to resign through ill health caused by an accident. The next entry shows that the trustees on May 30, appointed Orison Cathan president, and D. H. Beardsley recorder. Mr. Cathan, who died only a few years ago at Chagrin Falls, was a well-known painter of Cleveland, and was married to a daughter of Lorenzo Carter. The office was filled in succeeding years as follows : 1829, Dr. David Long ; ‡ 1830 and 1831, Richard Hilliard ; ‡ 1832, 1834 and 1835, John W. Allen. From the twelve votes cast for Mr. Kelley, Cleveland had grown to a total of one hundred and six votes for Mr. Allen in 1835.

Mr. Allen is one of the vigorous and able men who are met at every point and turn of Cleveland's early days. He

* The boundaries of the village were so much of the city plat as lies north of Huron street and west of Erie street, in the plat as originally laid out by the Connecticut land company.

† An extended biography of Alfred Kelley can be found in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, for March, 1886.

‡ For the life of Dr. Long see "Pioneer Medicine of the Western Reserve," in MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, January, 1886 ; for that of Richard Hilliard see "The Pioneer Merchants of Cleveland" in same, for November, 1885.

came here in the year of 1826, entered on the practice of the law, and was soon one of the influential and hard-working men of the place. He was president of the village corporation in the years aboved named, and in 1841 was made mayor of Cleveland. In 1835-7 he served in the state senate, and in 1836 was elected to congress, commencing with the famous extra session of September 1837, and being reelected in 1838. He was one of the active spirits in securing Cleveland's first railroad; was engaged in many official and private positions of trust, and rounded out his long and active career by filling the office of postmaster of Cleveland from 1865 to 1870. Mr. Allen is yet living, and is looked upon by all as one of the most honored among Cleveland's pioneers.

With the close of Mr. Allen's term, as president, the old regime came to an end, and Cleveland entered upon her career as a city. Pending detailed reference thereto, a glance may be rapidly taken at some of the measures that occupied the time of these early corporate fathers. In 1816 it was ordered that a tax of one-half per cent. be laid on all the lots in the township. On June 13, 1817, it is ordered by the trustees that "the several sums of money which were by individuals subscribed for the building of a school house in said village,*

* This building stood on St. Clair street, on the east side of the lot now occupied by the Kennard House, and was in a grove of oak trees. It was of but one story and was the first school property ever owned by Cleveland as a corporation. "But it was not free," says Mr. Andrew Freese's history of the Cleveland schools, "except to a few who were too

shall be refunded to the subscribers, and that the corporation shall be the sole proprietor of said school house, which said subscriptions shall be paid out of the treasury of the corporation at the end of three years, from and after the thirteenth day of June, 1817." In June, 1818, the first recorded ordinance was passed, declaring that "if any person shall shoot or discharge any gun or any pistol within said village, such person so offending shall, upon conviction, be fined in any sum not exceeding five dollars, nor under fifty cents for the use of said village." In 1820 ordinances were passed forbidding swine to run at large; for butchering within the city limits, except under certain regulations; making it necessary to obtain the consent of the authorities before any show could be given; forbidding horse racing and fast driving; making a penalty for the running of geese at large; and others of a like character. In 1823 an ordinance was passed regulating the planting of shade trees in the streets; in 1825 a tax of one-fourth per cent. was laid on all village property, and a new enumeration of property given; in the same year Canal, Michigan, a part of Seneca and Champlain streets were officially laid out; in 1828 a tax of two mills per dollar was ordered. Of course all these things were not done without objection and grumbling from tax payers, as human nature

poor to pay tuition. The town gave the rent of the house to such teachers as were deemed qualified, subjecting them to very few conditions. They were left to manage the school in all respects just as they pleased. It was, in short, a private not a public school.

was the same sixty years ago that it is to-day. I find the following illustrative incident in the biography of the late N. E. Crittenden :

In his early days in Cleveland he was chosen one of the village trustees. In 1828 when he held that office, and Richard Hilliard was president of the board, the members gathered one afternoon in an office and voted an appropriation of two hundred dollars to put the village in proper order. Great was the outcry at this wastefulness, on the part of the taxpayers. One of the old citizens, who yet lives, met Mr. Crittenden and wanted to know what on earth the trustees could find in the village to spend two hundred dollars on.

The year 1829 saw the purchase of Cleveland's first fire engine. It was bought of the American Hydraulic Company, at an expense of two hundred and eighty-five dollars. The same year saw the establishment of a market, and the passage of an ordinance regulating the same ; and also the return of a large delinquent tax list. In 1830 a village seal was ordered ; it was decided that the stalls of the market must be disposed of by lease ; and a tax of one-half mill on the dollar ordered on all city property. In 1831 Prospect street from Ontario to Erie was laid out. It was at first named Cuyahoga street, but before the entry was officially made the name was changed to Prospect. James L. Conger was appointed prosecuting attorney, at a salary of thirty dollars per annum ; and Silas Belden, street and house inspector, at the same sum. Both of these offices were abolished in 1832. In the last named year Dr. David Long and O. B. Skinner were appointed a committee to purchase a village hearse, harness and bier. In fear of the approach of cholera, a board of health

was appointed, consisting of Dr. Cowles, Dr. Mills, Dr. St. John, S. Belden and Ch. Denison, to which Dr. S. J. Weldon and Daniel Worley were afterwards added. In July a tax of two mills on the dollar was ordered. In 1833 River street was laid out from Superior street to Union lane, and Meadow, Lighthouse and Spring streets were also designated. A second fire engine was purchased, at an expense of seven hundred dollars. In 1834 a large number of new streets were laid out.

The last meeting of the trustees of the incorporated village of Cleveland was held on the twenty-first of March, 1836. On March 5, an act had been passed by the general assembly of Ohio, incorporating the city of Cleveland, and ordering an election of officers on the second Monday in April. Judges of elections and clerks were appointed, and the polls were ordered opened as follows : In the First ward, at the court house ; in the Second ward, in the lower room of the Stone church ; and in the Third ward, at the Academy on St. Clair street. This was the last act under the village charter.

THE CITY OF CLEVELAND.

The rapid development of this period resulting from a steady tide of people from the east to the west, had justified this step of extension on the part of Cleveland, the more especially as her population had nearly doubled in two years. Under the new arrangement there were three wards, each represented by three councilmen and one alderman. This order of things re-

mained until 1851, when another ward was added. In 1853, under the new constitution, the aldermen were dispensed with. The term of office of the mayor was at first set at one year, which was extended to two years in 1853.

The first election under the city charter was held on April 15, 1836. Five hundred and eighty votes were cast. The candidates for mayor were John W. Willey and Leonard Case, sr. The contest was warm and full of interest, and resulted in the choice of the following gentlemen :

Mayor—John W. Willey.

Aldermen—Richard Hilliard, Nicholas Dockstader and Joshua Mills.

Marshal—George Kirk.

Treasurer—Daniel Worley.

Councilmen—First ward, Morris Hepburn, John R. St. John, William V. Craw; Second ward, Sherlock J. Andrews, Henry L. Noble, Edward Baldwin; Third ward, Aaron T. Strickland, A. M. C. Smith, Horace Canfield.

Mr. Willey, thus entrusted with the honor and responsibility of first mayor of Cleveland, was in all ways qualified for that position. He was of New Hampshire birth, and when twenty-five years of age, in 1822, he settled in Cleveland and began the practice of law. He was the kind of a man to make his way in a new and growing country. Well learned in the law, of a keen and penetrating mind, a logician by nature, and endowed with great eloquence and wit, he soon became a marked feature of the Ohio bar. He served three years as representative and three as senator in the Ohio legislature.

On his election as mayor of Cleveland he gave himself earnestly to the peculiar demands of a formative period, giving much personal attention to the preparation of the laws under which the new city commenced to do its work. He was reëlected mayor in 1837 by a large majority. In 1840 he was appointed to the bench, which he was eminently fitted to adorn. At the time of his death, which occurred in June, 1841, he was president judge of the fourteenth judicial district. Of the quality of Judge Willey's work for the city, Judge Griswold speaks as follows in the address heretofore quoted :

The act by which the city was incorporated is a most excellently drafted instrument. It shows on the part of its author a clear understanding of municipal rights and duties. The language is clear and precise, and throughout its whole length it bears the impress of an educated, experienced legal mind. It was undoubtedly the work of the first mayor, and I may add, for the purpose of furnishing the basis of wise city legislation, for clearness, precision and certainty, it will not suffer by comparison with any of the municipal codes enacted since the adoption of the present constitution.

The first meeting of the first city council of Cleveland was held in the court house on April 15, 1836. The officers named above as elected, received the oath of office and with them "George Hoadly,* a justice of the peace for said county." Sherlock J. Andrews† was unanimously elected president of the council; and Henry B. Payne was by a like vote made city clerk

* Afterwards mayor of Cleveland and father of Governor George Hoadly.

† For life of Judge Andrews, see 'MAGAZINE of WESTERN HISTORY' for August 1885, under title "A Group of Contemporary Lawyers of the Cleveland Bar."

and city attorney. At the second meeting a committee was appointed to confer with the councils of Philadelphia as to the mutual advantages to be derived from the building of the proposed Cleveland & Warren railroad to Pittsburgh. The presentation of the famous Columbus street bridge to the city was accepted. Glancing rapidly over the proceedings for the next few months, we glean these points of historical interest, showing the outward movements of municipal events: The preparation of a law, authorizing a city loan not to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was ordered. Fire limits were established on May 4, wood inspectors were appointed, and it was decreed that "each cord shall contain one hundred and twenty-eight cubic feet." On May 7 an ordinance was passed regulating the fire department, and prescribing that "The fire department of the city of Cleveland shall consist of a chief engineer, two assistant engineers, two fire wardens, in addition to the aldermen and councilmen (who are *ex-officio* fire wardens) and such fire-engine men, hose men, hook and axe men, as are, or may from time to time, be appointed by the city council." It prescribes the duties of each official in full, and orders penalties for damaging or obstructing the department in any way. All members of fire companies were exempted from poll tax. On the same day the first theatre license issued by the city of Cleveland was granted to Messrs. Dean and McKinney, to be in force one year, on the payment of seventy-five dollars. John Shier was appointed city

surveyor and engineer. The intersection of Water and Superior streets was designated as a public stand for the sale of wood, and Stephen Woolverton, wood inspector, was directed to locate his office near that point. The public square near Euclid and Ontario streets was designated for the same purpose, and Inspector Samuel Brown was directed to locate his office in that vicinity. The purchase of a coat for each member of the Hook and Ladder company was ordered. Samuel Cook was elected the first chief engineer of the fire department of the city of Cleveland; Sylvester Pease and Erastus Smith being chosen first and second engineers, respectively. On May 31, a communication from the mayor on the subject of common schools was read, and referred to a select committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Andrews, Hilliard and Hepburn. The street commissioner was directed to procure a suitable ferry-boat, to carry persons and property across the river at such point as the council should direct. In the proceedings for June 20, the following was agreed to:

Resolved, That the marshal is hereby directed to prosecute every person retailing ardent spirits contrary to the provisions of the ordinance regulating licenses, after giving such person six days notice to procure a license—and also to prosecute every person who fails to take out a license within one week after the same has been granted by the council.

In August Mr. Andrews resigned his position of president of the council, Dr. Joshua Mills being elected to the place. In October formal action is taken for the repairing or replacing of "the town pump near the court house." Henry B.

Payne resigned the position of city clerk and George B. Merwin was elected to that office. At the meeting of the council of October 29, a reminder of the famous "bridge war" comes up in the following resolution offered by Mr. Baldwin :

WHEREAS, During the night of the twenty-seventh inst. a portion of the city bridge, connecting this city with the city of Ohio, was blown up ; and the night of the twenty-eighth the effectual application of powder to the southern abutment has nearly destroyed the aforesaid bridge ; and

WHEREAS, It is satisfactorily ascertained that the depredations aforesaid were committed by the inhabitants of Ohio City, during the commissions of which depredations, women and children were compelled to flee their beds in dead of night ; a stone of the supposed weight of two hundred pounds was forced into a neighbor's house, of ten rods distance, and the lives of families and individuals jeopardized ;

Resolved, by the city council of the city of Cleveland, That the marshal and his deputies keep an efficient armed guard at said bridge, to protect the same from further injury, until further ordered by the council ; that the sheriff of said county and the aforesaid peace officers and all good citizens be invited to aid in the preservation of said bridge and in insuring the safety and lives of individuals.

Resolved, further, That said bridge be temporarily repaired by the street commissioner ; that the city attorney proceed forthwith, without delay, to institute proceedings to bring the offenders to punishment and for the recovery of adequate damages for the injuries the city of Cleveland has sustained for loss of property in the destruction of said bridge.

Resolved, further, That the mayor of the city of Cleveland be requested to assist the city attorney in prosecuting persons suspected of committing depredations upon the city bridge across the Cuyahoga river.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. At the meeting of November 9, we find the following, offered by Dr. Mills :

Resolved, That the guard appointed to protect the city bridge be withdrawn for the present.

Resolved, That the accounts presented against the city by the marshal, for charges incurred in the protection of the city bridge, be referred to the chairman on claims for examination, and such as may be found correct, reported to the mayor and paid by an order on the treasurer.

The resolutions were adopted, as was also one extending thanks to the sheriff and the marshal and his deputies for their prompt and efficient measures for the protection of the bridge. In December a city watch was established. In March, 1837, the mayor was paid five hundred dollars for his services for the year, while each member of the council was awarded one dollar for each session of that body he had attended. The second city election was held in this month (March, 1837,) with the following result :

Mayor—John W. Willey.

Treasurer—Daniel Worley.

Marshal—George Kirk.

Aldermen—Joshua Mills, N. Dockstader, Jonathan Williams.

Councilmen — George B. Merwin, Alfred Hall, Horace Canfield, Henry L. Noble, Edward Baldwin, Samuel Cook, Samuel Starkweather, J. K. Miller, Thomas Calahan.

At the first meeting of the second city council, on March 20, Joshua Mills was elected president, O. P. Baldwin city clerk, Messrs. Canfield & Spencer city printers, and W. J. Warner street commissioner. A great deal of small business was disposed of during the first month or so, one item of which was the appointment of a special committee to "inquire into the expediency of lighting Superior street from the river to the public square, and how

many lamps will be necessary, and the expense of lamps, lamp-posts, oil, etc., and the best method of defraying the expense, satisfactorily to the citizens." A resolution was adopted approving the scheme of Mr. McCabe to issue a city directory. A committee consisting of Messrs. Starkweather, Baldwin and Canfield was appointed to consider and report on the project of a railroad from Cleveland to the stone quarries in Newburgh;* and a resolution adopted de-

* Notwithstanding the facilities they possessed for lake and canal navigation, the citizens of the city became early interested in railroad enterprises. On the third of March, 1834, the legislature passed an act whereby Aaron Baker, David H. Beardsley, Truman P. Handy, John W. Allen, Horace Perry, Lyman Kendall and James S. Clark, together with those who should become stockholders, were created a body corporate by the name and style of the Cleveland & Newburgh Railroad company, and authorized to construct a railroad from some point in lot No. 413 in Newburgh township, to the harbor in Cleveland, and were authorized also to transport freight and passengers on this road "by the power and force of steam, animals or other mechanical force, or by a combination of them." The eastern terminus named was near a stone quarry on said lot, which was near the corner of the four townships, Newburgh, Warrensville, Cleveland and Euclid. A depot was built near there, and the neighboring farm lands were laid out into lots. The capital stock authorized was fifty thousand dollars, which was subscribed, and the road built, Ahaz Merchant being engineer-in-chief, the track being laid through Euclid street and across the Doan brook up to the quarry. The rails were made of wood, the motive force being animals, two-horse power, tandem at that. It was laid out along the south to the west side of the square, and the depot was a part of the old barn of the then Cleveland hotel, where the Forest City house now is. 'This road did not exactly reach the harbor, for in that remote stone age the square was the chief dumping ground for he freight from the quarry. It was operated for a few years and then abandoned, and the rotting debris for a long time remained a nuisance in the highway.—*Judge Griswold.*

claring that each individual who may have license to sell liquors in the city shall be permitted to sell at the race course "for five days, commencing on Tuesday, the sixth, provided each individual, before selling, pay the city treasurer ten dollars." During this year some progressive steps were taken, and Cleveland began to emerge somewhat from the village influences that had hampered it in the first year of its municipal reign. On June 5, Mr. Hall offered the following:

Resolved, That the just wants of the citizens require improvements, such as markets and school houses, to defray the expenses of which it would not be good policy to tax them; therefore,

Resolved, That for the erection of a market or markets, the purchase of grounds whereon to build school houses, and the erection of school houses, it is expedient for the city to borrow on the good faith and credit thereof, the sum of fifty thousand dollars for a term of years, at six per cent. annual interest, by creating that amount of stock, provided said stock shall not be sold under par.

This measure was laid on the table for a time, but on July 7, was taken up and adopted by a vote of six to three. At the same time Mr. Canfield's ordinance for the establishment of common schools was taken up also, and passed.*

* The council (October 5, 1836) appointed the first board of school managers. It consisted of the following persons: John W. Willey, Anson Haydon, Daniel Worley. The second board of school managers, appointed in April, 1837, consisted of Samuel Cowles, Samuel Williamson, Philip Battell. As yet, however, the city council had passed no ordinance establishing a system of schools. . . . Cleveland had then a population of about five thousand; and although no records are extant to show it, there must have been in attendance upon the schools, private and public, no less than eight hundred children. But the school maintained by the city had an enrollment of less than three hundred, so that the academy and other private schools furnished instruction to a very large majority of the youth of the city.—'Freese's Early History of the Cleveland Public Schools,' page 12.

During the year a number of steps were taken carrying these important measures into execution. At the election in the spring of 1838 Joshua Mills was elected mayor; Alfred Hall, N. Dockstader and B. Harrington, aldermen; George C. Dodge, Moses A. Eldridge, Herrick Childs, Leonard Case, B. Andrews, Henry Blair, Thomas Calahan, Tom Lemen and M. Barnett, councilmen; Samuel Williamson treasurer, and George Kirk marshal. At the organization of the council on March 19, N. Dockstader was elected president. No city clerk was elected at that session because of the multiplicity of applicants, but on the twenty-second A. H. Curtis was chosen. The cost of carrying on the city in these days can be seen from a report of the council finance committee, in which it is stated that the probable amount required for general purposes "for the current year" would be \$16,745, exclusive of that needed for the support of the poor. The amount to be collected from licenses and debts due to the city would be \$4,500, leaving a tax of \$12,265 to be levied. Help was extended by the city in a material way to the first railroad effort that had assumed any formidable form. Permission for such action having been granted by the legislature, Mr. Dockstader, in January, 1839, offered the following resolution, that was adopted:

That the board of commissioners designated to execute the wishes and directions of the city council and citizens of Cleveland in regard to the construction of the Cleveland, Warren & Pittsburgh railroad, be respectfully requested to subscribe for and take up so much of the stock subscribed by our citizens for the purpose of securing the charter of

the railroad, as will amount to two hundred thousand dollars, and that in conjunction with the directors of said railroad immediately take measures to procure a sufficient amount of subscription to construct said road from Cleveland to the Pennsylvania line, and then to borrow the aforesaid two hundred thousand dollars, on the credit of the city.

At this same meeting the thanks of the council are extended to General Brainard for "the stands of arms and ordinance procured for this city" (from the state?); while at the next meeting the mayor was requested to deliver to the Cleveland Grays "sixty-four stand of arms, belonging to the state and deposited with the city, and take a bond from said company for the safe keeping of the same." At the annual election of 1839 Joshua Mills was reelected mayor; Harvey Rice, Edward Baldwin and Richard Hilliard became aldermen; George Mendenhall, T. P. Spencer, Moses Ross, John A. Foot, C. M. Giddings, Jefferson Thomas, Thomas Bolton, Tom Lemen and John A. Vincent, councilmen; Samuel Williamson treasurer, and Isaac Taylor marshal. John A. Foot was elected president of the new council, and James B. Finney city clerk.

During the life of this body Moses Kelley was appointed city attorney; the deaths of the first members while in office, Mr. Lemen and Mr. Ross, were announced, and suitable action taken; a great deal was done in the direction of giving Cleveland better public school facilities; the city market house on Michigan street was built and accepted, and L. D. Johnson appointed market clerk. An unique effort was made in the direction of temperance reform, and

the action thereon I transcribe in full from the council records of January 29, 1840 :

Mr. Barr's preamble and resolutions on the subject of licenses was called up. Mr. Foot submitted the following as a substitute: "That the committee on licenses be instructed to report an ordinance for the suppression of dram shops." Mr. Rice proposed striking out the words "dram shops" and inserting "the sale of ardent spirits without license in the city," and report at the next meeting of the council. Mr. Foot accepted the amendment.

At the meeting of February 5, the following occurred :

The same committee (on licenses) also reported an ordinance for the suppression of the sale of ardent spirits in less quantities than one quart. Mr. Kelley moved to strike out "one quart," and insert "fifteen gallons." Mr. Barr moved to lay it on the table. Lost. The question was then taken upon Mr. Kelley's amendment, and lost. Mr. Hilliard moved to amend by striking out the words "one quart" and insert the words "one pint," which was also lost. Mr. Kelley moved to insert a "pound of bread," and was decided out of order. It was, finally, on motion of Mr. Rice, committed to the same committee for revision.

That was the last heard of it, for that year at least, as no further action had been taken when the new councilmen came into power. At the spring election of 1840, the following officers were elected: Nicholas Dockstader, mayor; William Milford, William Lemen, and Josiah A. Harris, aldermen; A. W. Walworth, David Hersh, John Barr, David Allen, John A. Foot, Thomas M. Kelley, S. Clare, C. Bradburn and John A. Vincent, councilmen; Timothy Ingraham treasurer, Isaac Taylor marshal.

Dr. Mills, who had for three terms held the office of mayor of Cleveland, was an efficient officer, an estimable man, and a well known physician. He

was born in 1797, and came to Cleveland about 1831. He practiced medicine here, and at one time kept a drug store on Superior street. He died on April 29, 1843, at the family residence on Michigan street. In speaking of his life the *Herald* of May 1, referred to him as follows :

We need not add a word to ensure a full attendance at the proposed meeting. The constant throng of all classes to the residence of Dr. Mills during his final sickness; the immense concourse who followed his remains to the grave, evince a respect and attachment alike honorable to the deceased and our city. His eminence as a physician, his usefulness as a citizen, his character as a man have secured to him an enviable reputation, while the frankness, the generosity, the nobleness of his heart, have won the lasting love of all who knew him.

Resolutions in honor of his memory were passed at a special meeting of the city council, while the physicians of Cleveland took similar action. A meeting of citizens was held, at which a committee was appointed to secure funds and construct a monument to his memory.

On the organization of the council of 1840, Mr. Milford was elected president, and J. B. Finney reelected clerk. George A. Benedict was made city attorney, and J. A. Harris city printer. Among the proceedings of the year we find instructions to street supervisors to "prepare and seed the southern half of the public square in a suitable and proper manner;" authorization of the same official to "procure some suitable person to sink the public wells, so that they shall contain at least three and one-half feet of water, provided the expense shall not exceed thirty-five dollars." On May 6, Mr. Foot's ordinance

on the liquor question, after much deferring and long discussion, was taken up and finally passed. It was entitled "an ordinance to regulate taverns, and to prohibit the sale of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors by a less quantity than one quart." The first and main section of that measure reads as follows :

Section I. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Cleveland, that no storekeeper, trader or grocer, or other person (except innkeepers duly licensed by the court of common pleas of Cuyahoga county) in the city of Cleveland, shall sell or give away with intent to evade this ordinance, any ardent spirits, wines, ale or beer, or any other intoxicating liquors, to be drank in his or her store, shop, grocery, outhouse, steamboat, vessel, canal boat, scow or water craft yard or garden, owned or occupied by the person selling or giving away the same, or which shall be carried away therefrom, of a less quantity than one quart, or shall suffer any such liquors sold or given away by him or her, or under his or her direction or authority to be drank upon the premises aforesaid, under the penalty of any sum not less than four nor more than fifty dollars, with costs of suit.

Section second provided that no licensed tavern keeper should give or sell ardent spirits to "any child, apprentice or servant, without the consent of his or her parent, guardian, master or mistress;" while the third section regulated the good conduct of taverns, and prevented the sale of liquors to any intoxicated person. It was made the special duty of the city marshal to enforce this law. It was during this year that the public square was finally enclosed and fenced in—fences it took great trouble and long discussion to remove in later years. In September the sale of the city hearse was ordered, as the professional undertakers had un-

doubtedly taken possession of the field. In February, 1841, the following salary list was agreed upon: City marshal, three hundred dollars per annum; city clerk, four hundred dollars; street supervisor, four hundred dollars; treasurer, two hundred dollars; market clerk, one hundred dollars. At a later date the salary of the mayor was fixed at one hundred dollars per year.

Mr. Dockstader, whose official life closed with the end of this municipal year, will be remembered by the older residents of Cleveland as a business man who gave his service freely to the public when he could be of any service, but who did not make office-holding the purpose of his life by any means. He was born in Albany, New York, on January 4, 1802, and came to Cleveland when but twenty-four years of age, in 1826. He soon after went into business, and was the leading hat, cap and fur dealer of Cleveland until his active retirement from business in 1858. He died at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Mary Frazee, at Wyant's Kill, Rensselaer county, New York, on November 9, 1871. He was a man of sterling qualities and strict business and personal integrity, and that he had the full confidence of this community is shown by the fact that he was called upon to fill such important trusts, at a time when men who were given office were scrutinized more closely than they usually are at present.

In 1841 the following officers were elected: John W. Allen, mayor; William Milford, Thomas Bolton, N. E. Crittenden, aldermen; Nelson Hayward, Herrick Childs, George B. Tib-

bets, Moses Kelley, W. J. Warner, M. C. Younglove, Philo Scovill, B. Harrington, M. M. Spangler, councilmen; Timothy Ingraham treasurer, James A. Craw marshal. Thomas Bolton was made president of the new council, and Moses Kelley city clerk.* The first recorded fight for the city printing occurred in this year, Mr. Hall, of the *Advertiser* bidding against Mr. Harris of the *Herald*. The latter was successful, and was chosen city printer. Among the first items of business disposed of was a resolution directing the mayor to "make and execute a lease without covenants for quiet possessions, to Hagerdown and Wild for the fishing ground between the pier and Water street for one year, at the rent of twenty dollars, to be paid in advance." The lease was not approved when reported to the council. On April 4, appropriate resolutions on the death of William Henry Harrison, president of the United States, were adopted. Measures were taken during this year and the one preceding, for the protection of the land along the lake shore, from the encroachment of the waters. In September the committee on judiciary were instructed to report an ordinance to establish an efficient police force for the city, but nothing

* As an evidence that times do not change, I quote the following from the last records of the expiring council: "Resolution by Mr. Hersh: That the mayor be and he is hereby authorized to draw an order on the city treasurer, for the amount of eight dollars and fifty cents and pay the same to Mr. H. I. Mould, for refreshments for the mayor, city clerk, marshal, and the members of the city council. Lost. Ayes—Messrs. Barr, Hersh, Vincent and White—4. Noes—Messrs. Foot, Harris, Haydn, Kelley and Walworth—5. Adjourned."

was done in obedience thereto. The spring election of 1842 brought the following result: Joshua Mills, mayor; N. Hayward, William Smith, Benjamin Harrington, aldermen; William D. Nott, Robert Baily, Henry Morgan, George Wetherell, George Mendenhall, Jefferson Thomas, William T. Goodwin, George Kirk, and Levi Johnson, councilmen; George Tibbetts, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal. Benjamin Harrington was elected president of the council, and Moses Kelley reëlected clerk. Joseph Adams was made city attorney. The Messrs. Gray were elected city printers. Very little of general interest in the line of public business was transacted during the year. In the proceedings of the council for January 17, 1843, may be found the following unique record:

Mr. Morgan introduced to the consideration of the council a paper which read as follows: "To the honorable general assembly of the state of Ohio. Your petitioners respectfully represent that in their opinions the city charter of Cleveland ought to be repealed, for the following reasons:

1. Because it is very expensive, thereby increasing taxes.
2. It can be governed as well by town officers.
3. Those who govern by making city officers pay little or no taxes, and have nothing to lose, whose object to some extent apparently is to bring to their own level those whose taxes pay nearly all the necessary expenses of our city."

It was announced that this document was in the handwriting of an individual who had become a non-resident of the city, who had been circulating a petition for the repeal of the city charter. The paper itself had been found underneath another petition, which said non-resident had been circulating for signa-

tures. The latter petition simply asked for a repeal of the charter without assigning any reasons derogatory to the character of the members of the council. The fraud was discovered by a citizen who had stripped off the upper petition when the paper had been brought to him. The matter was debated somewhat, and was then, with a touch of irony, referred to the committee on schools.

A petition was presented from James S. Clarke, Philo Scovill and others, asking for an appropriation out of the general fund to educate the children of the colored population. It was referred to the judiciary committee. The new officers for 1843, were: N. Hayward, mayor; W. D. Nott, Samuel Williamson, John McCurdy, aldermen; Robert Bailey, John B. Wignan, James Church, jr., Stephen Clary, Elanson H. Lacey, G. A. Benedict, William T. Goodwin, John Wills and Alexander S. Cramer, councilmen; George B. Tibbetts, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal. George A. Benedict became president of the council, while Mr. Kelley again became clerk. Bushnel White was elected city attorney and J. A. Harris city printer.

On March 17, in response to the petition above referred to, fifty dollars were appropriated from the general fund for the education of the colored children of the city. The mayor and street commissioner were empowered in November, to "employ some suitable person to work the prisoners sentenced at the late term of the court of common pleas, and to direct when and at what work they shall be employed upon." Only business of the most trivial and routine char-

acter came before the city administration during the year, and in the spring of 1844, it gave way to the following: Samuel Starkweather,* mayor; Leander M. Hubby, T. C. Floyd, William T. Goodman, aldermen; Thomas Mell, J. T. Marshall, E. St. John Bemis, Charles Stetson, Jacob Lowman, John Outhwaite, William F. Allen, John F. Warner, M. Barnett, councilmen; M. M. Spangler, treasurer; S. A. Abbey, marshal; M. Barnett became president of the council, and James B. Finney clerk.

A word in recognition of the retiring mayor is pertinent here. Mr. Hayward came to Cleveland in 1837, when about twenty-two years of age. He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, and on leaving home went to Buffalo, where he remained three years, and then came on to Cleveland. He was engaged in the manufacture of burr mill stones and mill machinery until the time of his death, being associated therein with his brothers, Joseph and Charles Hayward. He was an Odd Fellow and a prominent and highly respected citizen, and a great friend to the temperance cause, being very earnest on that question, and was, in fact, elected mayor on that issue. He died in this city on April 14, 1857.

In August a petition of P. M. Weddell, R. Winslow and six hundred others, to close all "shops where spirituous liquors were sold," comes before the council and is referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. Stetson, Barnett and Mell. On January 3, 1845,

* More detailed reference to Judge Starkweather's life, and his various public labors, will be made in a later number.

Mr. Stetson offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

WHEREAS, The medical college of this city is, in the opinion of the council, an institution of great importance to the interests of the state, and its present condition and prospects are such as to justify the highest expectations of its future utility, if properly sustained, and

WHEREAS, Its recent establishment renders necessary an expenditure of funds beyond what can be supplied from private resources, be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the general assembly of the state be requested to appropriate to the use of said medical college the auction duties of the county of Cuyahoga, for such period as the assembly shall deem expedient, and that the members of the assembly from this county be requested to use their influence to procure said appropriation.

The legislation of this year was as barren as that of the year before—the improvement of streets, the election of school managers, the paying of bills, and the assessment of taxes being the matters of greatest moment up for consideration. At the elections in the spring of 1845, Samuel Starkweather was again chosen mayor; Charles W. Heard, George Witherell and L. O. Matthews became aldermen; F. W. Bingham, Peter Call, Samuel Ives, James Gardner, E. G. Williams, David L. Wood, Arthur Hughes, J. A. Wheeler and Orville Gurley were made councilmen; James E. James, treasurer; and Stoughton Bliss marshal; F. W. Bingham, president of the council; Moses Kelley, city clerk; G. W. Lynde, city attorney. Among the first entries of the year is the following:

Mr. Matthews introduced the annexed, "That the clerk be instructed to have the city printing done through the columns of the *Plain Dealer*, during the pleasure of the council." Adopted.

The proposition of the *Herald* was fifty cents per square.

The proposition of the *American* was fifteen cents per square.

The proposition of the *Plain Dealer* was gratis. Submitted by the clerk.

James Barnett was appointed an assistant chief of the fire department; the tax of the year was laid at six mills on the dollar; the council was petitioned to take some action to prevent the spread of small-pox, and in response a board of health was appointed; the mayor was directed to issue a proclamation calling upon the citizens to hold a meeting at the court house, to take into consideration the propriety of subscribing two hundred thousand dollars, on part of the city, for the building of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad; these are the main points of interest discovered in the dry records of this year, up to January 19, 1846, when this breath of something yet to come is encountered:

Mr. Hughes introduced a preamble and resolution on the subject of annexing Cleveland and Ohio City, appointing the mayor and Messrs. Bingham, Heard, Williams and Hughes a committee to meet one from Ohio City next Wednesday evening at seven o'clock, and report their deliberations at the next meeting of the council.

There was serious trouble in the fire department just at this time. A report was received from A. S. Sanford, the chief engineer of the department, complaining of the insubordination of firemen. At the meeting of February 2, resolutions were adopted approving of the conduct of the first and second engineers "at the fire of fourteenth of January last," and declaring that "the resignations of those officers, W. E. Lawrence and James Barnett be not accepted, and that they be requested to

withdraw their communications tendering the same." As an outcome of this trouble a proposition was made by Mr. Wood that the hose company be disbanded, and the hose distributed among the several fire companies of the city, "as recommended by the chief engineer." This was placed in the form of an ordinance, and passed. At this point the new administration was elected as follows: George Hoadly, mayor; L. M. Hubby, John H. Gorham, J. A. Harris, aldermen; E. St. John Bemis, John T. Chamberlain, John Gill, William Case, William Bingham, John A. Wheeler, William K. Adams, Marshall Carron, Eliakin L. Lyon, councilmen; Miller M. Spangler, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal; L. M. Hubby, president of the council; Madison Kelley, city clerk; Samuel Williamson, city attorney; J. A. Harris, city printer.

The first step toward Cleveland's high school was taken in this council. In April we find Mr. Harris offering a resolution providing that "a boys' department of a high school be established," and that the committee on schools be authorized to hire a room for such high school, at an expense not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, and to fit it up with seats at an expense not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars. The measure was adopted. On June 15, Mr. Kelley resigned the office of city clerk, and J. D. Cleveland was elected in his place.

George Hoadly, who retired from the mayoralty at the close of this municipal year, was one of the striking and stalwart figures of early Cleveland. He

graduated from Yale college with distinction in 1801, and was a tutor in that institution until 1803. For the next three years he was the Washington correspondent of the *United States Gazetteer*. He came to Cleveland in 1809, and at once took a leading part in the social and public concerns of the day. It is a remarkable fact that while serving as justice of the peace he disposed of more than twenty thousand cases between 1835 and 1850, and I cannot learn that any of them were ever reversed. There was the same confidence in his ability that was ever held in his integrity; and it must be borne in mind by this generation that the justice of the peace of fifty years ago was a more important official in several ways than he is to-day. Mr Hoadly was looked upon as an encyclopedia not only of law, but of general knowledge, science, history and a number of special branches to which he gave special attention. He was an honored and honorable man, and many of his best traits have been reproduced in his son, ex-Governor George Hoadly of Cincinnati. He was hale and hearty to within a short time of his death, but a sudden exposure brought on disease, and he died on February 20, 1857.

The election of 1847 resulted: Josiah A. Harris, mayor; William Case, Flavel W. Bingham, Pierre A. Mathivet, aldermen; D. C. Doan, H. Everett, John Gill, John Erwin, Charles Hickox, Henry B. Payne, Alexander Seymour, Alex. S. Cramer, Orville Gurley, councilmen; Miller M. Spangler, treasurer. The law as to aldermanic terms of office seems to have been changed during the

year, as we find those officials, at the first meeting of the new council, casting lots as to terms, with the following result: Mr. Case, three years; Mr. Bingham, two years; Dr. Mathivet, one year. Mr. Bingham was elected president, John Coon, city clerk; William Strong, city attorney; J. A. Harris, city printer. The question of improving the public schools occupied a large share of attention during the year. On March 24, Henry B. Payne offered a resolution declaring that as the money appropriated for school purposes belonged to the common school, and as over two thousand children in Cleveland, over four years of age, did not attend school, while those who did attend were crowded beyond all measure, provisions should be made for the erecting of new school houses and employment of additional teachers, until "an opportunity for obtaining a thorough common school education is furnished to every child in the city over four years of age." The resolution further declared that until this object was attained, it was inexpedient to sustain a select high school at the charge of the common school fund; and directed that a select committee of three be appointed to inquire into and report upon the expediency of providing for the permanent establishment of a high school by requiring a tuition fee not exceeding six dollars per year, and the appropriation of a sum equal thereto from the general fund of the city. Such committee was created and consisted of Messrs. Payne, Erwin and Hickox. At the meeting of April 3, Mr. Doan offered a resolution continuing the old system for

another year, which was laid on the table. On the fourteenth, Mr. Payne attempted the passage of a resolution to reorganize the schools, making a school district of each ward, with a high school as the senior department thereof. It was laid on the table. At a subsequent meeting he secured the adoption of a resolution directing, until otherwise ordered, the high school on Prospect street should be opened for the admission of girls equally with boys.

Miller M. Spangler was elected chief engineer of the fire department, but resigned in a few days because he did not wish to take the responsibility of the place under its form and manner of organization at that time, and A. S. Sanford was chosen to the place. The first official hint of the telegraph is found in the proceedings of July 31, in a petition of H. B. Ely, in behalf of the Lake Erie Telegraph company, asking permission to erect a line through the city. Mr. Payne offered a resolution granting the request, which the council approved. A resolution, offered by Mr. Case, was adopted, instructing the committee on streets to confer with the owners of land lying between Water, Bath, Spring and Lighthouse streets, and learn the terms on which said property could be purchased, in order to devote it to the purposes of a public promenade. There was still great trouble with the fire department, and in September Neptune fire company No. 2 and Cataract company No. 5 were disbanded by order of the council, and the chief engineer directed to form two new companies in their places. In February, 1848, two

relics of the small-pox season are found, one in vaccinating bills from Dr. Elisha Sterling and Dr. P. McCaffuy, and the other in the sale of the pest house building for twenty-five dollars. In the same month occurs the following entry :

Mr. Payne, from select committee on the subject of a county poorhouse, reported that on consultation with the commissioners and auditor of the county, it was deemed advisable to obtain an expression of opinion from the county, and in order to make the proposition perfectly fair it was proposed to assess the cost of establishing and supporting a county poorhouse according to the number of paupers sent from the respective townships. Accordingly the auditor addressed a circular to the trustees of the several townships, and so far the responses had been such as to render it probable that the plan will meet with very general approbation. In consequence of which a petition had been forwarded to Columbus to obtain the necessary authority for the county commissioners to levy such discriminating tax; and should the authority be granted (of which there is no reason to doubt), there will be no obstacle in the way of carrying out the wishes of the council.

Mr. Harris, the retiring mayor, was the same hard-working, able and earnest man in municipal affairs that he was in the line of work with which he was for so many years connected, and in which he will be longest remembered—that of journalism. He came to Ohio when quite young, and was a leading spirit in this city for a long period. He was born in Becket, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on January 15, 1808. When he was ten years of age his parents moved to the Reserve, and began life in a log cabin on a farm thirty miles west of Cleveland. We find him teaching school when but seventeen years of age. At twenty-one he went to Elyria and entered a law office, but soon gave up the purpose of studying law and

became sheriff of Lorain county. In 1832, in company with others, he started the *Ohio Atlas* and *Elyria Advertiser*, doing all the editorial work. He spent some time in the south, and in 1837 came to Cleveland and became a part owner of two papers, the *Herald* and *Whig*, each of which was barely able to live. He consolidated the two, under the name of the *Herald*, and was editor thereof until the close of the war. He then sold out, and purchased a farm west of Cleveland, where he remained in quiet until his death, which occurred on August 21, 1876. Mr. Harris had the confidence and respect of all who knew him, and his memory will ever live as a part of municipal and journalistic Cleveland.

March 1848 brought this result: Lorenzo A. Kelsey, mayor; Alexander Seymour, alderman third ward †; Richard Norton, John Gill, Charles M. Reed, Henry B. Payne, Leander M. Hubby, Thomas L. Floyd, Samuel Starkweather, Robert Parks and William J. Gordon, councilmen; Miller M. Spangler, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal; F. W. Bingham, president of council; Joseph B. Bartlett, city clerk; J. W. Gray, city printer; Jabez W. Fitch, city attorney.

A special meeting of the new council was held on March 27, for the purpose of considering the expediency of issuing a loan to the proposed Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad. On motion of Mr. Starkweather, Hon. John A. Foot was admitted within the bar to address the council on the question in issue, which he did, as the journal tells us, "at great

† The other two held over.

length." When he had concluded, Mr. Payne expressed his doubts as to the legality of any proceedings that might be had under the act of February 8, 1838. Mr. Starkweather replied to Mr. Payne. He was confident the law referred to was in full force, and fully authorized the proposed loan. He concluded by offering a resolution declaring that the council consented to and advised the making of a loan, or the issuing of city scrip, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, to be expended in the purchase of stock of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad company, chartered on March 14, 1836, and renewed March 11, 1845; said sum to be wholly expended upon said road between Cleveland and Hudson. The resolution also directed the mayor to "issue his proclamation requesting the citizens of Cleveland on the election to be held on Monday next, the third day of April, 1848, to express their views and wishes upon this subject," those favoring to have the word "subscribe" on their ballots, and those not favoring, "no subscription." Mr. Payne moved a substitution of the following, in place of the resolution above offered:

Resolved, That the city council cordially approve the project of connecting Cleveland and Pittsburgh by means of a railroad, and would unanimously recommend that the city of Cleveland subscribe for one hundred thousand dollars stock and issue bonds therefor, in aid of such project, as soon as it becomes apparent that such road will be constructed with the aid of such subscription, and as soon as the necessary legislation can be obtained to authorize such subscription, on the same terms as the subscription to the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad company is authorized by law to be made.

The resolution provided for a vote of

the people before ratification. Mr. Bingham offered as a substitute for both measures given above, one calling for a vote of the people, without any expression of opinion from the council. At an adjourned meeting held on March 29, Mr. Bingham withdrew this resolution, and offered in its place one approving of the loan, "upon satisfactory assurances from said company that said road shall be made to the Pennsylvania line, in the direction of Pittsburgh." This was lost. After considerable debate, the first resolution, as offered by Mr. Starkweather, was adopted by the following vote: Ayes—Messrs. Floyd, Gill, Hubby, Norton, Parks, Reed, Starkweather, Seymour. Nays—Messrs. Bingham, Case, Gordon, Payne. The result at the polls on April 3, when the township election was held, was almost unanimously in favor of the loan, the vote standing: Subscribe, 353; No subscription, 10. The *Herald* of the fourth said: "This shows the universality of feeling in favor of the road among our citizens, and augurs well for an enterprise to which Cleveland is determined to put the shoulder, and help forward to completion."

On July 3, the new school ordinance was passed. It divided the city into three school districts, one covering each ward; provided admissions should be granted to Cleveland pupils ranging from six to twenty-one years of age; and disposed of the high school question in the following manner:

Section 3. That for the better classification and instruction of the more advanced scholars of the public schools of the several districts, a central high

school is hereby established in such location as the council may direct—the attendance upon which shall be drawn from the more advanced classes of the other public schools, and shall consist of scholars who have attended said schools for at least one term during the year next previous to their admission, who shall be entitled to instruction in said school for six terms, and no more, and who shall be admitted under such rules and regulations as the board of managers may prescribe.

During the summer the question of a new cemetery was agitated, and several steps taken in that direction by the council. Gas works were broached in a petition from B. Parker and G. Warren, corporators of the Cleveland Gas Light & Coke company, asking the exclusive right to use the streets of the city for the purpose of laying down pipes, for twenty years. This matter was referred to a special committee, which reported at a later date in favor of granting the petition. The report was accepted. Mr. Bingham introduced an ordinance granting the privilege asked for, leaving the period of years blank. This was filled in with "seven years," but the words "exclusive privilege of using the streets and lanes of the city for seven years" were stricken out, and there the matter was left for the time.

At the meeting of February 8, 1849, on motion of Mr. Case, a resolution was adopted asking the mayor to issue a proclamation calling for a vote of the people for or against the passage of "A license tax law for taverns, for the sale of spirituous and fermented liquors in Cleveland." The election was held on February 15, and resulted as follows: City law, 498; no city law, 64. Mr. Case was appointed a special committee to present this result to Mr. Backus

(then in the general assembly), in relation to the passage of such license law for Cleveland. Captain Kelsey, who worthily filled the office of mayor during this year, is still living and actively connected with the railroad business of Cleveland.

Flavel W. Bingham was elected mayor of the city in 1849; John Gill alderman of the first ward, and the following councilmen: Richard H. Norton, Henry Everett, D. W. Cross, Alex. McIntosh, John G. Mack, James Calyer, A. C. Brownell, Arthur Hughes and Christopher Mollen; George C. Dodge, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal; William Case, president of the council; J. B. Bartlett, city clerk; J. W. Gray, city printer. Among the early measures considered was that of waterworks, the official mention of which is found in the following, offered by Mr. Hughes:

Resolved, That the committee on fire and water be and are hereby directed to ascertain the cost of bringing the water from the opposite side of the river, or from any other point, to some convenient place upon the summit in this city, where a general reservoir may be located; the cost of said reservoir, and the expense per rod for feeding it. Further, that the chief engineer of the fire department be associated with said committee, and that they may call to their assistance a competent person to assist them, and report to the council as soon as possible. Adopted.

On May 31 the board of health was directed to purchase ten acres of land for a "city poor house," of N. C. Baldwin, "lying on Vineyard road, near Kinsman road," and the mayor authorized to issue city bonds, payable in six years. At the same meeting an ordinance was passed levying a tax for this purpose. A special meeting was held

on July 31, to take action in aid of the cholera sufferers at Sandusky. It was decided that no money could be legally appropriated for that purpose, but a committee, consisting of John W. Allen, John A. Foot and S. G. McCurdy, was appointed to receive subscriptions of money and engage nurses and physicians to go to the relief of the stricken people. The gas makers must have gone on with their works, as a special committee is held in September, to discuss the lighting question, at which a proposition was made by the gas company to place sixty-six lamps on River, Superior and Merwin streets, two sides of the public square, Water street from Superior to St. Clair, Bank street from Superior to Center, and St. Clair from Water to Wood. It was announced that the gas would be ready for burning by November. The whole matter was referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Hughes, Case and Cross. At the next meeting this committee reported in favor of lighting Superior street; Ontario street, between the public square and the market; Water street; River street; Merwin street, between Superior street and the Canal bridge; and one light at the foot of Bank street. The expense of each light was announced at about twenty-three dollars per annum; and the cost of lamp posts on Superior street and the intersection of other streets at thirty-seven dollars each; on other streets, thirty dollars each. The recommendation was made with the provision that the question of ways and means be properly settled. The report was ac-

cepted and its recommendations adopted.* In October the speed of locomotives through the city was defined at the rate of five and ten miles an hour, and the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad company was directed to "keep a man with a red flag by day and a red light by night along the line of the track, at the arrival and departure of each train." A special committee, consisting of Messrs. Seymour, Case and Brownell, was appointed to ascertain upon what terms a favorable site for a new cemetery could be obtained and to report to the council as soon as possible. As an evidence of the size of Cleveland at this period, I will reproduce here the result of the annual school census of the residents of the city, as reported to the council in November, 1849 :

	Male	Females	Total	Colored.
First ward.....	3365	3278	6643	111
Second ward.....	2474	2698	5172	80
Third ward.....	2061	1799	3860	42
			15675	233

Resolutions were adopted appointing a special committee to look into the condition of vagrant children of Cleveland and learn what can be done in their behalf, and approving with some show of eloquence the project of a railroad from Lake Michigan, calling on congress to give its aid to the scheme.

* The presence of gas soon made itself felt. Instructions are given to have it placed in the council chamber; a standing committee on gas lights is created; a petition comes from a number of citizens complaining of a leak in a gas main on Superior street, which has "destroyed the drinking water of upwards of two hundred families;" an ordinance was passed to prevent injury to gas lights.

With that the old administration went out of power, in the early days of the second half of the century.

Mr. Flavel W. Bingham, the tenth man to hold the office of mayor of Cleveland, studied law in the office of John C. Spencer, a noted jurist of Utica, New York, and was a graduate of Union college, Albany. He came to Cleveland in 1835, and entered on the practice of law. He was largely interested in various public measures, among them being the organization of the Cleveland Gas company. He remained at the bar until 1852, and was regarded by all as a man of high character and sound ability. In the year last named he was elected probate judge of Cuyahoga county and held the office for three years. At the close of the war he went into the service of the government and was stationed at New Orleans, where he died within a year or two.

SOCIAL AND BUSINESS GROWTH.

The foregoing covers the municipal history of Cleveland up to 1850, but a brief reference should be made to its social and business growth. The advance of the city along a line of material prosperity had not been steady, and at some critical periods there was an open question as to whether there would be an advance at all. The five or six years following the incorporation of the village in 1815 were full of uncertainty and gloom. The prosperity that was expected with the return of peace did not materialize. The sudden change in the value of paper currency, the great financial stringency that was at a cli-

max in 1819, the cheapness of agricultural products and the distance from a market, had their serious and discouraging effects. The turning point really came with the canal in 1825. Work on this important artery of communication was begun on July 4, and the possibilities that were thus suggested drew attention to Cleveland with such force that people were attracted to this point, and we learn that before the end of the year the population had increased some three or four hundred. In 1827 the canal was opened to Akron, and the growth of the place received a new impetus. The first iron industry of Cleveland was seen in 1828, when the firm of John Ballard & Company put its new iron foundry into operation, and in the same year Henry Newbury shipped the city its first consignment of coal. Sickness consequent from the digging of the canal prevented much development from 1826 to 1830, but after the last named date there was so marked an advance that by 1833 there was a population of two thousand five hundred. This had reached about five thousand and eighty in 1835. These were the "flush times," when business of all kinds was brisk, men ripe for any speculation and venture, and a tide of emigration was flowing from the east to the west. There was a vast amount of money in circulation "nominally redeemable in cash, but practically irredeemable on account of the general worthlessness of the security." It was, no doubt, the golden haze and promise of these halcyon days, that led the people on the two sides of the river to vie with each

other as to which hamlet should first don municipal honors, and that brought the city of Cleveland and Ohio City into a troubled and anxious existence.

The climax came toward the end of 1836, and there was a dam of difficulty thrown across this tide of on-rushing life and joy. Banks broke in all directions, private fortunes collapsed, and the panic of 1837 was fully on. There was no growth in Cleveland from 1836 to 1840, and a glance at what has gone before will show that only matters of routine character occupied the attention and filled the hands of law-makers and municipal officers. After the last named date affairs began to brighten. The iron works established by William A.

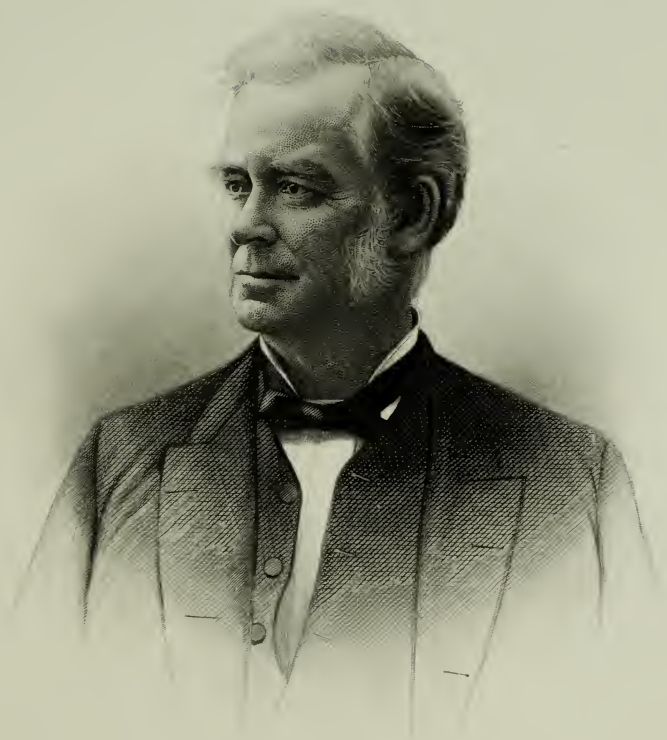
Otis gave a new impetus to manufacturing, and the people began to take heart. By 1845 the city was once more on the full tide of prosperity, its population reaching 9,473, while that of Ohio City was 2,462. In 1850 these figures had reached 17,034 for Cleveland, and 3,950 for Ohio City. Cleveland was at this time almost altogether a commercial city, as the iron ore regions of Lake Superior and the coal fields of eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania had not yet met each other at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, to create a great manufacturing center and build up a trade that should reach into all the corners of the land. The eve of greatness had come, but the day had not yet dawned.

J. H. KENNEDY.

DR. W. J. SCOTT.

DR. W. J. SCOTT, as a physician, surgeon and public-spirited citizen, has so long been known and respected in Cleveland and northern Ohio, that any introduction, or extended explanation as to his standing in his profession or in the esteem of the community, seems superfluous. The good he has done, the success he has won in a difficult profession, and the genial influence he carries wherever he goes, were known long since to everybody. His descent, as his name implies, is Scottish—his grandfather coming to America before the Revolution and settling in Virginia, and loyally serving his adopted country as a soldier during the war for her inde-

pendence. John, the son of this old soldier, came to Ohio in 1830 and settled in Knox county. His son, William Johnston, the subject of this sketch, was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, on January 25, 1822. He aided his father on the farm and attended district school until he was twenty-one, when his thirst for knowledge and the feeling that he had powers that fitted him for other and wider fields, led him to decide upon gaining such education as seemed open to his command. He went to Gambier and entered the preparatory department of Kenyon college. His purpose then did not go beyond a study of mathematics and engineering; but those above



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Respectfully
W. F. Scott

him, on seeing the native power and mental strength of the young man, advised him to go on, and he decided to do so, and to take the full course. He remained at Gambier five years, studying chemistry, medicine, mathematics and the classics, and graduating in 1848 with the degree of B. A. He was no sooner out of the ranks of the pupils than he entered the college faculty, becoming a tutor, and filling the position for two years with signal ability and success. He had meanwhile decided upon medicine as his life calling, and while in college had devoted himself to the study of branches best contributing to success in that line. In 1849 and '50, he made his home in Cleveland, attending a course of lectures at the Cleveland Medical college. He then returned to Gambier, where he practiced for a short period, but soon went to Washington, Mississippi, to accept a position in Jefferson college as professor of chemistry. In 1853 he returned to Ohio and attended a course of lectures at Starling Medical college at Columbus, graduating with the degree of M. D., Kenyon college having previously conferred on him the degree of M. A. He chose Franklin county as the scene of his future labors, and for ten years was there engaged in an extensive and successful practice. He became widely known and sought for, and laid in those busy days the foundation of the great reputation he has since attained. In 1861, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, he was engaged as a recruiting officer and examiner, and made many effective and patriotic

speeches in favor of the government and for an earnest prosecution of the war. In the winter of 1863-4 he again made Cleveland the scene of his operations, having been appointed professor of materia medica and therapeutics in what was then known as Charity Hospital Medical college, and which four years later became the medical department of the University of Wooster. He taught these branches two sessions, and was then given theory and practice and clinical medicine, giving didactic lectures in the college and clinical lectures in Charity hospital, and in the now united medical department of the University of Wooster and Cleveland Medical college he continues to hold the same position. He has had great success as a teacher, and in his efforts in that direction he has always aimed to instruct the beginner how to study and reason for himself, rather than to follow the instructor. His idea is best explained in his own words. In the beginning of a session he has been accustomed to say to his class :

You have come here to study medicine. You have chosen a laborious and hard profession to acquire. To understand it well you should have knowledge of what are called the collateral sciences—especially chemistry, and the more of the others the better.

He feels that in the clinical course the student comes face to face with the patient and the disease, and that there the science is applied, and that the methods of the examiner become of more importance to the instructed than anything he may say on a particular subject. He tells his students that they must acquire this method "by a

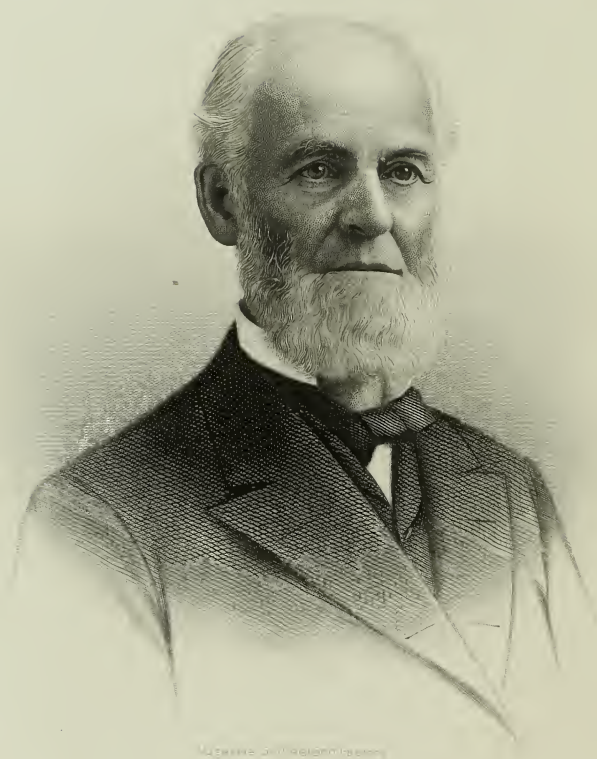
study of their cases when they have time and poor patients, and if they do not thus make much money they may in this way acquire knowledge and the good will of the majority, so that when they come to die they may at least have large funerals." At the end of the session he says to them :

Now we are soon to separate. The pleasant relations and associations will soon cease, and you go forth to try your fortune. Remember that the delicate responsibilities which you will assume require of you pure hearts and clean hands. In the future at any time should you need my advice and assistance, you may call on me freely, but I will not help you out of any mean or unmanly scrape.

In 1864 Governor Tod appointed Dr. Scott as a visitor to the military hospitals at Louisville and Nashville, with especial reference to the interests of the Ohio troops therein. He ably fulfilled this mission, and to the satisfaction of those who sent him, and of the men who were benefited thereby. He has done public service in many other ways, filling with credit to himself, and the good of Cleveland, a position on her board of health ; has been for years a member of the American Medical association ; of the Ohio Medical association ; of the Cuyahoga County Medical association ; of the Northwestern Ohio Medical association ; and of the American Pharmaceutical. He held the position for a time of president of the Ohio associa-

tion, and it is needless to say that in all these important bodies he has always been an earnest and industrious member, and has aided in giving their discussions a scientific character and practical outcome. He is a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church, and has been a helpful and generous member of a number of benevolent institutions. Personally he is a most pleasant and sociable gentleman, and is held in the highest liking and esteem not only by those who have been the recipients of his skilled care, but by those he instructs and by the community generally. He long since took a place in the foremost ranks of Cleveland's physicians, and is everywhere recognized as an upright and useful man, good citizen, and an erudite scholar. He was married on November 25, 1858, to Mary F. Stone of St. Johnsbury, Vermont. Four children have been born to them, of whom only one, a son, still lives. Dr. Scott's permanent residence was taken up in Cleveland in 1865, and he has since made this city his home—filling a wide sphere of usefulness, extending his fame with each passing year, and, it is to be hoped, with a strength sufficient to keep him for many more years in the practice of that art in which he has shown himself a master hand.

THEODORE JOHNSON.



M. L. Brooks

DR. M. L. BROOKS.

DR. BROOKS is one of the oldest, as well as one of the most prominent, of the physicians of Cleveland, and the high place he holds he has worthily won during the thirty-eight years he has practiced here. His family is of English descent, coming to this country in the early days of the settlement of New England. He was born in Berlin, Connecticut, on December 7, 1813, and his parents removed to Carlisle township, Lorain county, Ohio, in 1819, when he was but six years old. His grandparents on both sides, and a number of uncles and aunts, came about that time, making quite a colony among themselves. In relation to the arrival of these sturdy pioneers, I take the following from the 'History of Lorain County,' published in 1879 :

The first settler of Carlisle township was John Bacon of Windham county, Vermont, who made the journey from that point with a team of horses and a wagon, arriving in Ridgeville in the month of October, 1815. He remained there until the early months of 1814, when he came to Carlisle and made a permanent settlement on what is now known as Murray Ridge. A few months after Mr. Bacon made a commencement, a brother-in-law, Abel Farr, came on from Vermont and located on the north line near the center. There was no further settlement made in the township until the spring of 1819, when Samuel Brooks and family arrived in Carlisle. They were of sturdy Connecticut stock, and made the journey to Ohio by the substantial method of that day—with an ox team and a stout wagon. His log house was constructed near the

eastern township line, and was the first in that part of the township. On November 5, 1819, Hezekiah Brooks and family, consisting of his wife and three children ; James Brooks, a soldier during the revolutionary war (the father of Samuel and Hezekiah Brooks), his wife and three other sons, Elisha, Calvin and Heman, together with Phineas Johnson and family, came to Carlisle, and with Elisha Brooks and Riley Smith and wife, who arrived two weeks earlier, took up their abode with Samuel Brooks, making a total of thirty persons in the little log house. However, other dwellings were soon constructed, and ere long quite a settlement had sprung up in the wilderness. This locality is now designated La Porte. There was at one time quite a little hamlet here, with numerous manufacturers and minor industries ; but of late years the town has lost its former prestige.

Hezekiah Brooks was the father of the subject of this sketch, and was married to Hannah Johnson, daughter of Phineas Johnson, above referred to. Mr. Johnson was one of the prominent and active men of his day and section. When the first postoffice was established in the township, in 1825, he was commissioned postmaster, and the mails were received at his residence and distributed therefrom. He kept a house of entertainment for travelers as early as 1820, but it was not until 1830, that he formally opened a hotel—or tavern, to follow the language of the day. He built the first saw mill in the township, in 1820. It stood on the east bank of the Black river. He was elected the first justice of the peace, in 1823. His daughter Julia taught the first school of

the township; and another daughter, Cornelia, was the first woman married within the same limits. Both the Brooks and the Johnson families were of Puritan ancestry and training, and in their journey to Ohio, which was of nearly seven weeks' duration, they religiously observed the Sabbath day by camping promptly every Saturday night, and not resuming the journey until Monday morning.

Hezekiah Brooks was an industrious, hard working man, who performed faithfully any trust reposed in his hands, and who held all through life the undivided respect of the community in which he dwelt. He was one of the first supervisors of the highways of Carlisle, a position of more than ordinary labor and responsibility in those road-making days. He was the second justice of the peace, succeeding Mr. Johnson, his father-in-law. He was one of the founders of the first church in the township.

Dr. M. L. Brooks, the subject of this sketch, was the oldest of the children born to Hezekiah and Hannah Brooks. His life in the early days was much like that of other boys in the pioneer times. He went to school as soon as one was formed, and passed through the usual educational experiences that our worthy pioneers have so often and so feelingly described. When he was sixteen years of age an accident befell him, that has no doubt changed the whole tenor of his life, and gave him to a profession he has so well adorned, rather than to the farm life that might have been his lot. As he was engaged

in drawing logs on his father's farm, one of his legs was broken. As soon as he could get around, his father took him to Brownhelm, feeling that while he could not be at work he might as well be engaged in the cultivation of his mind. He was there placed in an academy which had been opened by the Rev. Hervey Lyon, and was kept in a small house erected for that purpose. In reference to that school, the work above referred to says that it "was kept up two years and attended by a small number of pupils, a few of whom commenced Latin and Greek in preparation for college. This was the first classical school in the county, and gave place to the Elyria high school, established in 1832, of which Mr. and Mrs. Monteith were the first teachers." This school, in turn, enjoyed two years of prosperity, until the opening of the school at Oberlin, which soon took the lead and held it, until the great institution of to-day is the result.

The young man gave some time to the academy, and as the natural bent of his mind became more and more revealed to him, and as he received new enthusiasm from contact with the world about him, he longed for an education and made up his mind he would have it. From Brownhelm he went to Elyria, where he remained some six or eight months in the high school, boarding for some of the time in the family of Rev. John J. Shipherd, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Elyria, and the founder of Oberlin college. From the high school he went to Oberlin, and was a student there for two years. He saw

much and passed through much that has now become history of the most interesting character. In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting the following from a history of that great moral advance in the world's progress :

In 1832, Rev. John J. Shipherd and Mr. P. P. Stewart, an ex-missionary, conceived the plan of organizing a community in the wilds of Lorain county, which should become the secluded home of a collegiate school. During that year they prayed and talked over the plan with their wives, and in the next year came to this place. The purpose of the colony was set forth in the "Oberlin Covenant" as that of "glorifying God in doing good to men, to the extent of our ability." This was the animus of the community. To be sure, there were also found in this covenant the inculcation of self-denial, economy and industry ; yet love to man was the vital principle in the new colony. . . . The chief features of the school, which were especially obnoxious to the public, were the manual labor system and the system of co-education of the sexes. The school was many years in advance of its age. . . . The first year there were one hundred students present. In 1834 the eminent Dr. Dascomb came, and all rejoiced in his versatile learning. The attendance of ladies was about forty per cent. of the whole attendance. These ladies came from New England and various parts of the country. From Elyria to Oberlin, a distance of nine miles, they were often obliged to walk, sometimes when the mud was ankle deep. The manual system involved, at first, four hours work a day for all alike. An institution farm of eight hundred acres, a steam engine, mills, machinery and a workshop were established ; the prices paid for labor varied from three to seven cents an hour.

Dr. Brooks keenly remembers many incidents connected with those early days. He was there when President Finney came to give his life to a labor that had won his heart. He describes him as an earnest, devoted man, who had great influence over those about him, and whose eyes had a singular power of reading the thoughts and hearts of those with whom he came in

contact. He remembers the bitter opposition and misrepresentation the school met on every side. The prejudice even in the most enlightened parts of Ohio, against everything that had a touch of "abolitionism," was something so strong and bitter that it can hardly be understood by us of these days. He recalls the service he, with others of the students, gave in laying out a road from Oberlin to Elyria, and that Rev. James Eells, then a student like himself, was at work beside him.

Dr. Brooks was early imbued with a strong anti-slavery spirit, to which additional fire had been lent by hearing William Lloyd Garrison speak in Elyria. Oberlin had not then taken on the pronounced anti-slavery form it assumed later, and, although the question of abolition had been discussed a great deal by the trustees, no open expression in its favor had yet been publicly made. It was given to Dr. Brooks to make the first abolition speech ever heard in Oberlin. He was assigned the task of making the evening speech on the Fourth of July, 1833, and in doing so came out fair and square for the abolition of slavery. His declaration caused some excitement, but his course was approved by those in control and the Rev. Mr. Shipherd warmly commended and endorsed him on the following day. The general impression is that Oberlin was an anti-slavery institution from the start, and that it was practically founded on that idea. This is not the case, and a reference to how it came to be led in that direction is worthy some space here. At a period later than the speech

referred to above, the discussion of slavery was prohibited by the trustees of Lane seminary, near Cincinnati, and, as a result, four-fifths of the students left that institution, and engaging a hall near by commenced to teach each other. Arthur Tappan offered five thousand dollars and a professorship to the anti-slavery institution that would receive them, but from all the places of learning in "free" America, from all the theological schools and places wherein the gospel was taught to the rising generation, there came not one word. Cowardice sat in the places of learning. The young men who had demanded a right to discuss and denounce this giant evil, could find no educational shelter to take them in. All this happened in Ohio a little over fifty years ago!

But something was astir in the heart of "Father Shipherd," as he was called, and after a prayerful consideration of the subject he decided to ask the trustees of Oberlin to open the school to all students, whether white or black. He did so. The question was gravely discussed all day long, and when the vote was taken it was a tie. The chairman, Father Keep, cast the deciding vote, and Oberlin was made an anti-slavery school forever. The outcome was awaited with fear and trembling by those who had the new institution near at heart. But the result was the making for the school rather than its ruin. The Lane seceders came up in a body. Fifteen who had left Western Reserve college on the same grounds soon after followed

them. Young men came in from all parts of the country. A breath of fresh air had begun to blow across the land; a new spirit was astir; men commenced to open their eyes, and Ohio found herself getting out of the slough of ignorant fear, and traveling toward the broad highway of Christian duty.

While gaining his education here young Brooks had gone forth from time to time and taught school in the country round about, as was the custom of young men of the day who needed funds with which to pursue their studies. On leaving Oberlin he went to Cincinnati, where he taught one term in a school of that city.

He then took a step of no small importance, of considerable danger, and that showed his readiness to make his faith good in his works and to risk his life in defense of his principles. In Brown county, Ohio, there had been established, near Georgetown, two colonies of black people. One settlement contained twelve hundred people, and the other fifteen hundred. They were some ten miles apart. The people had been slaves of an English non-resident, who on his death had given them their freedom, and provided means by which they could be removed from Virginia to Ohio. They were located within the bounds of the Chillicothe Presbytery, which at that time was one of the strongest anti-slavery church bodies of the north. It was desired by the Presbytery that someone competent for the work and brave enough to undertake it, should go to these settlements as a teacher, and Mr. Brooks was asked

to undertake it. He consented, and was there for two years. His work met constant opposition and derision from the white people living round about. They claimed that all such teaching and care of the blacks was but the outcropping of abolitionism, and that it was work that should not be tolerated. Violent measures were at times taken by various parties to drive the young teacher away, but they did not succeed, as he had come to do good to those who needed his help. His school house was burned down, but he secured another and went ahead. At one time the house in which he boarded, that of a noble Christian white family, was barricaded for two weeks, and armed men from Georgetown came out and remained with him, while a mob each night gathered on the outside, shooting and making threats, determined to use him roughly if he should fall into their hands. Once, as he was coming out of Georgetown in daylight, an attack was actually made upon him. A dozen men congregated in the road to dispute his passage, but as he was well mounted he rode through them, and escaped with only a blow from a club. As his assailants were known to him he had them arrested. They were defended by no less a person than Hon. Thomas L. Hamar, but as the evidence was clear against them they pled guilty on their attorney's advice, and were let off on their good behavior. Those leading in these attacks and violence were young fellows of the rougher sort, who knew that the predominance of public sentiment was on their side, and took

advantage of that fact. The influence of politics was also against any help to the "nigger," and the task of teaching was rendered all the more difficult thereby.

One reason for this serious opposition and persecution lay in the fact that Brown county bordered on the Ohio river, while a slave state lay on the opposite bank. The free negro colonies were supposed to be hiding places for runaways, although there was little truth in that charge. The people were too poor to give much help to their kind. Their cabins were poor and small, and could furnish no secure places of hiding; and in addition to this, a constant watch was kept on both places. When recently asked whether he ever had a part in the conduct of the famous "underground railroad," Dr. Brooks responded that he did. He worked with other men who felt it a Christian duty to aid any man out of bondage. When he left Brown county for the north on one occasion, he aided in conducting one family of slaves to Oberlin, and thence onward to Canada. A father, mother and two children had got away from Kentucky and crossed the Ohio river together. They were hidden until it was thought safe to move them. The four were concealed in a wagon, and Dr. Brooks and another white man undertook to pilot them through. They were furnished with a list of the places where it would be safe for them to stop at night, and they got through to Oberlin in safety. There they were again hidden and afterward sent across to Canada.

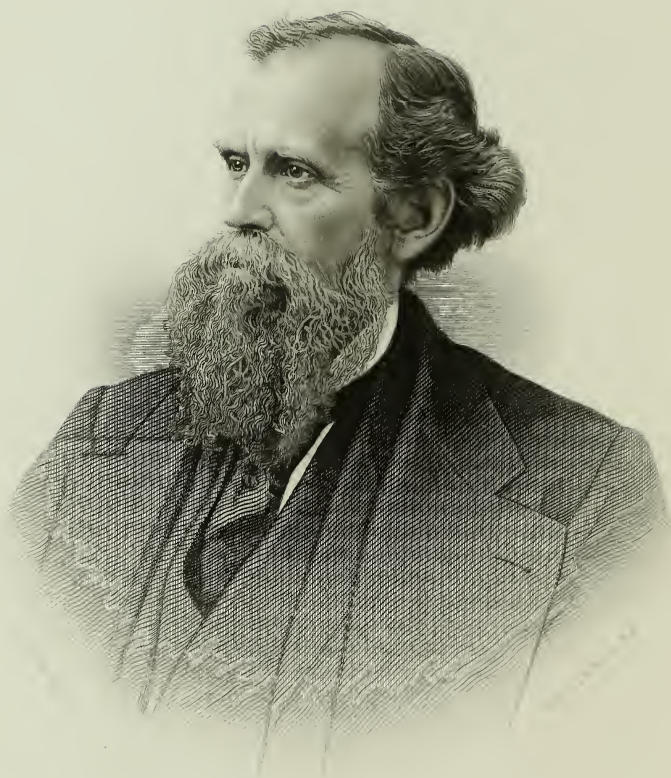
On the conclusion of his labors in

Brown county, Mr. Brooks attended a course of medical lectures in the old Ohio Medical college in Cincinnati. In the fall of 1837, he went to Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he remained in business for about three years. In 1842 he again went to Cincinnati and took another medical course at the college he had attended before, and graduated in the winter of 1844-5. He remained in a hospital in the city for some time, and then located in a small place called Patriot, on the Ohio river, some distance below Cincinnati. In the spring of 1845 he decided to seek a larger field and removed to Cleveland. He was led to select this place because it was near his old home, and that here he would be in the midst of a large circle of acquaintances. He has remained here from that day to this, steadily growing in practice and medical reputation, and as steadily in the affection and respect of the community.

To that profession he has given himself with an undeviating attention. He has not allowed other lines of labor or any of the allurements of public or political life to come between him and it. He had charge of the United States marine hospital, as surgeon, during the war, and was for years one of the censors of the medical department of the University of Wooster, as he is still of its successor, the medical department of Western Reserve University. When he first came to Cleveland he practiced by himself, but was soon afterwards associated in partnership with Dr. L. D. Griswold. A year later the latter removed to Elyria, when Dr. Brooks con-

tinued by himself until his son-in-law, Dr. H. J. Herrick, returned from the war. The two were associated together until some ten years ago, when the partnership was dissolved, and Dr. Brooks has since remained by himself. He has practiced in all the lines of the profession, making no specialty of any kind his choice. He has cultivated a family practice, making office work of secondary consideration. He has had his hands full, has been very busy all his life, and is yet engaged every moment of his time, although of an age that might be made an excuse for rest and ease. Still, he is one of the few men who do not grow old. With a strong body, a mind as keen and active as ever, a thorough knowledge of his profession, including all the latest discoveries and developments, and an experience of the most varied character, he stands in the front rank among the medical men of northern Ohio, and has a reputation that has been nobly earned. Personally he is of a pleasant disposition, with a keen eye that looks through shams and pretenses, and a character of unsullied honor and honesty.

While never a politician or an officeholder, and having no desire in that direction, Dr. Brooks has always taken a deep interest in public questions, and has given his vote steadily for what he has believed to be the right. He was originally a Whig, and on the formation of the Republican party became a member of that organization. When living in Kaskaskia he was thrown into personal relation for a brief period with Abraham Lincoln, and retains a vivid



F C Sessions

impression of the appearance and personal character of that eminent man. He was then a member of the Illinois legislature and had come to Kaskaskia on political business. While there he held a conference with a number of leading Whigs, Dr. Brooks among them. That gentleman in recently referring to that event said: "Mr. Lincoln even in those days gave evidence that no observing man could misread, of having great power and being far above the average of men in intellect. He was awkward and ill at ease, not seeming to know what should be done with his hands and feet, but never at a loss for a thought, or eloquence with which to give it expression. He had perfect command of all the illustrations to make clear his points, and seemed re-

markably well informed. He impressed me as one of the most remarkable men I had ever met, and when he was nominated to the Presidency I did not feel any surprise."

Dr. Brooks, while living in Kaskaskia, was married on December 8, 1839, to Rebecca T. Hope, daughter of the late Captain Thomas Hope of Hampton, Virginia. She is still living, although for a number of years an invalid. Three children were born to them and are still living: Mary, the wife of Dr. H. J. Herrick; Dr. M. L. Brooks, jr., of the Eighteenth ward; and Mr. T. H. Brooks, the well-known foundry man. Dr. Brooks is a member of the Second Presbyterian church and one of the elders therein.

HENRY K. JAMES.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

IN THE ancient Anglo-Saxon tongue appears a name that may be best expressed in modern English by the word "Sass." In this old language it means a dweller on, or a tiller of the soil. Pursuing the study of the name further down the annals of heraldry, the name "Sasson" appears, with the same meaning. The family who bore it were tillers of the soil, and investigation still further shows Sesson, Sisson, Sission, and Sessions—natural dialectic derivatives of the same root, bearing the same meaning, and borne by families whose avocations were shown by their names. In the history of the ancient town of

Wantage, England, appears, early in the sixteenth century, the first records of the English family Sessions. Like many another family in English history, the occupation is evidenced by the name, and the student of history is not surprised to find the family farmers. There the occupation of farmer usually is that of overseer to the large manors of an English lord or baronet, rather than as practised in America, where a farmer is his own overseer. In the old town records mention is made of Alexander Sessions, the farmer of the Dudley Manor. That he was a good farmer is further shown, and when

Thomas Dudley, deputy governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, came with his superior, John Winthrop, and a company of emigrants, to America in 1630, Alexander Sessions was requested to come in his capacity as farmer for the new estates of his employer.

Little that is definite can be said now of the history of Alexander Sessions in the New World, during the early years of of the colony. That he shared the privations of the colony, aided in its development, and managed well his trust, can safely be inferred from his character and from the history of the colony as brought down to us.

About sixteen years after he came the site of the present town of Andover, Massachusetts was purchased from the Indians for "six English pounds, and one coat." A town was laid out, and the unpronounceable native name for this locality changed to Andover, in memory of an English town from which many of its settlers came. By this time Alexander Sessions had decided to abandon labor for another man and to be a "freeman." He became one of the first settlers of Andover, and one year after is mentioned in the town records as a "Freeman of Andover, Mass., 1647."

From this date onward but little can be said of Alexander till April 24, 1674, a record appears showing that "Alexander Sessions and Elizabeth Spafford were united in marriage." To them were born seven sons: John, Alexander, Timothy, Samuel, Nehemiah, Josiah and Joseph, whose biblical names attest the Calvinistic principles of their parents.

Of these sons, Alexander was, in after years, one of the most prominent. He was born about 1680. In 1704 he went to Pomfret, Connecticut, a town started in that colony in 1686, where he, too, followed the occupation shown by his name, and where he lived to the great age of four score and eleven years. His mental and bodily vigor remained till almost the last. Until his 88th year, when he became blind, he managed the details of his large estate with remarkable energy and fidelity. All his life he was a careful student of the Bible. After reaching four score years of age he committed to memory the New Testament, the psalms and many other parts of the Old Testament.

Among his children, Robert, his fifth child, born March 15, 1752, became one of the most prominent. About the time he attained his majority he went to Boston, where he was employed by a Mr. Davis, a lumber dealer, as a common laborer. This was in the summer of 1773, the year that England's persecutions of the colonies terminated in a farmers' "tea party," to which Robert Sessions was an uninvited guest. England had decreed that America must buy tea only of her merchants, and thus by a monopoly, over which America had no voice, control the action and trade of the colonies. The "tea party" was the first effective expression of the people against this foreign arbitrary power. After all negotiation had failed, and every measure to remove the obnoxious tax was lost, the people took matters in their own hands. Early in December a shipload of tea anchored

in Boston harbor. A New England town meeting was hastily called, and day after day various measures suggested to rid the port of so invidious an intruder. The town meeting of that century was like the "resolution meetings" of to-day, the safety valve of the people. Nothing could be done, however, and on the sixteenth of that month the culmination came. About twilight of that day the meeting broke up just in time to see a band of "Mohawk Indians" march past the door, go on down to the wharf, board the vessel, where the experiment of "mixing tea and salt water" was tried. The band of "Indians" not proving numerous enough to do the work quickly, they were joined by many adventurous young men. Among them was Robert Sessions.

Many years after a little volume came from the New England press, and under the title of 'Tea Leaves,' preserved the story and something of all the actors. Several of the guests to this "Boston tea party" had preserved their recollections, and among them is found Mr. Sessions. He says:

I was living in Boston at the time, in the family of Mr. Davis, a lumber merchant, as a common laborer. On that eventful evening, when Mr. Davis came in from the town meeting, I asked him what was to be done with the tea. "They are now throwing it overboard," he replied. Receiving permission I went immediately to the spot. Everything was as light as day by the means of lamps and torches, a pin might be seen lying on the wharf.

I went on board where they were at work and took hold with my own hands. I was not one of those appointed to destroy the tea, and who disguised themselves as Indians, but was a volunteer, the disguised men being largely men of family and

position in Boston, while I was a young man whose home and relations were in Connecticut. The appointed and disguised party proving too small for the quick work necessary, other young men, similarly circumstanced with myself, joined them in their labors.

The chests were drawn up by a tackle, one man bringing them forward, another putting a rope around them, and others hoisting them to the deck and carrying them to the vessel's side. The chests were then opened, the tea emptied over the side and the chests thrown overboard. Perfect regularity prevailed during the whole transaction. Although there were many people on the wharf, entire silence prevailed—no clamor, no talking. Nothing was meddled with but the teas on board. After having emptied the whole, the deck was swept clean and everything put in its proper place. An officer on board was requested to come up from the cabin and see that no damage was done except to the tea.

At about the close of the scene a man was discovered making his way through the crowd with his pockets filled with tea. He was immediately laid hold of and his coat skirts torn off, with their pockets, and thrown into the dock with the rest of the tea.

I was obliged to leave the town at once, as it was of course known that I was concerned in the affair.

It is noticeable that invitations to this tea party were not given in the conventional style even of that day; nor has the like been seen since. The Boston poet, Dr. Holmes, in his "Ballad of the Boston Tea Party," thus describes the event:

"An evening party—only that,
No formal invitation,
No gold-laced coat, no stiff cravat,
No feast of invitation.

No silk-robed dames, no fiddling band,
No flowers, no songs, no dancing;
A tribe of red men—axe in hand—
Behold the guests advancing!"

And then the poet, in his own entertaining style, tells who came to this party. These were barbers, smith-wrights, tapsters, coopers, ship-yard

lads, white-faced millers, Fort Hillers, and others, all "Mohawks" who

As all at once the full-grown infants
Light on the deck together,"

and—

"Out the cursed cargo leaps,
And overboard it pitches."

The Boston tea party may be called the key note of the Revolution. Actual hostilities began with the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. The struggle lasted eight years. The Sessions, many of whom were now in America, all espoused the cause of freedom, and rendered effectual aid to the "Young Republic," in which their fortunes were cast. In 1775, an uncle of Robert was governor of Rhode Island, and in his official as well as individual capacity, did much for the cause. Robert Sessions enlisted early in the conflict, rose to the rank of lieutenant, and served with ability through the war.

In his native town lived the Roxbury family of Ruggles, well known in colonial history. April 16, 1788, Robert Sessions and Anna Ruggles were married. Anna Ruggles' brother, Benjamin, was afterwards well known to Ohio people. Beginning in 1815, he was three successive terms elected to represent them in the United States Senate. Soon after the birth of their first child, Betsey, in May, 1779, Mr. and Mrs. Sessions removed to South Wilbraham—now Hampden—Massachusetts, where they afterwards lived.

Robert Sessions became a prominent man in his community. His occupation was that of a farmer. He was often called to fill important local

offices of trust. For many years he was justice of the peace. For twelve years he was treasurer and town clerk. Five years he was a representative, and almost always his neighbors chose him to that important local New England office—moderator of the town meetings. Death came finally, in 1836, at the ripe old age of four score and four years, and two years after his wife was taken.

The seventh child of this family, Francis, was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, August 27, 1792. In 1818 or 1819 he was married to Sophronia Metcalf, granddaughter of Peleg Thomas, a resident of Lebanon, Conn., who lived to the great age of ninety-seven. It was often his custom, in his old age, to say to his family at evening prayers: "Children, you may get your bibles to-night, as I will not read, but repeat a portion of Scripture, and you may see if I do so correctly." Not long since, his grandson, P. G. Thomas, was buried, and the local paper in the notice of this man makes a statement, showing something of the perpetuity of New England families on their ancestral homes. It says:

On Tuesday, the second inst., P. G. Thomas, who died the preceding Saturday, was buried from the house, in Lebanon [Goshen] in which he died, and was born seventy-six years before. In these days, and especially in this county, of change, it is worthy of note that six generations have occupied the land originally settled early in A. D. 1700, in direct descent, none of the original estate having been alienated, but, contrariwise, largely added to, so that the late descendant at one time owned nearly three thousand acres, probably the largest amount of farming land held by one owner in the state, if not in New England. The family have always been chosen to positions of trust in their town and state, every one of those who have occupied the old

homestead having represented Lebanon in the legislature repeatedly. The second in descent from John, the founder of this family in Lebanon, was a member of the National Council of Safety, and the most intimate and trusted friend of Governor Trumbull. They were also sought for positions of private trust, so that the subject of this notice once told the writer that he represented twenty-seven estates, as guardian, conservator, overseer, executor, and administrator.

The only child of Mr. and Mrs. Sessions, Francis Charles, whose name heads this article, was born in South Wilbraham, February 27, 1820. At the early age of two years, the death of his father caused a change in family affairs and his removal to the home of his uncle, Robert Sessions, a farmer, near South Wilbraham. With him he lived during his boyhood.

The youth of all New England children is much the same. Those whose homes are on farms labor thereon during the summer and attend school during the winter. Above the district school was the academy, above the academy the college. It was the ambition of all to obtain a classic education, if possible; if not to get as near to that as circumstances would admit. To supply such a demand numerous academies sprang up, many of which became noted for the thoroughness of their training, and which were often preferred above all other high schools.

Mr. Sessions' boyhood was like that of the average industrious, ambitious New England boy. His health forbade a complete classic course and a sedentary life. At Monson was an excellent academy, and there at the age of eighteen he graduated and began to cast plans for the future. Next to an

education the New England boy looked to the west for his field of future. At that date—1838—the canal boat, stage coach and river packet absorbed all travel, and furnished for the times a speedy and safe means of travel. Two years after his graduation, the New England youth, almost now a man, left his eastern home, and after a weary journey, by the methods then in vogue, landed in October, 1840, in the Buckeye capital, his chosen objective point.

At this date Columbus was a straggling, bustling town of about six thousand inhabitants. The town centered about a large central square, in the southwest corner of which stood the capitol buildings and the state offices. North of what is now Spring street, east of Fourth street, south of the county buildings, could hardly be found a business house, while dwellings were far apart and in many places not to be seen. On the west was the Scioto river, on whose banks in the southwest part of the town were many warehouses and docks, for at that time her shipping trade was a considerable factor in her growth. Up the river, on its opposite bank, about a mile to the northwest, lay the village of Franklinton, now a part of the city. Its age dates back to 1797, and in its day it was the county town and the chief place of importance in the Scioto valley north of Circleville.

Casting about for employment Mr. Sessions entered the store of A. P. Stone & Co., dealers in dry goods, in the old Commercial block, on South High street. Three years after he

formed a partnership with Thomas Ellis, and under the name of Ellis, Sessions & Co., a dry goods store was opened on the west side of High street, a few doors south of State street. This year a directory of Columbus was published, the earliest of any that I have been able to find. It is a primitive, crude work of its kind. No attempt at classification is made, and but little in correct alphabetizing of names, beyond the simple division of letters.

Speaking of the town, the directory says there are "5,475 white inhabitants, 573 blacks, a total of 6,048 population." In August of that year, some one enumerates the families, and publishes that that there are "1,100 white families and 100 black families." Columbus contained eleven organized congregations of whites, worshipping in eight churches, two of blacks, with churches of their own. There are "six small subscription schools, fifteen free schools, enrolling 700 scholars," and one "respectable academy for males and females," under charge of Rev. I. Covert. The Germans—probably Lutherans—have a theological seminary. The directory enumerates "25 dry goods stores, 8 groceries, 40 groceries and produce—commonly called provision stores—2 hardware stores, 3 drug stores, 2 book stores, 2 shoe stores, 2 iron stores, 17 licensed taverns, where a little *wet* can be had, 20 lawyers, 21 doctors, including 3 or 4 dentists."

At this time the town was divided into three wards. S. E. Wright was mayor, Wilson Shannon was governor of Ohio, John Brough was auditor, and

E. W. Hubbard, commissioner of the canal fund. The Odd Fellows and Masons each had one lodge, and two or three societies of an entertaining or instructive character were in existence. The directory mentions two banks, Clinton and the City Bank, existing under state charters.

The canal, the river and stage line furnished all facilities for transportation at this time, when Franklinton, Worthington and other "river towns" almost rivaled the Capital City in point of foreign trade. Worthington had indeed been a rival to Columbus from its very beginning. It was the most formidable competitor. The proprietors of the "High bluff on the east side of the Scioto" met in their struggles to obtain the *capital* prize of the day. In truth it lost the prize by only one vote, and tradition says that was caused by the seductive temptations of cards and rum punch. Worthington was laid out as early as 1803, and settled by a colony brought out by Col. James Kilbourne, a military man, an engineer, a minister, and a legislator. He and his colonists settled as soon as congress accepted the constitution of 1802, which affirmed the "Compact of 1787," regarding slavery. Had the energetic colonel's plans not miscarried, partly from reasons already given, his town would have been the capital of Ohio.

In 1813 there came to this village, Orange Johnson, a combmaker by trade, from Mansfield, Connecticut. On his journey westward his commodities paid his way. Securing a room in Colonel Kilbourne's hotel, he began his

trade, and thus he became the pioneer in that industry in central Ohio. His trade evidently grew, for two years after he erects a home for himself, is married to Ascha Maynard and begins life. Two years more go around and he erects a brick building in which to manufacture his combs. His trade is now growing, and for nine years occupies all his time. By that time other matters more profitable came, and with them a change of occupation.

Travel, that until 1826 had been done entirely by river, on horseback and by stage coach, began to demand better facilities. Turnpike roads were among the first improvements, and Mr. Johnson began building them. Sandusky, on the lake, was one of the principal lake towns in Ohio, directly north of the capital. Measures to connect the two towns were early made. The papers of that day continually refer to the "splendid water navigation at the capital of Ohio." As travel on the river was confined to shipping by flatboats to New Orleans, the "water facilities" can well be imagined. To secure easy connection between the lake and the Ohio river, by way of Columbus, was considered a feasible project by business men, and the "Columbus and Sandusky Turnpike company" was organized to build a turnpike from Columbus north to the lake town. Mr. Johnson was one of the prime movers in this scheme and one of the builders of the road. Its construction required eight years time. It gave an excellent avenue for trade of the city of Columbus, and from its building Mr. Johnson made considera-

ble money. It brought him constantly in contact with prominent people of the capital, and, in time, with investments here and other business interests, caused his removal to Columbus.

About the time Mr. Sessions came the railroad question was agitating the public mind. Mr. Johnson's turnpike building brought him directly in contact with this modern innovator of old time travel. With two others he surveyed a railroad route from Columbus to Xenia, there to connect with a road from Cincinnati to Dayton, from thence to Sandusky, on the lake, by way of the Mad River road, the first railroad in Ohio. In after years Mr. Johnson became a large property owner in Columbus, erecting the Johnson and the Sessions blocks, and, removing in 1862, he resided here till his death in 1876.

The turnpike he had built to Worthington afforded a delightful evening ride for the business men of the city after the day's work was done. That Mr. Sessions was among those who improved the opportunity is very evident. A sprightly writer of the day even goes so far as to say there was more than pleasure in it to him. Be that as it may, the drives with him usually ended at the house of Mr. Johnson, and one day in 1847, Mary Johnson, the only child of the household, became Mrs. Sessions. Almost forty years of married life have only strengthened the tie and deepened the affection of these two, whose converging lives became one on that August day so long ago.

Nine years after his marriage, Mr.

Sessions sold his store, ceased the life of a merchant and began dealing in wool.

Four years after the great Civil War came, and with it public duties for every citizen. There was work at home as well as on the field. Governor William Dennison was at Ohio's helm, and a more patriotic man could not have held the office. During his administration there was organized the greatest of all national philanthropies—the United States sanitary commission. The secretary of the western department was Dr. J. S. Newberry, with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, and with a field as large and as important as any. Equal to the task, Dr. Newberry set plans on foot to perfect his field work, and for that purpose organized branches all over the west, each one centering in a large city. In October, 1861, he visited Columbus, and there organized the Columbus branch, ultimately composed of the following persons: Governor William Dennison, Rev. Dr. Fitzgerald, Rev. Joseph M. Trimble, Doctors W. W. Awl, J. B. Thompson, T. J. Wormley, S. M. Smith, S. Loveing, and Dr. Francis Carter; also, John W. Andrews, F. C. Sessions, Joseph Sullivant, Peter Ambos, J. H. Riley, Robert Neil and Francis Collins. These gentlemen constituted a committee of which Dr. Awl was president, Dr. Thompson, vice-president; Dr. Wormley, treasurer, and Mr. Sessions, secretary.

The election of a secretary in almost all bodies evidences not only an ability but a willingness to work. After the

war closed, in 1866, Dr. Newberry finished his report of the operations of the western branch of the commission. It is exhaustive in detail and full of valuable material. Referring to the Columbus association, the report, after giving details of organization, says:

Hon. William Dennison was at this time chief magistrate of the state, and in this connection, as elsewhere, manifested himself an earnest, unselfish patriot and a true and efficient friend to the soldier.

Dr. S. M. Smith, a widely known physician, was subsequently surgeon general of the state, and both in his individual and official character contributed largely to the results at which we aimed. Mr. Sessions, another member of the Columbus branch, was one of the earliest volunteers who took the field to minister to the wants of the sick and suffering in the army.

He accompanied us on the *Allen Collier* in our memorable trip to Fort Donelson, and went to Pittsburg Landing immediately after the battle, where he was connected with the great work accomplished in the care of the sick and wounded during the spring and early summer of 1862.

He also went with Dr. Smith to Murfreesboro, upon the occasion of the battle of Stone River, visited Virginia during the second campaign in that state, as well as most other important points in our field of operation, always as an earnest, hardworking, good Samaritan.

Columbus was an important point of rendezvous for our troops in the early part of the war, and throughout its duration camps of instruction or rendezvous continued to exist there. Much labor was therefore thrown upon our associates located there, in meeting the home demand, both for personal ministrations and hospital supplies. In these duties a large number of them took an active part, with marked effect, in the amelioration of the condition of those who came under their care.

In the progress of events it also became desirable to establish at Columbus a resting place or asylum for the sick and destitute soldiers—whose wants were not otherwise provided for—detained at or passing through the city.

To meet these wants a soldiers' home was established, mainly through the exertions of Mr. Sessions,

and, more than once enlarged, it continued its good offices to the close of the war.

To aid in the work of the Columbus branch, an appropriation of five thousand dollars was early made, from the funds of the sanitary commission, and to this fund several thousand dollars were subsequently added for the equipment and maintenance of the soldiers' home.

At Columbus, as everywhere else, a large part of the work of the sanitary commission was accomplished through the agency of woman. In October, 1861, a soldiers' aid society was organized there, which was in December formally recognized as an auxiliary of the United States sanitary commission, bearing the same relation to that body as the woman's central relief association of New York. Of this society Mrs. W. E. Ide was the first president, and Mrs. George W. Heyl, corresponding secretary (subsequently president), while its membership included most of the influential and patriotic ladies of the city.

The work of the sanitary commission did not close with Lee's surrender. There were sick and disabled soldiers without friends and homes, and the commission, neglectful in nothing, set about to provide means for their proper care. Its perfect organization, its experience, its commendable and well tempered zeal, gave it not only the direction, but in many cases entire control of the erection of and maintenance of soldier's homes.

Columbus, like other central capital cities, was an important military point, and a home was erected here. Naturally it came under the control of the Columbus association, and as such Mr. Sessions and his colleagues had much to do with it. Of their work in this particular, Dr. Newberry says:

Many capitals of our western states became during the war important military centers.

This was emphatically true of Indianapolis, Indiana, and Columbus, Ohio, at both of which points large numbers of soldiers congregated to be mustered

in or out of service, to be equipped, paid off, etc. Both these cities, too, are on great thoroughfares, and during the period of the great military activity a constant tide of blue-coats was passing to and fro through them.

As a natural consequence, the work which prompted the establishment of soldiers' homes at other points which have been mentioned, was conspicuously felt at these.

At Indianapolis the soldiers' home was constructed by the state authorities, which contributed vastly to the comfort of the Indiana soldiers.

In Ohio no such provision was made by the state authorities, and the work of relief needed at Columbus devolved upon the branch of the sanitary commission located there, which included a large number of the most intelligent and influential citizens.

In the spring of 1864, they secured a convenient location, just across High street from the railroad depot, and here erected a building, supposed at that time to be amply sufficient to supply the want of a soldiers' home.

It was about one hundred feet long, thirty feet wide and two stories high, fitted with all the appurtenances of a soldiers' home, and could comfortably lodge and feed about fifty men.

Later in the year these accommodations were found inadequate to meet the wants of the soldiers applying for admission, and it was enlarged and its capacity doubled.

Even then it was found none too large to perform the relief work for which it was designed, at times being crowded to excess.

Up to nearly the close of the war its activity continued without important abatement, and it was even found necessary to keep it open long after active military operations had ceased.

It was closed the seventh of May, 1866, having accommodated twenty-five thousand six hundred and forty-nine, to whom were given 34,982 lodgings and 99,863 meals.

The establishment and success of the Columbus home are in a large degree due to the efforts of Mr. F. C. Sessions, a member of the Columbus branch of the sanitary commission, a gentleman who was one of the earliest volunteers in the cause of humanity called out by the war, and who, during its entire continuance, by his labors on battlefields, in camps and hospitals, while he sacrificed his personal interests and his health, won for himself the respect and admiration of all who knew him.

His name frequently appears on the records of the work of the sanitary commission at the west, in which, though an unpaid member, he was a most earnest and faithful worker, and it is probable there are few to whom this imperfect tribute will convey any new impressions in regard to the value of the services which he rendered to the cause of the country and humanity during the war.

Throughout the existence of the Home at Columbus, Mr. Sessions gave it his constant supervision, and he was in fact its outside superintendent and manager.

The interior superintendent during 1865 and 1866 was Mr. T. E. Botsford, who had previously been employed in the home at Louisville, and was thoroughly trained for the duties which he performed so well.

The great civil war brought into being the present system of national banks. In 1869 the Commercial National Bank of Columbus was organized, and Mr. Sessions elected president, a position he has since held.

In addition to the cares of his own business life, Mr. Sessions has been associated with many other enterprises, not only secular but educational and religious. He has been one of the chief supporters of his own denomination—the Congregational—in the city, and in its various public enterprises, and in addition has done very much for the churches of the city when in a feeble condition. He has held the office of trustee in Marietta, Oberlin and Central colleges, of Wilberforce university, and of the state institutions for the education of the blind, and of the deaf and dumb; president of the Humane society and a trustee of the Home for the Friendless. Through his influence the sanitary commission donated the Soldiers' Home and all appurtenances to the latter society.

When the Columbus art school was started, some eight years ago, its projectors and friends found in him a ready supporter, not only in encouragement but in practical aid. Mr. Sessions has been a liberal supporter of art in Columbus, and has at his residence a valuable collection of paintings and sculpture, and has donated to the art association the use of the rooms for the art school occupied by them since its commencement, enabling them to carry on their work with success. In addition to this, not an appeal is made for money that does not find in him a ready response. In all other enterprises for the good of the people of Ohio and of Columbus, he has freely given his time, his talents and his money. Mr. Sessions is frequently called upon for lectures, his subjects being chiefly upon art, temperance, village improvements, city parks, and other such matters of general interest.

Aside from all this Mr. Sessions finds time or, as busy people must do, takes time for travel, writing and recreation, has visited all the countries of Europe, crossing the ocean six times. A diligent student over fifty years acquires no little knowledge, and with it the ability to use it. Hence one is not surprised that when men like Mr. Sessions travel, interesting letters tell where they are and what they see. In the end a charming book often appears.

In 1879 Mr. Sessions and Rev. R. G. Hutchins, his pastor, made a hurried trip over Europe. During the journey Mr. Sessions wrote a series of very entertaining letters to the *Ohio State*

Journal of Columbus. They were received with so much favor, and showed a picture of foreign travel so often overlooked by tourists, that, in response to numerous requests, they appeared in book form under the engaging title of 'On the Wing Through Europe.' The introduction to this book gives a few "points" worth remembering.

"The letters contained in this volume," says the writer, "were written hastily, as I could not catch a moment's time on the cars or while stopping for rest. . . . I have tried to give in my letters life-like pictures and various reflections on what I saw abroad; these may seem commonplace, perhaps, to older travelers, but my excuse may be pleaded in a remark made by a certain friend, 'Your letters contain observations upon common matters which most travelers omit.'"

In that remark really lies the charm of the book. One who reads it sees what he wants to see, the people and how they live, and thereby gains not only information but instruction.

Harper's Monthly of October, 1880, referring to the work, says:

'On the Wing Through Europe,' by F. C. Sessions, is the title of just such a journal of a flying tour of Europe during the year of the Paris Exposition, as we might expect from almost any one of our clear-headed and sensible men of business, writing for the entertainment of friends at home. Lively, concise, straight-forward, touching lightly but intelligently upon a multiplicity of topics without falling into sentimentality on the one hand or lapsing into prosaic literature on the other, it is an unaffected, agreeable record of travel. Its author's

brief description of places of trans-Atlantic life, manners, customs, scenes, and of memorable places and buildings, is distinguished by the business man's faculty for close and sharp observation of men and things; and of arriving at natural and just conclusions concerning them.

The opinion of friends can be best expressed, perhaps, by quoting from a letter of ex-president Hayes, who, under date of July 21, 1880, says: "They strike me as altogether worthy of the beautiful dress in which they appear."

Apropos to Mr. Sessions literary work, I may be perhaps justified in a little anticipation. At the late annual meeting of the Ohio State Historical and Archæological society, Mr. Sessions read a most excellent paper on "Art in Ohio." When the question of writing this paper was brought before him, he, like many others at first thought, said: "Why, what is there of art in Ohio? We have hardly made a beginning." He was told that Ohio was not ashamed of her record in this particular, and asked to investigate a little. He had not been long at the work when, one day, he expressed to me the whole gist of the matter: "I am astonished at what my research develops. The trouble is not now to get enough: it is to know what to omit.

The paper was so well received that numerous requests have come to Mr. Sessions for a more extended history of "Art in Ohio," and I trust he will pardon me if I say he has promised to supply the work as soon as he can take time to do so.

A. A. GRAHAM.

HENRY CHILDS.

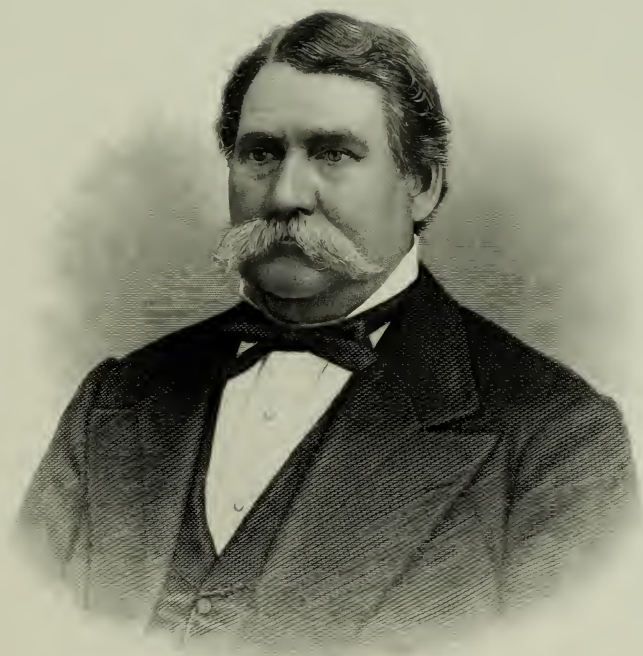
HENRY CHILDS of Buffalo, so well and widely known during the last quarter of a century as a prominent and leading iron manufacturer, was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, on July 18, 1819. He was the second son of Henry and Matilda Billings Childs, and a direct descendant of Deacon Richard Childs, who came from England about the middle of the Seventeenth century and settled in Barnstable, Massachusetts. Five successive generations of this family lived, died and were buried in Deerfield; all of whom, as the record shows, served their day and generation with honor and usefulness—some of them playing important parts on the stage of life, in the early days of this historic portion of our century.

In his youth, Henry Childs received such educational advantages as were afforded by the district school and village academy; but not content with this, he resolved to obtain a college education. Accordingly he entered Phillips' academy at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1839, taking the full preparatory course. He matriculated at Yale college in 1842, graduating in 1846. He was blessed with a remarkable physical development, having unusual strength of frame and muscle. It has been well said by one who knew him thoroughly—"His frame was broad and stalwart, as was his intellect."

Previous to leaving his childhood's home, Mr. Childs made a profession of religion, uniting with the village church in 1839. It had been the long cherished wish of his father that he should be a minister of the gospel; and it was, therefore, a sore disappointment to the paternal heart, when instead of entering upon a theological course immediately after his graduation, he turned his face westward, and accepted a position as teacher in one of the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio.

In August, 1847, he returned to Deerfield and married Miss Elizabeth Hitchcock, to whom he had been attached for many years. She had been the inspiration of his life, and continued so to be through their nearly forty years of wedded life. She belonged to one of the oldest and most honored New England families. She was the daughter of Deacon Henry Hitchcock of Deerfield, and a niece of President Edward Hitchcock of Amherst college.

Returning to Cleveland with his bride, Mr. Childs continued his teaching in the Prospect Street school (which was one of the most important in the city at that day) another year, when he resigned the position in order to open a private English and classical school for boys. This he conducted with marked fidelity and success, until at length, finding that a sedentary life was under-



Henry Childs

COMLEY BRO. NEW YORK

mining his health, he surrendered it into other hands, and associated himself with the well-known publishing house of A. S. Barnes & Company, for the purpose of introducing their text books into the schools of Ohio.

Meanwhile shrewd business friends had marked his development, and seeing that in addition to his cultured and well disciplined mind, he possessed that native business talent which so well fitted him for a broader field of action, they urged his next step, believing that success would be his.

Proposals were made to him to lease for a term of years the Niagara Steam Forge of Buffalo, New York, for the manufacture of car axles and heavy forging. This was when our land lay under the dark shadow of the panic of 1857, when disaster was overtaking the most experienced of business men, and when some of the oldest houses were going down in the storm.

But Mr. Childs felt that this was the opportunity of his life, and though utterly ignorant of the practical workings of such an establishment, he determined to make the venture, and with characteristic energy set to work to make himself master of the situation, with assured confidence of success. He took up this new work in 1857, removing his family to Buffalo in 1858.

In taking this new departure, it was a source of exceeding regret to him that he must leave Cleveland, where he had passed a decade of happy years. He had identified himself in many ways with the interests of that young and growing

city. During his residence there he was an active member of the Second Presbyterian church, serving for six years as one of its ruling elders. He formed many delightful and valuable friendships there which remained unbroken to the end of life.

About eighteen months after his removal to Buffalo a dark cloud swept over his household, taking from him his only son, George William, seven years of age. He was drowned while attempting to cross the Buffalo river upon the ice near the Niagara Steam Forge.

Mr. Childs' purpose to succeed was so well fulfilled that at the expiration of his three years' lease he concluded to continue in the manufacture of iron.

While negotiating with George W. Tift, Sons & Company in regard to adding to their extensive iron foundry at Buffalo, a branch for his special kind of work, he received proposals from the Lake Erie Iron Works of Otis & Company at Cleveland, which he accepted, becoming a member of that firm in 1860. But preferring Buffalo as a business point, he withdrew from the Cleveland establishment in 1861, and in connection with a party in Buffalo, built the Buffalo Steam Forge. Having secured a valuable acquaintance among iron men and railroad officials throughout the country, and having won their confidence by his fidelity to his contracts, and his promptness in meeting his financial engagements, he was enabled to hold the same customers through a series of successful business years.

He conducted his affairs with a keen eye to profit and permanence, always

securing such prices for work as would permit him to do it honestly and well, or not at all. While a just pride in his chosen occupation marked his career, he was never ashamed to take in sail when the wind was high, and the waters rough, through fear of what might be said by his rivals.

In 1877 Mr. Childs purchased a forge in Chicago, and organized the Chicago Forge Stock company, of which he was made president. For several years he carried on the two establishments, giving to each his personal supervision. While yet engaged in active business life, he did not neglect social duties. He touched both the business and social life of Buffalo at many points. He was a member of the Merchants' exchange, vice-president of the Buffalo club, a member of the Oakfield club and of the Masonic Lodge of Ancient Landmarks. He took no active part in political life, but was still a deep thinker on all the prominent questions of the day, and had a strong and abiding love for his country. Having a genial and pleasant disposition, with much native wit, and a keen sense of the ludicrous, he was a general favorite in society. He was a lover of the young and had hosts of friends among them, many of whom remember his strong influence for good, and his helping hand when temptation assailed them.

As prosperity smiled upon him, it was his special delight to have others share it with him. Many in his native village will testify to his ready sympathy and generous help in time of trouble. He remembered with a life-long benefi-

cence the church of which he first became a member. He made handsome donations to the "Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association," or which he was a life chancellor and firm friend from the time of its organization. In his own immediate home circle he was the devoted husband and indulgent father. To this indulgent spirit, and desire to gratify the individual tastes of his own, may be traced indirectly the event which proved the crushing sorrow of his life. Again an only son was snatched from him by violent and sudden death. Henry Kimberly Childs attained his majority on the ninth of March, 1884, and had been received by his father into business relations at the forge. A month later, on the twelfth of April, as he was returning from a hunting excursion down the Niagara river, the careless handling of his gun caused its discharge, the entire contents entering his body.

From this shock Mr. Childs never entirely rallied, and in less than a twelve-month he, too, passed from earth. For several years he had been in failing health, but by his indomitable will had often resisted disease when a weaker nature would have succumbed to it. He was attacked by a slight paralysis of the brain, on the eighth of February, 1885, from which it was hoped he would recover, but he grew rapidly worse and died on the morning of the tenth. On the afternoon of the thirteenth his beloved remains were borne tenderly to the Lafayette Street church, where eloquent words of love and honor were spoken in his memory. He was buried

at "Forest Lawn," beside the two loved sons who had gone before.

Mr. Childs leaves two daughters, who reside in Buffalo, Mrs. Floyd S. Crego and Mrs. Henry Stimson; also two grandchildren, one of whom, Henry Childs Stimson, bears his name. Mrs. Childs also survives her husband.

In the death of Mr. Childs, Buffalo loses an active, public-spirited and high-minded citizen — a man of strict integrity, and whose word or personal honor could not be questioned. His loss is deeply felt, not only in his own community, but by his many friends who are scattered far and wide over our country.

Numerous testimonials, both public and private, show that his worth was appreciated. The Merchant's Exchange of Buffalo expressed the general feeling of the business community when its members, by formal resolution at a special meeting, said :

For nearly one third of a century Mr. Childs has been closely identified with the business, social and religious interests of this city.

We, the members of the Buffalo Merchants' Exchange, desire to place upon our minutes an expression of our profound regret at the loss of so valuable a member of this body and the community.

Mr. Childs was a man of broad ideas, large of body and mind. His business transactions and generous liberality inspired the admiration of all who knew him. He was justly regarded as one whose steadfastness of purpose, integrity in business, fidelity to promise, and sagacity in all enterprises, make his name a synonym for all that leads to success in business and good works. He was a true friend, a genial companion, a cultured Christian gentleman, and the members of this exchange will hold his name in cherished memory.

The feelings of his personal and church associates is seen in the formal

expressions of the board of trustees of the Lafayette Street church, of which he was the honored president for sixteen years. They say :

We would express our sense of loss of a true and valued friend, a long-honored member and president of the board of trustees of the Lafayette Street Presbyterian Church of this city, whose interests in its welfare grew stronger and deeper as the years went by, whose heart was more closely drawn to his brethren in the church by the fellowship of suffering and the departure of loved ones; a man of generous impulses, of genial and overflowing humor, in his family circle and among his business acquaintances, far-sighted, wise in counsel, of quick discernment and sound business judgment; of decision, courage, firmness and perseverance in his successful business career; honored by his college associates and by his fellow-citizens, he passes away, leaving behind him the memory of a good man.

Again, a friend who knew him well gives the following beautiful testimonial:

He was a rare man because he was a real one. Nothing was more distasteful to him than sham and superficiality. He was a man of Catholic views, of genial and liberal opinions; a man of taste and culture, without a trace of pedantry or a touch of imperiousness. He was a natural critic, and his criticisms were valuable because they were intelligent, penetrating and just. He had a sound mind and a soft heart. His hand was hearty in its grasp and liberal in its charities. His sympathies were accessible, active and alert. While he was in every sense a practical man, there was in his nature an element which was genuinely poetic. It was the vein of gold in the quartz of his more rugged virtues. He was religious as the result of the clearest and most deliberate of convictions, but he had no disposition to explore the arctic region of theology. He chose to breathe its blander, balmy atmosphere. He reasoned that since "God is a sun," there ought to be sunshine in the lives of his covenant children. In a cloister he would have been stifled, but he could live happily out in the open busy world, because he could find in it much that was good, and had no fear of the bad. He was the broadest and most cheerful of optimists. His nature was mirthful. He had a humorous way. He believed in both getting and giving good as he went along. He leaves behind him

a record without blot, an example which the dust of the whirling years cannot hide, an influence whose choice magnetism will still pervade the society in which he moved, and the memory of those virtues which made his character so admirable, and ren-

dered his life so symmetrical and wholesome and worthy. Who could ask for more or better than this :

"An honored life, a peaceful death,
And heaven to crown it all!"

E. C. STANDART.

DETROIT—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

D. BETHUNE DUFFIELD.

D. Bethune Duffield was born at Carlisle, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-ninth day of August, 1821. His father was the Reverend George Duffield, D. D., and Isabella Graham (Bethune) Duffield was his mother. The latter was a granddaughter of that Isabella Graham, whose memory is held in reverent remembrance by the church in Scotland and America, and a sister of George W. Bethune, D. D., the late distinguished orator and lecturer of New York. Dr. Duffield was a grandson of the Reverend George Duffield, who was for many years pastor of the Pine Street Presbyterian church of Philadelphia and, in conjunction with Bishop White, was chaplain of the first congress of the United States. The name of this man is familiar to every student of American history as that of one devoted to the cause of liberty, earnest, outspoken, and fearlessly aggressive in the service of his Master and of his country. Those familiar with the history of the church recognize his learning, liberality of thought, and faithfulness in that field as no less worthy of honor.

Dr. Duffield's father, also named George, was long a merchant in Philadelphia, and for nine years acted as comptroller-general of Pennsylvania, under the gubernatorial administration of that distinguished statesman Thomas Mackean. He was a man of culture, attainment and character, admirable alike in public and in private life.

The third George Duffield, father of the subject of this sketch, early showed force of intellect and aptitude for study, and laid the foundation of his later broad and profound learning in his college course at the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he was graduated with honor at the early age of sixteen years. In June, 1811, he took his baccalaureate degree, during the following autumn entered the theological seminary of the city of New York, where he remained for nearly four years, under the tutelage, among others, of the celebrated John M. Mason, D. D., and on the twentieth of April, 1815, was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. From that time until the day of his death, nearly fifty-three years later, he gave a constant, devoted and efficient service

to the cause of religion and, as well, to every agency that aided in the enlightenment and uplifting of his fellows.

Dr. Duffield's first pastoral charge was over the Presbyterian church at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where his grandfather had ministered many years before. There he remained for nineteen years, resigning to accept a call to the Presbyterian church of Philadelphia, formerly under the charge of Thomas H. Skinner, D. D. After two years he was called to the Broadway Tabernacle, in New York City, but, after occupying its pulpit during the month of October, 1838, accepted the charge of the First Presbyterian church of Detroit, which he continued for thirty years of invaluable service, and only relinquished his work, when, on the twenty-fourth day of June, 1868, while speaking from one of the city pulpits, he was stricken down by a mortal attack which ended his life two days later.

The devotion of much space to a description of this remarkable man calls for no apology, not only because the ripeness of his life was given to the service of Detroit in matters secular and religious, but because a familiarity with his character and methods is of the greatest assistance to the ultimate object of this sketch.

Dr. Duffield was a man among ten thousand, even of the educated and accomplished. He was deeply and widely learned, but he was more—an original and profound thinker, never content to accept the most unquestioned authority until he had put it to a test in the crucible of his own mind, taking for granted nothing, and moving from the begin-

ning of an investigation outward and upward to an unswervable conviction, by logical steps, no one of which he ever retraced. When he had crossed a gulf of doubt and speculation, he burned his ships behind him, for their service was at an end.

He was an untiring investigator after truth, both scientific and moral; an earnest advocate of revealed truth; a determined and obstinate friend of liberty, civil and religious; a strong ally of all engaged in the cause of education and social reform, and a friend of the distressed in every grade of life. Strong, determined, an implacable enemy of wrong and corruption in all places, high and low, he used his pulpit to make good citizens as well as good Christians. With all this, he had the tenderness of a woman, and could no more close his heart to a living need, than he could close his mind to a living idea.

His vast acquirement can scarcely be said to have known a specialty, so broad and symmetrical was it. He was fitted to be a leader among the great men of theology, of science, of philology or of general literature, yet he was as far from pedantry as from the ostentation of superficial minds. He was regent of the university at a time when learned men were few in Michigan, exercising in that office an influence in favor of broad and liberal education, which is felt to this day.

The man who leaves a library leaves a psychograph. Dr. Duffield's noble collection of books remains intact. It is as different from the ordinary library of the modish collector as are the real

little men and women, the darling friends and companions of their parents, from the stiff and governess-bred "show children" paraded in the circle of a fashionable drawing room. Scarcely a field of human thought is untouched—many are exhaustively represented, and every volume shows signs of intimate communion with its owner.

Dr. Duffield's many-sided home life is so well described in the commemorative discourse prepared, delivered and published, in response to a request of many leading citizens of Detroit, by his son, the subject of this biography, that I cannot forbear quotation. He says:

Among his most prominent traits was his prodigious love of learning; not for that pertaining to his profession only, but for what was to be gleaned from all fields of knowledge. They who remember his face will recall this, as impressed upon his very countenance; showing an eager readiness either to receive or impart knowledge.

My earliest recollection of him is, when seated, generally in his study, but sometimes in the family sitting-room, with a child upon one knee and a heavy Latin or Greek folio on the other; and the dining-table, at meal hours, always disclosed a formidable volume, with open page, at his right hand.

In those days, say thirty or forty years ago, ministers did not have the cream of home and foreign commentators, condensed into English volumes at one dollar and twenty-five cents each, but their knowledge was got by hard work. And, as I remember some of these volumes, they were '*Calvini Opera Omnia*,' '*Venema on the Psalms*,' '*Michaelis on Moses*,' '*Vitringa in Isaiah*,' '*Lampe in Joannem*,' and scores of others, all in Latin. A colossal Hebrew and Greek concordance, tall and heavy as a babe of three years, lay ever at his hand with his Hebrew Bible—and all costing, what then seemed to be almost fabulous prices, some as high as fifty or sixty dollars a volume. How it was, with his limited salary, the expenses of a large and growing family, and the running of a small country place, with every conceivable thing in the way of plant, tree and live stock upon it, that he could accumulate

these rare and expensive books, was not the only puzzle of my youth, but still remains the unsolved conundrum of my maturer years.

His study was a marvel of miscellaneous accumulations—principally of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, newspapers and magazines, bound up and loose. But round about were hung or grouped barometers, thermometers, and rain gauges; garden tools, water pots, pruning knives, grafting wax; melon and flower seeds, a stand of plants with cactuses of all varieties, Turks' heads, night blooming ceres, century, sensitive and other *noli me tangere* sort of plants standing about, squirrel and bird cages, both empty and full; and a wide-spread litter of letters and sermons, with a layer of profane coal dust generally overlying the whole. Conspicuous, however, on the leaf of his arm-chair, and always open, was his study Bible, a small-typed volume, whose s's were ff's and ff's were s's, but which, with Canne's references, he continued to use to his last day. Upon its pages, scrawled on the back of some scrap or fragment of a wasted envelope, were almost always to be seen the notes or heads of his next sermon, logically thought out and carefully arranged—th "points of his arguments"—to be thereafter expanded and written out. There were no patent intellectual machines in those days like The Lay Preacher, the Homiletic Magazine, etc., to furnish the minister with text and heads and subdivisions, illustrations and application, as by a turn of the crank; but, as we have said, men had to do their own hard thinking. His favorite method was to discover and work out the *rationale* of his theme, and then enforce it both upon the mind and conscience of his hearers. Except Saurin's, he read few sermons; but gathered round his chair, in jostling heaps, were piled his favorite teachers; the vellum-backed Fathers, Augustine, Justin, and the later scholars, Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, and others, long, long since dead, but still to him, apparently, a living and delightful presence. It was not their gems of thought, or flowers of rhetoric, he was seeking to cull; but their aid in helping him in his exegesis—for he was never satisfied until he had mastered, first, the literal meaning of the text, and then the text in the real spirit of the context. He, therefore, not only studied, but profoundly meditated over his theme; and when his conclusions were reached, they were his own, and not another's. And so, as his sermons continuously disclosed the freshness of his thought to his people, they could see,

from year to year, not only of the travail, but also of the strong growth of his soul, in its yearnings to bring men to the knowledge of what he heartily and honestly believed to be the truth.

"*Optima autem haereditas, a patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio praestantior, gloria virtutis, rerumque gestarum.*" This utterance of Rome's greatest orator is prefixed to the memoir from which the foregoing quotation is made and fitly, for the influence of a noble father, supported by the formative force conveyed in the traditions of remoter ancestors, uniformly men of cultivated understanding and sensitive conscience, is a priceless inheritance, and one which comes to few with the unintercepted force with which it reached the sons of Dr. Duffield.

D. Bethune Duffield, of course, remained with his parents during their residence at Carlisle. He early entered the preparatory department of Dickinson college at that place, and was prepared to enter the freshman class of the collegiate department at twelve years of age. He seems to have inherited the natural capacity, which enabled his father to take his college degree at sixteen.

Fortunately, as it seems, the rules of Dickinson college forbade the admission of freshmen less than fourteen years of age, and Mr. Duffield was compelled to defer his matriculation, thus being reserved for education in another and better equipped institution. In 1835, with his parents, he removed to Philadelphia, studied in that city until 1836, and entered Yale college with the class of 1840, but was compelled by family

circumstances to forego completing the course.

During his college study he displayed that taste for languages, for polite literature and for English composition in prose and verse, the gratification of which has formed the relaxation and unfailling pleasure of his life. These tastes he came most honestly by, as many of his relatives and ancestors, on both sides of the house, were people of literary ability and repute. Unlike most college graduates in these days of intensely concentrated effort, he has maintained his command of the languages, both dead and living, and has extended his familiarity with the great literatures of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin tongues, with every year of his life, while the best work of the modern continental masters, especially German and French, is within his reach, untouched of the translator.

It was in 1838 that Dr. Duffield removed to Detroit, and his son naturally turned his thoughts thither in search of a future. He first went to that city in 1839 and was, for a time, a student in the office of the law firm of Bates & Talbott, who then held a leading position at the bar of the city. Returning to New Haven, he entered the law school of Yale college, from which he was graduated in the year 1843, before attaining his majority. Some years later he received the unsolicited honor of a bachelor's degree from Yale. Thence he went to New York and for nearly a year pursued a course at the Union Theological seminary. His health failing he returned to Detroit, where he

was admitted to the practice of the law in 1843 and where he has since resided.

In the spring of 1844 he formed a law partnership with George V. N. Lothrop, since so widely and justly distinguished, and at present minister plenipotentiary to Russia. This continued, with increasing profit, until 1856, when Mr. Lothrop's political tastes led him into such engagements as to compel its dissolution. Profitable as the association was, in making money and reputation for the young lawyers, it had a distinct value in forming a friendship which no diversity of interests with of separation, or difference of politics has ever interrupted. During the thirty years since the severance of their business relations, they have always occupied adjoining offices, using their undivided library, and have maintained an intimacy begun when both were tyros at the law.

Mr. Duffield's practice is large and profitable, and, better still, is of the best class. His practice at the bar is distinctly first-class, and he is admittedly in deserved association with the best men of his profession, many of whom are his seniors in years and service. He was in 1847 elected city attorney, and was many years ago a commissioner of the United States courts, which are the only offices he has ever held in the line of his profession. As a lawyer, he is prompt, punctual, clear and decisive; in his practice, as elsewhere, he is punctiliously courteous and of untainted and scrupulous honesty. After parting with Mr. Lothrop, he practiced—save for ten years when his brother, H. M. Duf-

field, was his partner—quite alone until the recent admission of his son, Bethune Duffield, whom he has quite recently had the pleasure of admitting to a share in his practice. He is still an habitual worker, with the promise of a long continued activity.

Mr. Duffield has been for many years Secretary of the Bar of Detroit, an office which has brought him into constant and close intercourse with the leading lawyers of the city, and has been an especially pleasant service. He succeeded the late William Gray, in the place.

Many years ago—in 1847—Mr Duffield was elected a member of the Detroit board of education, and his services in that body was almost continuous until 1861.

During several of these years he was president of the board, than which few similar bodies in other cities have numbered so many men, thoroughly representative of the best moral, intellectual and business standards of the community. He was associated, during his official connection with the board, with such men as James V. Campbell, Samuel Barstow, Levi Bishop, William D. Wilkins, C. I. Walker, S. T. Douglass, J. J. Bagely, William A. Moore, and others. He recast the whole course of study, in all the departments and grades of the schools, basing his action upon careful experiment continued through a period of two years. This plan remained unchanged for many years. He is also credited with having originated and established, not without much opposition, though well supported by two or three members of the board, the high school

of Detroit, which has since resisted all the many assaults made upon it.

During the period of Mr. Duffield's retirement from the board of education, it was proposed to name for him one of the school buildings of the city. This he preferred should not be done, but an absence abroad in 1855, gave opportunity and he was compelled to stand god-father to the Union building on Clinton street, which is still known as "The Duffield Union School." It was through his influence directly that the lot on which the Case school stands, was secured from its distinguished donor.

As president of the board of education, Mr. Duffield took a leading part in the successful effort to compel the city of Detroit to account for the moneys received for fines and penalties in minor cases, which the state constitution provided should be applied to library purposes, but which had for years been wrongfully converted to other uses. As a result, the city was compelled, in 1860, after a stubborn contest, to pay over to the library commission the sum of seven thousand dollars, and the proper application of such moneys was insured for the future, affording a constant and growing income, which has made the present excellent library a possibility. The action was carried to the supreme court in the name of Mr. Duffield, as president of the board, as relator, and is reported in the eighth of Michigan, report 392.

Mr. Duffield has been constant and active in his interest in all matters affecting the mental, moral and religi-

ous interests of the community. He is a member and officially connected with the First Presbyterian church, of which his father was so long pastor, and has devoted much attention to the matter of Sabbath schools and missions. He originated, and caused to be incorporated, the People's Tabernacle of Detroit, a non-sectarian institution, absolutely free, and sustained by the contributions of those interested in the work. He was president of the Young Men's Christian association in 1854, and was chosen the first president of the "Red Ribbon Society," which, about 1877, gained a membership of eight thousand persons, as a result of the temperance work of Dr. Reynolds and Francis Murphy. He was also secretary of the Harper hospital, at the time of the organization of that corporation, and, indeed, perfected its incorporation. He was a prominent and active member, and once president of the Young Men's society.

Family traditions, as well as his own principles and opinions, made Mr. Duffield first a Whig, and, when the Republican party was organized, in 1856, insured his adherence to it from the first. He has persistently declined to become a candidate for office, having held no official positions save the purely local ones already mentioned. In every presidential campaign, however, he has worked freely and efficiently for the success of his party upon the stump and rostrum.

During the war he was a devoted supporter of the administration, as the representative of the right and of constitu-

tional authority. The son of such a father, with the recollection of the services rendered to the cause of freedom by remoter ancestors, could not have been otherwise than instant earnest in the aid of so worthy an effort. As a speaker and writer, in prose and of stirring patriotic verse so warmly received in those days, he constantly sought to hold up the hands of the Federal cause, to encourage enlistment, and to enspirited the soldiers to their utmost efforts.

He had always held the institution of slavery to be a foul blot upon our civilization and an awful crime against God and man, but as a lawyer he saw in the constitutional defense which hedged it about, an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of its removal. He was in the position of thousands of the bravest and wisest enemies of slavery, in that he held the constitution to be a sacred limit of legislative action, and thus two good motives strove against each other. He held the office of United States commissioner during the operation of the fugitive slave law, and at a time when many men whose stand now seems all but incredible, held an "abolitionist" to be "worse than a nigger." Some of these on one occasion, concluded to compel him to make a record upon the abominable fugitive question, and decided to bring a captured negro before him for preliminary examination. This came to his knowledge and he at once determined that he would not be ground between the millstones of moral principle and official duty. Should the negro be brought before him and a *prima facie* case established, he could

not disregard his oath and discharge the prisoner; on the other hand, he was bound to hold himself free from the blood-guiltiness of sending a human being back into bondage. With this in mind he hastened into court and resigned his office, just in time to defeat the plan so cleverly laid for his confusion.

Mr. Duffield's opinions upon war matters and post bellum policy were practical, and, though advanced, had nothing fanatical about them. Occupying the rostrum as one of the orators at a Fourth of July meeting, during the reconstruction period, his colleague J. M. Howard, United States senator, asked him what he thought of giving the ballot to the negro. He answered, "I do not favor it, at least now. It seems to me that American citizenship, after this bloody war, has cost too much to be given to men who cannot read or write, much less comprehend their duties and privileges under the constitution." Mr. Howard replied: "It must be done, Bethune; we cannot, as a party, otherwise hold the reconstructed states."

"If you are contented to treat this question as a matter of politics, instead of statescraft, you must take the responsibility," said Mr. Duffield. "You are a United States senator; say what you wish and in my remarks I will confine myself to other topics. I cannot agree with you."

It would be much amiss, were this biography to close without some words regarding Mr. Duffield's literary employment. Naturally gifted with a fine literary discrimination, his formal edu-



James M. Mulan

cation and his home influences tended to its development and almost forced him to the exercise of the ability which came to him so honestly, by right of inheritance. Even in his childhood he lived among books, and the best of books, in an environment of thought and criticism. One without a natural bent for letters could scarcely escape the contagion of such an atmosphere, and his predisposition was decisive of the result.

From his youth, literary work has been his relaxation and entertainment. He has written much in prose and verse, but has published little, and would gladly have published less. When his work has seen the light, it has been either such as he belived timely and calculated for some distinctly useful end, or such as repeated demands made for his aid upon occasions of public ceremonial forbade the privacy of his portfolio. Of the latter class may be mentioned as typical, his historical poem "The Battle of Lake Erie," delivered upon the occasion of the laying the foundation of the Perry monument at Put-in-Bay, and his "National Centennial Poem," delivered at the celebration in Detroit of the Fourth of July, 1876. Both of these are poetically of permanent value, and the former evoked by its truth to history many letters of compliment and thanks from survivors of the battle which it describes. In quite a different vein is his "*De Arte Medendi*," prepared for the fourteenth annual commencement of the Detroit Medical college. In its way—a way suggesting the *nonchalant* after dinner verse of Dr. Holmes—it is ad-

mirable, combining rarely wit, humor, feeling and reverence. His various poems delivered before the bar of Detroit are of similar character and are pleasantly remembered by his professional brethren.

While yet a youth, Mr. Duffield contributed to *The Knickerbocker*, a magazine published by Willis Gaylord Clark, and has since written occasionally for other periodicals. Many of his fugitive verses have been transferred from the newspaper press to various collections of poetry, some bearing no signature, others with only his initials and a few under his name, but, if I mistake not, the only publication of the kind made with his knowledge, was that of several examples of his verse in Coggeshall's "Poets and Poetry of the West," issued in 1860.

Mr. Duffield married Mary Strong Buell, daughter of Eben N. Buell of Rochester, New York, in the year 1854.

JAMES MCMILLAN.

James McMillan of Detroit is a man whose various lines of effort have touched almost every material and social interest of that city, as well as many reaching far beyond its boundaries. He is one of a class of men of which the present generation has furnished a few and former generations almost none, because they embody the genius of the nineteenth century—who seem to have begun life where their parents left it, to have taken to themselves the direct benefit of the experiments and the failures of former generations and, hence, at middle life, attain a degree of

success that twice a lifetime would scarcely have made possible in earlier years. His accumulation of wealth, and his constant access of influence have come to him by legitimate means, differing essentially from the purely speculative methods by which many of the great estates of America have been accumulated—differing as far as industry and sagacity are different from blind trust in chance.

His parents, William and Grace McMillan, were natives of Scotland. In 1834 they emigrated to Canada and settled in Hamilton, where Jame McMillan was born, on the twelfth day of May, 1838. The elder McMillan was a person of exceptionally strong and symmetrical character, and of the highest principle and integrity. He was singularly broad and liberal minded, widely and exactly informed, and his opinions, based upon knowledge, were tenaciously held and uttered with entire fearlessness.

Such a man was a valuable acquisition to the young Canada of half a century ago, and that he should attain success and exceptional position was a matter of course. His connection was wide, and he was actively interested in many important enterprises, which made his name known throughout the whole of Ontario. He was an officer of the Great Western Railway company from the inception of that institution until his death, was a director of one of the Hamilton banks and of the Gas Light company, and was associated with many other institutions of that city. He died in 1874, leaving a handsome

property, which was divided among his sons.

James McMillan was the second son of a family of six sons and one daughter. He began his educational course at the grammar school at Hamilton, a preparatory institution for the Toronto college, at the head of the English department of which was Dr. Tassie, an able and successful teacher, who has placed his impress upon many of the most prominent men now active in Canadian affairs. Relinquishing the plan of taking a college course, Mr. McMillan left the grammar school, after having acquired a thoroughly practical education, and was placed in a hardware establishment, where he spent four years in learning the details of the business, thus acquiring, by practical experience in the retail trade, a minute and invaluable knowledge of matters in which he has since been so constantly engaged upon an enormous scale.

Having mastered all that his employers could teach him, he removed to Detroit and continued his systematic study of the iron trade, by connecting himself with the wholesale house of Buhl & Ducharme, where he remained for two years. Through the influence of his father he then obtained an appointment to the important position of purchasing agent of the Detroit & Milwaukee railroad, a post requiring such qualities as are rarely found in a boy—for he was, in fact, nothing more in years. While so engaged he attracted the attention of a gentleman engaged upon a large railroad building contract, and from him received an offer of em-

ployment at a large salary, which he accepted. He was then in his twentieth year. The force employed by the contractor was a very large one, and the duties of his new position included the hiring of men, the purchase of supplies and the care of the finances in connection with the force. The experience was not only immediately remunerative, but was immensely profitable as a preparation for the future demands upon his judgment and executive ability. Indeed, in looking over the successive events of Mr. McMillan's life, one can scarcely fail to be struck with the series of contributions made by circumstances toward a perfect equipment for a career, the direction of which could be but very generally forecast and the extent not at all. From the foundation stone of his business training, to the last handstroke upon the completed work, everything is solid, honest and symmetrical, and he may well feel the same satisfaction that Thoreau expressed, when he entered his lodge in the New England woods, that the workmanship is his own.

When the contract upon which he was engaged was completed, Mr. McMillan's employer desired to retain his services and made him an offer to that end. He was about to undertake extensive work in Spain, and an acceptance would have involved a prolonged residence in that country, which might well have changed the whole course of his life. While the young man was seriously considering the proposal, there came from the Detroit & Milwaukee road a proffer of reappointment to the position

of purchasing agent, which he had before held. This determined him to remain in Detroit, and prevented the erection of possible *chateaux en Espagne*, probably much to the profit of both himself and his adopted city.

In 1864 Mr. McMillan associated himself with Messrs. Newberry, Dean and Eaton, in the foundation of the well known corporation, the Michigan Car company, from which have sprung a large number of associated corporations, among the most important in Detroit. Of these I may name the Detroit Car Wheel company, the Baugh Steam Forge company, and the Detroit Iron Furnace company, of all of which he is president and the principal owner. The business of these Detroit establishments varies from three million to five million dollars annually, and the average force of operatives numbers more than two thousand five hundred. Upon the basis of statistics this number of men would represent the entire working population of a city of more than ten thousand inhabitants, and, to press the illustration still farther, if the ratio holds good, something like one person of every thirteen living in Detroit draws support from these establishments, which fall far short of representing all of Mr. McMillan's business investments in the city.

Mr. McMillan's car building enterprises have not been confined to Detroit or to the state of Michigan. He was long prominently connected and heavily interested in car works at London, Ontario, and at St. Louis, Missouri, both of which are extensive and are indebted

largely to his sagacity and Napoleonic administrative genius for their success.

Some five years ago Mr. McMillan, in association with other capitalists of Detroit and New York, built the Detroit, Mackinac & Marquette railroad, extending one hundred and fifty miles, through the upper peninsula of Michigan, and opening extensive lumber and mineral fields. Of this road he is, and from its inception has been, the president.

Some years since Mr. McMillan became interested in the shipping interests of the lakes, and is now one of the largest owners of the Detroit & Cleveland Steam Navigation company, of the Detroit Transportation company and of other freight and passenger steamboat lines. The former owns and operates the finest iron and steel passenger steamers on the lakes, and the latter steam barges of the highest class and largest capacity.

Mr. McMillan is upon the directory of two of Detroit's largest and most substantial banking institutions — the First National bank and the Detroit Savings bank. He is also interested in other banks and connected with the management of the Detroit City Railway company, D. M. Ferry & Company, the Detroit Railroad elevator, Union Depot company and many other large business enterprises.

For many years Mr. McMillan has been a large investor in real estate, especially in centrally located business property in the city of Detroit, and wherever his money is so placed it has proven of general benefit, as he has

erected some of the finest business blocks in the city, adding greatly to the beauty and metropolitan dignity of the streets.

A Republican in politics, and very actively interested in the success of his party, he has long given freely of his time and means to that end, and is recognized not only as a valuable and consistent party man, but as one of no slight authority upon general political matters. Though often urged to accept of official candidacy, at the hands of his party friends, when nomination was tantamount to election, he has thus far refused, contenting himself with giving efficient aid in placing others in office. Perhaps he regards office as too expensive an indulgence for one whose private interests are so many and so enormous. Certain it is that his genius for organization and administration well fit him for the gravest public responsibilities.

In 1860 Mr. McMillan married Miss Mary L. Wetmore of Detroit, and has six living children, of whom four are sons. Two of them (a son and daughter) are married and settled in Detroit. The oldest son was graduated from Yale college, and is now engaged with others in the management of the various establishments of which his father is president.

So much for a bare and inadequate outline of the career of James McMillan. It leaves untold many, very many, of the directions in which his aggressive enterprise has found outlet; it gives only a mere mention of a few salient facts in a life crowded with

events and crowned with rare success. It leaves quite untouched the personality of its subject and his methods of thought and work, his inner relations and his social life. Much of this cannot be adequately described, much can not even be known by those most constantly about him, but something may well be said that may give a degree of personal acquaintance with a man who has, for almost thirty years, woven his life and his ever growing interests into the fabric of his city and his state.

It is needless to say he is a tireless worker. Such results as have crowned his life come to no dreamer of dreams and to no mere luxurious business *dilettant*. Originally gifted with the strong sense and clear foresight of his Scotch race, with the benefit in youth of the careful oversight of an excellent father, his business training began at the right end and was a logical growth, from the selling of a keg of nails to the building of a railway. Each step prepared the learner for the next and left the way open behind him.

His mind is especially remarkable in this—that it is so adjusted as to be at once concentrated and broad in view. With a capacity for detail constantly and minutely exercised, he unites the power to keep in his mind the whole field of his immense interests—never losing sight of the relation of facts, the influence of collateral conditions and the necessary forecast of business events. In this his mental operations remind one of the perfect mechanism of a great steam hammer, which may be so governed as to descend at one mo-

ment with a force of hundreds of tons upon a plate of steel, and the next to crack without crushing a fragile egg.

He has in a distinguished degree the capacity for self-multiplication, that is, for so training and using men in various departments as to make their eyes and hands his own. Thus, by a word or hint to one who is thoroughly familiar with his wishes and methods, he is enabled to accomplish work that would require an inordinate amount of his own time, were his lieutenants less competent or less *en rapport* with their chief.

There is a constant and striking parallelism between the qualities required in business and those in military life. There are the Custars of business, the men of speculation, always ready for a headlong charge, with ruin as the price of failure; there are the McClellans, always organizing, never advancing, fighting defensively for a lifetime and barely escaping defeat; there are some—the Napoleons, Marlboroughs, Moltkes and Grants, who combine bravery with caution and foresight with activity, to whom the oversight and direction of many armies in widely separated fields is a task lightly carried and enjoyed for its very complexity—who concert movements involving months in their execution and the exact obedience of hundreds of subordinate commanders, and yet foresee all difficulties and so provide for all emergencies, that they may look confidently for their Blenheim, their Appomattox or their Sedan. To this class Mr. McMillan belongs by virtue of constant

and distinguished success, won in fair fields and by sheer force of business genius.

He scarcely had a boyhood. At fourteen he was at work, and before he was twenty years of age, carried upon his shoulders responsibility fit to test the power of a mature man. This training has made a mere business automaton of many a youth, and has stranded him at fifty as a fossil. It did not so affect Mr. McMillan. His appearance belies his years; the vigor and ripeness of his prime are the best testimony to his timber. He has always lavished his energy upon the work of his life, but he has kept his heart in his body and the natural kindness of his disposition remains unimpaired.

From his offices in Detroit he calmly and easily directs his vast affairs, showing none of the petty irascibility and impatience often exhibited by smaller men, whose time is of infinitely less value. Every comer is certain of a respectful hearing and, if need be, will receive a respectful refusal of his request.

For his friends and intimates, Mr. McMillan has a frank, warm and loyal attachment, as warmly and loyally reciprocated. Cautious, cool headed and decided, he is not an inviting mark for the wiles of the schemer or impostor, but from genuine and worthy poverty he never turns away. His charities are very extensive—more extensive than even his close associates know, for they are equally unostentatious. He is discriminating, too, in every possible case

aiding the needy to self help, the savior of self-respect. Many young men now in active and successful life, have cause to gratefully remember the timely assistance and the kindly interest which made possible their independence. To public charities and to every effort looking to the education and enlightenment of his fellows, Mr. McMillan contributes with an open hand.

In the prosperity of the city of Detroit he has been an invaluable factor. His talents were never hoarded in a napkin or put out at usury, but flowed in unceasing streams through the pockets of his fellows, leaving golden grains behind. When any new enterprise is proposed, which promises benefit to his city and state, he is always on hand ready to help with his means and influence.

The reward of such a life reaped at middle age is a princely fortune, but it is something far more and higher—the deserved respect and esteem of every man with whom his years of active life have placed him in contact.

To the land of his birth he is an honor and to that of his adoption a benefactor.

RUSSELL A. ALGER.

Russell A. Alger was born in the township of Lafayette, Medina county, Ohio, February 27, 1836. His father was Russell Alger, descendant of an Alger who came from England to Massachusetts about 1760, and more remotely, through distinguished English channels, from William the Conqueror. John Alger, great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, served in the Revolu-

tionary War and took part in many of its battles. Russell A. Alger's mother was Caroline Moulton, a descendant of Robert Moulton, who came to Massachusetts in 1627, having been selected to take charge of the transportation to America, of a vessel laden with most valuable ship-building material and bearing a number of skilled ship carpenters. It is probable that the first sea-going vessel built in Massachusetts was constructed by him. The family in England and America is large, and marked by common characteristics which the separation of generations in time, thousands of miles in distance and the utmost difference of environment and interest, have not served to destroy. The number of persons having the Moulton name, or showing the Moulton blood, who have attained distinction, is very great. It will thus be seen that Russell A. Alger had to the full the benefit of every good influence which may come by hereditary transmission.

Soon after 1800, his Alger grandmother came to Ohio, and the family were thus present in the earliest days of that now great commonwealth.

When young Alger was but eleven years of age his parents died, leaving him dependent upon himself for a livelihood and for the support of a younger brother and sister. The cases are so many—especially in the western United States—where men who have won distinguished success in various fields have had this very impulse of stern necessity at the outset, that one is tempted to believe that the silver spoon is not, after all, so great an advantage to the young

American who looks his first upon the world. In Alger's case the burthen of life was assumed with a cheerful promptness and a brave spirit which deserved the success he gained. He at once began a search for employment and, failing better, engaged to serve upon a farm in Richfield, Ohio, where he remained for seven years, working by the month during the greater part of every year, saving his money and applying it to the aid of his brother and sister and to his own tuition, during the winter terms, at the Richfield academy—working for his board. He thus obtained a very good English education, taking advantage of which, like so many country-bred American boys, he very early obtained a position as teacher, and by this resort added to his slender income during several winters, working at the plow and in the harvest field in the other months of the year.

In March, 1857, he entered the law office of Wolcott & Upsord, at Akron, and began the study of the law, remaining with them until March, 1859, when he was admitted to the bar by the supreme court. He soon after removed to Cleveland and entered the law office of Otis & Coffinberry, where he spent only a few months, leaving it in the fall of 1859 on account of ill health, caused by hard study and a close confinement to indoor work, to which he was unaccustomed. This retirement from the office of Otis & Coffinberry was also a final farewell to the law. His removal to Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he engaged in the lumber business, followed almost at once.

The frequent appearance of "the Ohio man" in national politics—the subject of so much facetious comment, not always quite free from bitterness—is in part accounted for by the large number of the citizens of that state who have fought their way to success in very much the way Mr. Alger was compelled to do. The fact that so few of the boys of forty years ago were spared the necessity of hard and constant labor, the universality of education—the thoroughly democratic spirit of the time—made a race of men whose muscles were hardened by toil, whose moral natures were fixed by self-denial, and whose self respect and ambition were stimulated by every social influence. Giddings, Ben. Wade, Garfield, Hayes, and almost the whole list of Ohio's successively chosen sons, have risen to success through toil and hardship which

"Have proved their helps, not hindrances."

In August, 1861, Mr. Alger enlisted in the Second Michigan cavalry, and when that regiment was mustered into the service during the autumn of the same year, he was commissioned as captain and assigned to the command of company C. The formal record of his army service is: Captain Second cavalry, September 2, 1861. Major, April 2, 1862. Wounded and taken prisoner at Boonsville, Mississippi, July 1, 1862. Escaped July 1, 1862. Lieutenant Colonel Sixth Michigan cavalry, October 16, 1862. Colonel Fifth cavalry February 28, 1863. Wounded in action at Boonesboro, Maryland, July 8, 1863. Resigned September 20, 1864, and honorably discharged. Brevet Brigadier-

General United States volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious services, to rank from the battle of Trevillion Station, Virginia, June 11, 1864. Brevet Major-General United States volunteers, June 11, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war.

To pass with this dry statement of promotions and brevets, the military career of Mr. Alger would be a suppression of history. No troops in all the armies of the Republic won greater or more deserved distinction than did those of Michigan, and in no arm of the service were dash, bravery, endurance and discipline more marked than in the cavalry of the state, the gallant eleven regiments which went out raw volunteers and carried their colors like veterans from their warlike baptism to the return of their scarred and attenuated ranks after the peace. It was when associated with Michigan troops that Custer first attracted notice, that when commanding the Michigan cavalry brigade he made his first great reputation, and that at Booneville, at the head of the Michigan Second, Sheridan won his first star.

It was Alger's fortune to serve in or command regiments better armed than most, and his service was constant, fatiguing and perilous—much of his fighting being done with troops dismounted and serving as infantry, only to remount, and, resuming their normal work, pursue an enemy they had defeated on foot.

His earlier service was in the west and south, but from the invasion of Maryland by Lee, in 1863, until the day of his retirement, he was with

the army of the Potomac, sharing their constant service except when disabled by wounds. On June 28, 1863, Colonel Alger, commanding the Fifth Michigan cavalry, entered the village of Gettysburg, his being the first Federal force to reach that place and to receive definite information as to the movements of the enemy. As his men passed through the streets, they were fairly showered with blossoms by the enthusiastic inhabitants. The scene, so suggestive of the gayety of a Roman carnival, stands out in striking contrast to the awful drama of the great battle, then so little expected, but soon to be fought at the very doors of Gettysburg.

At the battle of Booneville, Mississippi, July 1, 1862, Alger, then a captain of the Second Michigan cavalry, took a very honorable part. The engagement, one of the most important minor affairs of the war, fought at tremendous odds, with the result of an overwhelming victory for the Federal force, arose from an attack made by General Chalmers, of the Confederate service, with seven thousand mounted men, eleven regiments and portions of regiments, upon the position at Booneville, held by Colonel Sheridan, commanding the Second brigade of the cavalry division, army of the Mississippi. Sheridan had with him but two small regiments, the Second Iowa cavalry and the Second Michigan cavalry. The Second Michigan was armed with Colt's revolvers and revolving carbines, effective at long range, and so well did they fight on foot, that Chal-

mers was persuaded that he had been deceived in his information that the Federal force was unsupported by infantry. Sheridan retired to a strong position upon the edge of a swamp and repulsed repeated attacks, the Michigan men giving the Confederates six shots from each rifle as they advanced and six from each revolver at close quarters. This sent them to the right about every time. Finally, seeing that he was out-flanked and in danger of being surrounded and captured, Sheridan sent ninety picked men, commanded by Captain Alger, with orders to make a circuit, come upon the enemy's rear, and charge him with sabres and cheers. The sound of the cheers was to be the signal for Sheridan to simultaneously charge in his front. A supply train arriving, Sheridan ordered the locomotive whistle to be loudly blown to deceive Chalmers into the belief that reinforcements had arrived. The brave ninety charged the seven thousand in the rear, Sheridan dashed upon their front, and the Confederates broke and ran, casting impedimenta aside as they fled. One hundred and twenty-five of the enemy's killed were buried upon the field, and he carried away a large number of wounded, while the Second Michigan, which had the brunt of the fight, lost but forty-one, killed and wounded. Among the latter was Captain Alger.

In General Custers official report of the part taken by the cavalry at Gettysburg, the name of Colonel Alger, then commanding the Michigan Fifth, repeatedly appears and a very handsome acknowledgment is made of his distin-

guished part in the fight. His regiment was armed with Spencer repeating rifles and served in turn on foot and in the saddle, fighting almost constantly and losing heavily, but inflicting great damage in return. The Confederate General Stuart fell to the rifle of a private of the Fifth.

During the pursuit of the enemy which followed the battle of Gettysburg, Colonel Alger had the advance with the Fifth Michigan, when, near Williamsburg, Maryland, he dismounted his men, crossed a bridge guarded by more than fifteen hundred infantry, remounted and attacked and captured the enemy's train, which was very large, together with about fifteen hundred prisoners. This occurred on the fourth day of July, 1863, and was perhaps the most distinguished and trying service of that brave regiment.

On the eighth of July, between Hagerstown and Boonesborough, during a hot fight, in which the Fifth took active part, Colonel Alger was severely wounded and was thereafter invalided until September. During the winter 1863, and 1864, Colonel Alger served with distinction through the wilderness to Petersburg, taking part in all the engagements of the army of the Potomac. He with his brigade accompanied General Sheridan to the Shenandoah valley in 1864 and served with him there.

Colonel Alger's famous charge with his regiment, the Fifth cavalry, at Trevillian Station, Virginia, June 11, 1864, when with only three hundred men he captured a large force of the enemy, will always be recorded as one of the

most brilliant and daring deeds of the war.

General Sheridan's report, now on file in the war department, concerning this engagement, reads as follows :

The cavalry engagement of the eleventh and twelfth was by far the most brilliant one of the present campaign. The enemy's loss was very heavy. My loss in captured will not exceed one hundred and sixty. They are principally from the Fifth Michigan cavalry. This regiment, Colonel Russel A. Alger commanding, gallantly charged down the Gordonsville road capturing fifteen hundred horses and about eight hundred prisoners, but were finally surrounded and had to give them up.

During the winter of 1863 and 1864, Colonel Alger was assigned to special service, reporting directly to President Lincoln, and while so engaged he visited nearly every army in the field. He took part in sixty-six battles and skirmishes all told, and earned by faithfulness and bravery the rank which he attained.

In 1865 Mr. Alger went to Detroit and engaged in the long pine timber business and in dealing in pine lands. He was first a member of the well-known firm of Moore & Alger. Upon its dissolution he formed the firm of R. A. Alger & Co., and again dissolved this firm and organized the corporation of Alger, Smith & Co., of which he is president. In these various associations he has built up a business larger than that of any other pine timber operator in the world. He is president of the Manistique Lumbering company and of the Detroit, Bay City & Alpena Railroad company, besides being a director of the Detroit National bank, the Peninsular Car company, and several other large corporations.

In these various enterprises Mr. Alger has built up a large and growing fortune,

by exceedingly hard work, good judgment of men and markets, financial generalship and a rare administrative ability. He has paid and continues to pay an immense roll of laborers, mechanics and other employés, thus contributing essentially to the prosperity of the state.

It goes almost without saying that the accomplishment of such results in twenty-one years has involved an almost complete engrossment in business. Though possessed of a strong taste for politics, this fact has kept him almost entirely out of official life, until his election to the governorship, which occurred in the year 1884. He has been a Republican ever since he reached his majority, constantly active in behalf of his party, using his purse and his time with equal freedom in its service and attaining a leading position in its councils, but asking no better reward than to see it succeed.

He was nominated for governor at the convention held at Detroit in 1884, his opponents at the polls being Josiah W. Begole, Fusion, and David Preston, Prohibitionist, and was elected by a plurality of 3,953 votes—Preston, Prohibitionist, receiving 22,207 votes. His administration of his office has been in the same lines adopted in his business, and he has succeeded in public affairs to a degree almost as marked as in his private life. He is a keen, sagacious, penetrating governor, looking closely after the business interests of the state, but entirely free from narrowness or parsimony. He has liberally upheld the interests of education, and devoted especial attention to the improvement

of public institutions of charity and correction. Though a heavy investor in manufacturing, and interested upon the side of what is popularly called the "cause of capital," he is wise enough to see that capital and labor must continue partners in business and that they are essentially interdependent. As a business man and an official he deprecates extremes in the action of either, and lends the weight of his influence to the compromising of differences, and the maintenance of the good feeling and *rapport* so important to the interests of both.

Governor Alger's state papers are models of clearness, simplicity and force. He is a business man, with the training of a lawyer and the experience of a soldier, and as such could scarcely be otherwise than direct, intelligible and brief in his utterances.

The first term of Mr. Alger is not completed, and any attempt at an elaborate analysis of his administration would be hasty and in bad taste, but that it has fully satisfied his friends, won the respect of his opponents, and does credit to his many-sided ability, will not be disputed.

In person Governor Alger is an active, handsome man of six feet tall, whose appearance belies his fifty years. His soldier training shows itself in every movement and in every tone of his voice. The habit of obedience may be lost, but that of a command never. Though of slight build he impresses the casual observer as being a large man as well as a tall one. He is quick and incisive of speech, but never brusque ;

thoroughly approachable, respectful and considerate toward those whom he meets, and utterly lacking either in the arrogance of small greatness or in the still more objectionable truckling and assumed *bon hommie* of the small politician. He is thoroughly dignified, and his manners, like his garments, are so unassumingly good that one scarcely notices them.

No matter how busy he may be, it is his habit to leave his desk and politely greet every caller. He listens with attention to all, though so many come with senseless questions and impertinent requests.

Governor Alger is a hard worker. He is at his desk early in the morning, and does not spare himself late hours when business requires the sacrifice. His official and personal affairs compel him to travel much, and his return always finds an accumulation of business which taxes to the utmost his rare rapidity and facility of labor. He is always decided, never shaken and rarely mistaken. It would require no slight temerity to look into his penetrating eye and endeavor to deceive him. He easily wins and holds the confidence of all with whom he associates, and he earns their regard as well as their respect, by the little amenities and kindnesses, so easy to show in business, and

which, in the aggregate, so greatly increase the pleasure of life.

Although so engrossed by many duties, Mr. Alger has cultivated his mind, and widely informed himself, by hard and habitual closet study. He has an admirable library, bought for use and constantly referred to. He would take rank in any society as a man far above the average of the systematically educated, in the breadth of his field of knowledge and the exactness of his information. His beautiful home is rich in pictures and articles of *vertu*, and its interior decorations and furnishings are such that one readily discerns that its master has a deep love of the beautiful and an unusual taste in selection—that he is an amateur and a connoisseur.

On the second day of April, 1861, Mr. Alger married Annette H. Henry, the daughter of W. G. Henry of Grand Rapids, a lady of rare character and mind, whose graces and social accomplishments are the best adornment of his home and make it the center of a charmed and charming circle. Mr. and Mrs. Alger have six children, two of whom are young ladies in society, a daughter aged fifteen, and the remaining three boys, the eldest thirteen and the youngest four years of age.

WALTER BUELL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE first house of representatives under the constitution of the United States formed a quorum on the first day of April, 1789. The senate, on the sixth, chose its president. On the fourteenth, George Washington received the official announcement of his recall to the public service. On the thirtieth, the day appointed for the inauguration—he being then fifty-seven years, two months and eight days old—the president elect was received by the two houses of congress, in New York City. Livingston, the chancellor of the state, administered the oath of office; and when he cried—“Long live George Washington, president of the United States”—great was the cheering! This was the beginning of our government under its present form; and a movement has already been made in the matter of a centennial celebration of these events, in that city, in April, 1889.

IN history, the word “portage” is frequently met with, especially in American history. It is from the French *porter*, to carry; and signifies a neck of land lying between two navigable bodies of water—usually rivers—across which tract merchandise and other articles are “carried,” to be transported farther on. At an early day, there were many well-known portages, or carrying-places, in the west, used in passing to and fro between the valley of the St. Lawrence and that of the Mississippi. We will mention only the most noted. There was one between the head of Lake Chautauqua and the Rivere Aux Pommes (Apple river), a small stream flowing into Lake Erie. This was in the present county of Chautauqua, New York. There was another carrying-place to and from the waters of Lake Erie and those flowing into

the Alleghany, between that lake and the head of French creek. During French occupation, there was a well-traveled road across it, leading from Presque Isle, now Erie, Erie county, Pennsylvania, to Fort Le Bœuf, within the present limits of Waterford Borough, same county. A noted portage was that between the Cuyahoga river and the head waters of the Tuscarawas river, in the present county of Summit, Ohio. The “path” was about eight miles in length, leading south from the Cuyahoga river across what is now Portage township, nearly to the centre of the present township of Coventry, where a small lake indicates its southern terminus. There was a short carrying-place between the head waters of the Sandusky and those of the Scioto, in what is now Marion county, Ohio. In going up the Maumee river to its head, and thence to the Ohio, there was the choice of the St. Mary’s river, with a portage to the head waters of the great Miami, or leaving at what is now Fort Wayne, Indiana, and going directly by a well-trodden path to the upper waters of the Wabash. There was also an excellent portage from the south bend of the St. Joseph river of Lake Michigan to the head of the Kankakee, just below the site of what is now the city of South Bend, Indiana. A noted carrying-place was the tract of low country lying between the south branch of the Chicago river and the Desplaines. But the most celebrated of all the portages was the one between the Fox river of Green bay and the Wisconsin river, at what is now Portage, Columbia county, Wisconsin. This “path” was a little over a mile in length, almost a dead level, without any obstructions, and the two streams were always navigable for canoes or batteaux. There were also other carrying-

places farther to the northwestward, of considerable importance.

WHEN Colonel George Rogers Clark and his heroic band of Virginians reached Kaskaskia, on the evening of the fourth of July, 1778, they had little difficulty in capturing not only the village but Fort Gage—the commander, Philippe Francois de Bastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, who was, as his name indicates, a Frenchman, being taken wholly by surprise. To the English, this officer was known as, simply, Philip Rocheblave. He was sent a prisoner by Clark to Virginia and his name (which has long been a stumbling-block to western historians) soon disappeared except on the pages of history.

OF the different publications known as “Histories of Ohio,” we enumerate, in chronological order, the following, as separate and distinct works:

I. ‘A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil.’ By Caleb Atwater, A. M. Cincinnati, 1838.

II. ‘Historical Collections of Ohio.’ By Henry Howe. Cincinnati, 1847.

III. ‘History of the State of Ohio.’ By James W. Taylor. Cincinnati, 1854.

IV. ‘The History of Ohio.’ Edited by W. H. Carpenter and T. S. Arthur. Philadelphia, 1858.

V. ‘The History of the State of Ohio.’ By John S. C. Abbott. Detroit, 1875.

Each one of these is an octavo volume, except the one by Carpenter and Arthur, which is a 16mo. A pamphlet was published in 1848, in New York, entitled ‘A Pictorial Description of Ohio, “compiled from the best authorities,” by B. J. Lossing. As it was originally intended to accompany a map of the state, it can hardly be considered a distinct “History of Ohio.”

ON the ninth of September, 1850, Millard Fillmore, who, by the death of Zachary Taylor, had become president of the United States,

signed the bill admitting California as the thirty-first state of the Union. The news reached San Francisco, on the eighteenth of October, by the steamer *Oregon*. The twentieth was set aside in San Francisco as a day of celebration over the event. A procession, an oration, the recitation of an ode written by a lady, the firing of guns, the discharge of artillery, the display of fireworks, the illumination by bonfires, and a grand ball given by the citizens, made the day and the night memorable. The ode, written by Mrs. Wills, of Louisiana, by request of the committee of arrangements, was as follows:

Rejoice ! hear ye not o'er the hills of the east,
The sound of our welcome to liberty's union ?
Pledge high ! for we join in the mystical feast

That our forefathers hallowed at freedom's communion ;
Then with hands high in air, our allegiance we swear,
Which time, nor dissension, shall ever impair :
And the bond of the Union, oh, long may it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free !

Though afar on the verge of the ocean we lie,

Our hearts are as true as the sun that shines o'er us ;
Our treasures we bring of earth, ocean and sky,
And souls that exalt to join freedom's full chorus.

Should foes o'er the land our justice withstand,
'Neath our own stripes and stars, we are found heart and hand :

For the bond of the Union, oh, long shall it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free.

Like the star that once rose over Bethlehem's height,

And shed o'er creation the light of its beaming,
May the “bride of the west” through the earth pour her light,

Nor set while one heart can be cheered by its gleaming.
So shall nations afar, point to nations the star
In peace softly shining, though dreadful in war :
In the bond of the Union, oh, long may it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free.

IN early times, some of the western savages were spoken of as “Confute” Indians—why? It was usual to call Monongahela whisky, in pioneer times, “tafia”—why? When what is now the county seat of Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, was an Indian village, it was generally known as “the Kittanning;”—why “the” Kittanning? Kaskaskia was called “Rouinsac,” in 1718—why?

WILLIAM STANLEY HATCH was a volunteer in the Cincinnati light infantry, in the last war with England, and from the invasion of Canada by General William Hull in 1812, to the surrender of his army, was acting assistant quartermaster-general. Concerning the arrival of General Hull's army at Detroit from Dayton, Ohio, Hatch says:

July 3, 1812.—At two o'clock, P. M., whilst under march, near the River Raisin, we received dispatches from Washington City, announcing the declaration of war against England. The late Judge Shaler of Pittsburgh, then a young man, was the bearer of dispatches.

During the forenoon of Saturday, the fourth of July, the army reached the River Huron, after passing some miles through a heavily timbered swamp. The river, where struck was deep with the water near the surface of the ground; banks perpendicular; width perhaps fifty or sixty feet. A floating bridge, made of the timber of the vicinity, and transported by a large fatigue force, was constructed in a short time; so that the entire army, with all the baggage and stores, was passed over the river before sunset. They bivouacked in the prairie in front—the grass in which was then at an average height of about three feet.

July 5.—The army passed the Indian council ground at Brownstown, crossed the River Rouge, advanced and encamped at "Spring Wells," estimated at that time to be three to four miles from the Fort of Detroit.

July 6.—Monday, the Fourth regiment U. S. infantry marched to the fort and occupied it.

July 7.—The volunteers marched and took position near the fort on the south, west and north.

THE materials for printing a newspaper were brought down the Ohio river to Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky, in July, 1787. While at that place awaiting transportation to Lexington, the first and fourth pages of the Kentucky *Gazette* were worked off. At Lexington, the second and third pages were printed; and, on the eleventh of August, 1787, was issued the first number of that paper—the first in the state.

At the monthly meeting in December last of the Tennessee Historical society, held in Murfreesboro', there were presented to the society photographs of a number of noted Sioux Indians. The likenesses consisted of a single picture of the celebrated Sitting Bull, Crow Dog, Spotted Tail, White Thunder and Red Cloud;

a group of three, being Red Cloud, Young Spotted Tail and C. P. Jordan, interpreter; also a group of eleven, consisting of Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, Sword, Yellow Bear, He Dog, Little Hound, American Horse, Little Big Man, Three Bears, and three interpreters.

THE American Antiquarian society held its last annual meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts on the twenty-first of October, 1885. A portion of the proceedings were of a character that will be of general interest to western readers. "Dr. Manasseh Cutler," said Charles Deane, LL. D., "is clearly entitled to recognition as a man of science, and as a statesman of large patriotism. Dr. Asa Gray, in a note to me enclosing a scrap of paper, and enquiring if the writing on it was in Dr. Cutler's hand, called him 'our first [earliest] New England botanist,' while our associate, Mr. William F. Poole of Chicago, in an interesting article in the North American Review for April, 1876, has shown that the country was largely indebted to Dr. Cutler for securing the ordinance of 1787, with its enlightened and merciful provisions. His life was crowded with a diversity of employment. It has been for many years understood that a memoir of Dr. Cutler was in preparation by a gentleman of Providence, Rhode Island, who had been entrusted with family manuscripts, including a diary, for this purpose; but it is believed that nothing was written, and the long deferred hopes of a memoir from that source is cut off by death. But I am told that the manuscripts of which I have spoken—Dr. Cutler's manuscripts—have been reclaimed by his descendants at Marietta, and that a memoir of Dr. Cutler is now preparing by a member of the family."

THE fund, at the present time, for the maintenance of the Astor library, in New York City, is \$411,550. The endowment is \$1,412,374.77. The income of the library during the year 1885 was \$24,267.55. The insurance on books is \$220,000; on the building \$100,000.

The additions to the library during the year, by purchase and donation, amounted to 6,852 volumes, exclusive of pamphlets. The whole number of volumes in the library on the last day of 1885, was, pamphlets excepted, 221,490. The average daily number of readers in the library for the past year was two hundred and sixty-five.

ON the evening of the twenty-third of March last, Mr. Justin Winsor, secretary of the Massachusetts Historical society, delivered a lecture in Philadelphia, before the Historical society of Pennsylvania, on "Explorations on the American Coast during the Sixteenth Century." "The lecturer," says the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for January (p. 495), "followed down from the time of the ancients the belief in the geographical theory which made the shores of Asia lie over against Spain. This theory Columbus had inherited through a long line of learned men, which, with the courage of his convictions, it was his mission both to prove and disprove. The globe of Behaim was taken as expressing the view held in 1492 by the advanced cosmographers, and this was sketched on the black-board, so as to show the shores of Europe and Asia, with the untried ocean lying between. It was shown how the inadequate conception of the size of the globe then held, served to assist in encouraging Columbus to his undertakings. As the lecturer proceeded in tracing the voyages of Columbus and his companions, he sketched upon the board, in proper relations to the European parts of Behaim's globe, the successive developments of the coast lines of the new-found islands and lands. When, by fortuitous circumstances, the longest sketch of coast which had been followed became associated with the name of Vesputius, it dawned upon the mind of Europe that a continental extent of territory had been found which was not identical with any of the parts of Asia as Marco Polo had drawn them, and the necessity of a name for it was recognized. This led to the making of the name America out of the fore-name of Vesputius, which was first applied to

the Brazil coast only. As he told how discovery was pushed, the lecturer drew in the shores which were developed, until, about 1540, it became manifest that the western continent stood alone, or nearly so, and the name America was extended to cover the whole of it."

JAMES RILEY, in writing to B. Stanford, from Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1819, predicted the future growth of that city. "The country," says he, "about Fort Wayne is very fertile. The situation is commanding and healthy, and here will arise a town of great importance, which must become a depot of immense trade. The fort is now only a small stockade; no troops are stationed here; and less than thirty dwelling houses, occupied by French and American families, form the whole settlement. But as soon as the land shall be surveyed and offered for sale, inhabitants will pour in from all quarters to this future thoroughfare between the east and the Mississippi river."

GENERAL WILLIAM HULL, in 1812, wrote the secretary of war a letter before crossing into Canada, of which the following is the substance:

"HEADQUARTERS, DETROIT, July 7, 1812.

"SIR:—

"The patience and perseverance with which this army has sustained a march, attended with difficulties uncommon in their nature, does honor to themselves and their country.

"The British have established a post at Sandwich opposite Detroit. The militia of Detroit have manifested a laudable and patriotic spirit.

"In your letter of the eighteenth of June, you direct me to adopt measures for the security of the country and wait for further orders. I regret that I have not a larger latitude.

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your most obedient servant,

"W. HULL."

IN John Reynolds' 'Pioneer History of Illinois,' printed at Belleville, Illinois, in 1852, it is said (p. 103) that "English McCarty built a

water mill on Cahokia creek, about three quarters of a mile northeast of the present Illinois-town. He expended much money and time on this mill, and did not get any great profit in return. It is impossible to establish, on such streams as Cahokia creek, mills that will be profitable to the proprietors, and serviceable to the public. McCarty's mill was large and did much business at times; but the banks of the creek being so easily washed away, the dam could not be made to stand. The vestiges of this mill may yet [1852] be seen, although it was built seventy or eighty years since. McCarty obtained an improvement right of four hundred acres of land, covering his mill site, which is worth more than ten times as much as his mill ever was. McCarty emigrated to Illinois from Canada, and left no heirs in the west to enjoy either the mill or his land."

We have before us, singularly enough, the copy of a letter written by Richard McCarty, at "Kahos" (Cahokia), on the sixth of February, 1777, to Philip Rocheblave, at Kaskaskia, from which we make this extract: "I am in search of an Englishman who is said to be at Misery [St. Genevieve], a man very expert in the building of mills. I beg you to have the goodness to give all the aid in your power that we may get him as quickly as possible."

DR. CHARLES L. METZ has discovered a prehistoric mound in Ohio, "under which was a peculiar V-shaped arrangement of stones extending to the depth of about five feet, and at the bottom of which was a stone cist containing the remains of a human skeleton extended at full length. The space above this grave between the sloping sides, walled with large flat stones, was filled with earth on which, and covering the edge of the sloping walls, were many stones forming a regular oblong structure. At one end of this structure was a small stone cist containing burnt human bones and a clay vessel. In the mound also were four stone graves made of large flat limestones put on edge and covered with flat stones. On the original surface under the mound was a large hearth, made of stones set on edge, on which was a thick layer of ashes containing burnt bones, and

below the ashes was a long flint point. Over these interesting structures and graves a small mound of earth, about five feet high, had been formed."

JOURNALISM has made such rapid strides in the United States within the last few years and its importance is now so well understood, that frequent reference to its rise and progress is to be seen in current American histories. In that connection S. N. D. North's report on the "History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States," in volume VIII, of the Report of the Tenth Federal Census (1880), will be found of especial interest. It fills four hundred and fifty-two quarto pages and is divided into four parts, namely: a history of the newspaper and periodical press from 1639 to 1880; statistical tablets; catalogue of periodicals issued during the census year 1880; and a chronological history, by states, of the newspaper press of the United States. It is illustrated by a map showing the relation between the newspapers published and the population, and by ten maps showing the number and classes of newspapers and periodicals.

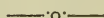
Catholic Historical Researches for April says: "Kentucky had its resident priest or priests before western Pennsylvania, and the first ministrations received by Catholics at Brownsville and Pittsburgh were by priests on their way to that state. Rev. Charles Whelan was stationed in Kentucky at least a year before Rev. Theodore Browsers came to Sportsman's Hall, now St. Vincent's Abbey; thirteen years before Dr. Gallitzin located himself on the Alleghany mountains, now Loretto; and twenty years before a Rev. W. F. X. O'Brien made Pittsburgh the home of a priest. These places were too near the east to have a pastor of their own in the scarcity of missionaries then existing, and too far to expect frequent visits, and it was fortunate for them if they lay near to the roads to the west; they might then hope for an occasional visit from the zeal and charity of others in whose path their backwoods homes chanced to be."

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F. Chandler

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McMASTER ON OUR EARLY MONEY.

OUR American histories have not attempted to give information respecting the former money of this country. It did not come within their plan. But the special purpose of the author of the new 'History of the People of the United States,' is to give the history of the people—to describe their manners and customs, their dress, amusements and occupations. The subject of money and money transactions comes, therefore, directly within his plan. He does not, indeed, take it up and discuss it formally; he treats no subject in that way. But as opportunity offers he presents the subject of money, and to it he has devoted some twenty pages in his first volume, with perhaps as much more to paper money.

His first introduction of money is on this wise. He is describing the schoolmaster of a hundred years ago, whose pay was small and who boarded around the district. In return he was expected

to give instruction in only the rudiments of an education. A little reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic comprised the sum total of his teaching. Of arithmetic the pupil must know enough to compute interest, to keep accounts and to make change. But making change was not an easy thing.

We who are accustomed to but one unit of value and purchase with dollars and cents can form but a faint conception of the difficulties which beset our ancestors in their money payments. . . . In every state there were at least two units of value; the English pound and the Spanish milled dollar, which had been adopted by congress in the early years of the Revolution. But the values of these standards were by no means common ones. The pound in Georgia contained fifteen hundred and forty-seven silver grains; in Virginia it fell to twelve hundred and eighty-nine grains, which was also recognized as the pound in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire. In New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland, it fell to ten hundred and thirty-one and a quarter grains, while in New York and North Carolina it reached the minimum of nine hundred and sixty-six. . . . But the Spanish dollar was also in general circulation, and was divided into shillings, Spanish bits or pista-

reens, Spanish half-bits or half-pistareens, coppers or pennies. A pistareen was understood to be the tenth of a dollar, and would correspond to about twenty, and a half-pistareen to about ten cents of our money. But these again were variable in value, for the number of shillings, and consequently the number of pence to the dollar, changed with the value of the pound. In New England, six shillings, or one hundred and eight pence, made a dollar; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, ninety pence made a dollar; in New York and North Carolina, eight shillings or ninety-six pence; in Maryland seven shillings and six pence. In Virginia, in Jefferson's time, nothing smaller than the half-pistareen could be found in circulation. . . . The school boy, therefore, was expected to convert, with some readiness, pounds and shillings into dollars and bits, and to know whether a pistareen, New York money, was worth more or less than a pistareen New England money.

This is the substance—in the words of the author—of what is said when money is first mentioned near the beginning of the first volume. It is not uncharitable to say that the extract shows great carelessness and contains divers inaccuracies. It is not correct to say that the English pound was one of the two units of value. The Spanish dollar was not divided into shillings, or Spanish bits, or pistareens, or pennies, or coppers. A Spanish bit was not equal to a pistareen. In New England a dollar was not equal to one hundred and eight pence. A half-pistareen was not the smallest coin in circulation in Virginia in Jefferson's time. There was no pistareen New York money, and there was none New England money. Some of the statements here made are in conflict with some made in other places. A Spanish bit, for instance, is asserted here to be the equal of a pistareen; elsewhere it is said to be half the value of a pistareen; and in a third

place the two are spoken of as having to each other no relation of value. In the extract here given it is stated that in New England a dollar was equal to six shillings, or one hundred and eight pence, making eighteen pence in a shilling; and the statement is repeated more than once. In other places we find it stated that in New England, as in other states, twelve pence made a shilling. But these subsequent statements are not given by way of correction. There is nothing to show that the author was at all conscious of any want of harmony between the statements on one page and those on another.

In order to discuss understandingly his positions, that there were a hundred years ago two units of value, the English pound and the Spanish dollar, and that the values of these two standards were not common ones, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the money of the colonies. The first immigrants to this country brought with them to the new world the money terms and the modes of reckoning of England. Their accounts were all kept in pounds, shillings, and pence, and for a while the coins of England were those in most general circulation. Before many years had passed, the meaning of the terms pound and shilling began to change. The words remained the same, but the values expressed by them were not the same. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century three pounds of sterling, or English, money were as good as four pounds in Massachusetts or Virginia currency. A depreciation

had begun in all the colonies. In 1675 an English official, writing to the governor of New York, expressed the opinion that pieces of eight—the Spanish dollars, worth four shillings and six pence sterling—would “beare 6s. 6d.,” that is, would pass in the colony for the larger sum, which would make the currency of New York about seventenths the value of English money. Early in the eighteenth century Queen Anne issued a proclamation forbidding the piece of eight to pass for more than six shillings in any of the colonies; that is, that the pound should not be depreciated in any of the colonies more than one-fourth of the value of the pound sterling. Thus, proclamation money, or lawful money, was understood to signify six shillings to the piece of eight, or Spanish dollar.

Before the Revolution it had come about in all the colonies that the terms pound and shilling represented less values than the same terms in England. It was also true that the depreciation had been greater in some colonies than in others. Calling the value of the pound sterling one hundred, that of the Georgia pound was ninety, the New England seventy-five, the Pennsylvania sixty, and the New York fifty-six and a quarter. The question is not now concerning the causes of these differences. It is certain that a depreciation had taken place, and that it began very early in colonial history. Without stopping to inquire at what time or times the different colonial currencies became fixed at their final values, it is enough to say that at the beginning of

the Revolution these values had become definite. The Spanish dollar was the equivalent of four shillings and six pence sterling, of five shillings in the currency of Georgia, of six shillings in that of New England and Virginia, of seven shillings and six pence in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and of eight shillings in New York and North Carolina.

This colonial currency was not money proper, but merely money of account. The people reckoned for the most part in pounds and shillings, and kept their accounts in these, but payments were made in specie—the coin of Spain, Portugal, France and England. The colonies had no gold or silver coinage, save the small silver coins of Massachusetts, issued for a while in the seventeenth century. The people expressed values in their local currencies, but balances were settled, actual payments were made, in real money—the coin of various countries. This fact, that the terms pound and shilling in the colonies, and afterwards in the states, constituted a money language simply, is of the first importance. It was this that discriminated it from the money terms of all other countries. The promise to pay a given sum in Spanish dollars could be literally fulfilled; so could a promise to pay a hundred pounds in sterling, gold or silver. But a hundred pounds in Pennsylvania currency could not be paid in Pennsylvania money, for there was no such money in reality. The sum could be converted into Spanish dollars or English pounds—making two hundred and sixty-six and

two-thirds of the former and sixty of the latter—and then the amount could be paid.

In saying that the English pound and the Spanish dollar were the two units of value in every state, at the close of the Revolution, the author is entirely wrong. Calling the dollar, as the most common of the larger silver coins in circulation, one unit, the other was not the English pound but the local pound. The coins of Spain and those of England were alike in embodying metallic value. The dollar of the one and the pound of twenty shillings of the other represented severally distinct values of silver. The same was true of the money of Portugal, of France, and of other European countries. They all had gold and silver coin, while the currency of America was a mere mode of expressing values. Mr. Jefferson, writing at the very time of which Mr. McMaster is speaking, says :

They—the people of the United States—have now two units, which they use with equal facility, viz.: the pound of their respective state and the dollar. The first of these is peculiar to each state; the second, happily, common to all. In each state the people have an easy rule of converting the pound of their state into dollars or dollars into pounds.

This is clear and comprehensible. To the Virginian the two units were the Spanish dollar and the local pound, which was the equivalent of three and a third dollars. The English pound was no more a unit of value to him than the French crown was. The Virginia pound and the English pound had nothing in common but the name. Nowhere in the United States did the term pound, used by itself, mean the English pound. It always meant the pound of the state

where the transaction took place. It will be seen presently that this confounding of the English pound with the local pound has led the author into the most singular blunders.

We are told that the values of the two units, the pound and the dollar, were by no means common ones. It is not clear why the values of these two units were not as properly common as the values of any two money units. If in New York a dollar was the equivalent of eight shillings, we have all that is needed to convert a value expressed in dollars into one expressed in pounds and shillings. Jefferson had said that the people of any state had an easy rule for converting dollars into pounds and pounds into dollars. "Thus, in Virginia and the eastern states, where the dollar is six shillings, or three-tenths of a pound, to turn pounds into dollars they multiply by ten and divide by three. To turn dollars into pounds, they multiply by three and divide by ten."

Besides this difficulty of two units without any common value, which the author deems so formidable—but which, according to Jefferson, gave very little trouble to the people—there was the difficulty of variation of value. There were two units, and both were variable. The pound varied, inasmuch as it represented more silver grains in one state than in another. It has been seen that there was no such diversity in the English pound, as it everywhere represented the same weight of silver. It was the local pound of one state that differed from that of another. The author forgets that he is speaking of the two units

of a single state, his language being, "In every state there were at least two units of value, the English pound and the Spanish milled dollar." The pound of New England varied from that of New York, but the pound of New England did not vary with reference to the dollar. The relation between the two units to a Massachusetts man was a perfectly definite one; the pound was equal to three and a third dollars. In New York the relation was a different one, but to a New York citizen it was fixed and not variable—a relation of one to two and a half.

There is a semblance of reason, perhaps, for saying that the pound varied, though a moment's reflection shows that in any one state the variation at a given time did not exist; but what possible ground is there for the assertion that the dollar varied? The reason assigned is, that the dollar represented more shillings in one state than in another. That the New York shilling, being one-eighth of a dollar, should be less than the shilling of Massachusetts, which was the sixth of a dollar, we can see; but when we are told that the dollar is worth more in New York than in Massachusetts, because it represents eight shillings in the former and only six in the latter, we wonder what the author can mean. The dollar contained a certain number of grains of silver; and yet because the people of one state chose to make their shilling a smaller fraction of this dollar, and so represent a smaller quantity of silver than another state, we are gravely told that the dollar itself was worth more when the shilling was worth

less. In other words, the purchasing power of a silver coin depended not on its weight, but upon the definition given in each state to the word shilling. Setting aside the absurdity of these statements as propositions, the reader is struck with their logical relation. The pound and the dollar both vary, it is asserted. In showing that the pound varies, silver is regarded as having value according to its weight. In proving that the dollar varies, the pound and shilling are assumed to be of fixed value. The shilling varies because in one place it is one-eighth and in another one-sixth of a dollar; the dollar varies because here it is equal to eight shillings, and there to six. Heretofore it has been believed that the dollar had a definite value, and that the value of the shilling was greater or less as it represented a larger or smaller fraction of the dollar; but according to McMaster, the dollar and the shilling were both fixed and both variable.

As the author's first reference to money was introduced with the remark that we have but a faint conception of the difficulties which beset our ancestors in their money dealings, so in the second those difficulties seem still to excite his commiseration.

There is probably no man now living who can form a perfectly just conception of the evils of the time when the old stockings of the people were full of coins bearing the stamps of many foreign mints, called by all manner of names, and possessing different values in different places. Yet there are many men who can distinctly recall a time which nearly resembles this, when the coinage though national in name was not national in value; when a shilling in New England was a very different sum of money from a shilling in New York; and when

there were in circulation many pieces of silver whose values bore no relation to their names, etc.

It will be noted that the former statement—that silver coins had different values in different places—which has already been commented upon, is here reasserted. It is not clear what is meant by the statement that our coinage was formerly national in name but not national in value. Nor is the reference manifest when it is said that the values of many silver coins bore no relation to their names. That evil is not yet wholly removed, nor is it peculiar to our country. The relation between value and name is not apparent in the dollar, the sovereign, the crown, the franc, etc.

To show the evils occasioned by a multiplicity of small foreign coins in circulation fifty years ago, an enumeration of some of them is given :

One of these pieces was known as the fourpence, but passed for six and a quarter cents if the inscription was legible and the stamp easy to make out ; but when worn smooth no one would take them for more than five cents. A larger coin was the ninepence, which passed for twelve and a half cents. The pistareen was worth twenty cents. The picayune, a term rarely used north of the Mason and Dixon line, went for six and a quarter cents. . . . Some shilling pieces and sixpence pieces were to be found in circulation down even to the civil war, and were, with the fips, the levies, and the pistareens, the last relics of a time happily passed away.

In this enumeration are seven names besides the pistareen, viz : The fourpence, the ninepence, the picayune, the shilling, the sixpence, the fip and the levy. These the reader would naturally understand to be seven different coins, whereas the seven were in fact only two, with various names. And, what is remarkable, these two are nowhere in the volume alluded to in

their own proper character. In the first passage quoted in this article, the author had said that the Spanish dollar was divided into shillings, Spanish bits or pistareens, Spanish half-bits or half-pistareens, pennies or coppers. It was not, in fact, divided into any of these, but into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, to none of which is any reference made in the book, though the author makes the Spanish dollar one of the units of value in every state.

This Spanish dollar, known in all our colonial history as the piece of eight reals, or "piece of eight," and to which the name dollar was not applied till about the middle of the last century, is the most noted silver coin the world has ever known. For a hundred years at least before the American Revolution it was the principal regulator of the money of the colonies. From time to time these colonies enacted that the Spanish piece of eight reals (or "rials," "ryalls," "royalls") should pass for so many shillings, which was, in fact, determining not the value of the Spanish coin but the local meaning, for the time, of the words pound and shilling. This coin, in Spanish *peso*, in French *piastre*, contained eight reals, or units, and had 8R stamped upon it. The half had 4R in like manner, the quarter 2R, and the eighth 1R. The smallest coin, the sixteenth, was the half-real. These subdivisions of the Spanish dollar were in general circulation the first half of the present, as well as during the last, century. The "many pieces of silver," that caused so much confusion in the retail trade fifty years ago, and made

the keeping of accounts so difficult, according to our author, were chiefly the real and the half-real, the eighth and the sixteenth of the Spanish dollar.

In New York eight shillings were reckoned as a dollar, and the "York shilling" thus happened to be the eighth of a dollar, and the sixpence the sixteenth. In New England, where six shillings, or seventy-two pence—not one hundred and eight, as McMaster repeatedly says—made a dollar, nine pence would correspond to the Spanish real, or eighth, and four pence half-penny—sometimes abbreviated to four pence—to the half-real or sixteenth. In Pennsylvania, where seven shillings and six pence, or ninety pence, were considered a dollar, the real or eighth would be the eighth of ninety pence, eleven pence nearly. Hence, in that and the adjoining states, the Spanish real was called the eleven-penny-bit, or eleven pence, or the levy; and so also the half-real was called the five-penny-bit, or fippenny-bit, or fip. Picayune was the name given in New Orleans and some other places at the south to the same little Spanish coin, the half-real or sixteenth of a dollar. Instead, then, of the "many pieces of silver coin whose values bore no relation to their names, and whose names are so utterly forgotten that they sound strange to the ears of a generation accustomed to speak of cents, of dimes and of quarters," and which occasioned such annoyance to the people, we have really two. The shilling, the levy, the ninepence, instead of being three different coins circulating side by side in the

same place, were merely names given in different places to the same coin, the eighth of the Spanish dollar. So also the sixpence of New York, the five-penny-bit, or fip, of Pennsylvania, the fourpence half-penny, or fourpence, of New England, and the picayune of the south were not four coins but one, the sixteenth of the dollar.

"But the confusion"—from using these many silver coins, which it has been seen were chiefly two—"was yet more increased by the language which the merchants used to express the price of their goods. A merchant in Massachusetts, in place of asking twenty-five cents for a yard of his taffeta or a pound of his cheese, would have demanded one and six, a price for which there was then no corresponding coin, and which the purchaser of the taffeta or the cheese would have been compelled to translate back into cents before he could pay down his money." No coin in the United States fifty years ago to correspond to one shilling and sixpence Massachusetts currency! As six shillings were the equivalent of a dollar in that currency, it seems not a very difficult problem to show that one and sixpence would be equal to a quarter of a dollar, or twenty-five cents. In the sentence immediately preceding, the author had said that in Massachusetts sixpence meant eight and one-third cents, and a shilling sixteen and two-thirds cents; yet, with the American quarter of a dollar in circulation for more than a third of a century, and the Spanish quarter a familiar coin for nearly two centuries, we are told that there

was no coin to correspond to one and sixpence Massachusetts currency! As to the purchaser being compelled to translate back into cents the expression one and six before he could pay his money, it is enough to say that precisely such transactions had been of everyday occurrence in New England for more than a hundred years before our money term cent was ever heard of.

One at all acquainted with the money of the latter part of the last century cannot avoid asking how Mr. McMaster came to give so much prominence to the pistareen and the Spanish bit, and to omit altogether the smaller parts of the Spanish dollar. This explanation suggests itself. Mr. Jefferson, in his paper on American coinage, written about a hundred years ago, advocated the decimal system previously proposed by Morris. Favoring the Spanish dollar as the unit, Mr. Jefferson suggested two silver coins, the dollar and the tenth of a dollar. To show that this latter would be of easy use, he says: "The tenth will be precisely the Spanish bit or half-pistareen. This is a coin perfectly familiar to us all." Later in his paper he suggests "the double tenth equal to the pistareen;" and "the twentieth of a dollar or the half-bit." He had no occasion to speak of the Spanish quarter, or eighth or sixteenth. These were coins of a binary system and not of a decimal; and in an argument for the latter, so shrewd a man as Jefferson would naturally make no mention of them, but would make prominent the pistareen and the bit. In the omission and the prominence he has

been followed by McMaster, though Jefferson was writing for a special purpose—the introduction of the decimal system—and McMaster is professedly expounding the money of the fathers for the benefit of the general reader. But the two coins thus made unduly prominent are sadly confused in the author's mind. Sometimes they are equal, sometimes one is double the other, and again they are independent coins. In one case these different and contradictory relations appear in the same sentence. "A pistareen was understood to be the tenth of a dollar, and would correspond to about twenty, and a half pistareen to about ten cents of our money." In the previous sentence he had spoken of the bit as equal to the pistareen, and as Jefferson had said the bit was the tenth of a dollar, it follows that the pistareen was the tenth also. But Jefferson had also said that the pistareen was equal to twenty cents; and so our author puts that in, leaving the reader to harmonize the two parts of the sentence as he can. So in another sentence he says: "In Virginia, in Jefferson's time, nothing smaller than the half-pistareen could be found in circulation." What Mr. Jefferson had said was, that nothing less than the half-bit—the twentieth of a dollar—was in circulation in Virginia; but as McMaster had said a bit was equal to a pistareen, it follows that a half-pistareen was the smallest coin in circulation there.

In the same way we may possibly account for the very remarkable statement that in New England six shillings, or one hundred and eight pence, made a

dollar, thus making the shilling equal to eighteen pence. It may be doubted whether anyone ever before heard of such a relation between pence and shillings in all the centuries during which England and her colonies have used these money terms. In the paper before mentioned, Mr. Jefferson, speaking of his proposed American coinage, says : "The hundreth (of a dollar), or copper, will differ little from the copper of the four eastern states, which is the one one hundred and eighth of a dollar," but he is not speaking of the *penny* of the New England currency. In the same paragraph he says : "In Virginia coppers have never been in use. . . . The copper coin proposed will be nearly equal to three-fourths of their penny, which is the same with the penny lawful of the eastern states." Virginia had no coppers, but the penny was a part of her money of account. New England had coppers in circulation, but they were not the pence of her money of account but English *half-pennies*, of which, as four shillings six pence made a dollar, one hundred and eight would be equal in value to the same coin.

As additional instances of erroneous statements, the following may be cited. Referring to the action of congress in 1785, he says :

A resolution was reached making the dollar the unit and the smallest coin a half-penny, of which two hundred were to be contained in a dollar.

Elsewhere he says, referring to the same action :

In the summer of 1785 two copper coins were ordered to be struck, one called a half-penny, of which two hundred were to make a dollar, and one to be called a penny.

It is safe to say that neither the continental nor the constitutional congress ever ordered a "penny" or a "half-penny" to be struck, and that no congressional legislation has embodied either of these terms in the money language of the nation. The resolution passed by congress was, "that the smallest coin be of copper, of which two hundred shall pass for one dollar." The author says again that the first cent issued by the government of the United States did not appear till late in 1792. Why the coin which he speaks of as "the copper of 1787, commonly called the Franklin penny," and which he describes somewhat minutely, was not a veritable cent, issued by our government, he does not say. Congress ordered a large amount of copper to be coined according to "the Federal standard," and prescribed the device in every detail. Such coins were struck, conforming in every particular to the direction of congress. The word cent is not indeed on the coin, but plainly congress did not intend it should be. The coin was, however, a cent, issued by the government of the United States.

Not much is said of gold coin by our author, but one statement is noticeable, contrasting the coin of the two metals. "The value of the gold pieces expressed in dollars was pretty much the same the country over. But the dollar and the silver pieces regarded as fractions of a dollar had no less than five different values." The reason assigned for these varying values of the dollar is that the dollar represented more shillings in one state than in another. But if the value

of the gold pieces was expressed in dollars, and the dollars had five different values, why was not the gold as variable as the silver? If a gold coin was equal to five dollars in every state, then it would pass for forty shillings in New York, where a dollar was equal to eight shillings, and for thirty in New England, where a dollar was only six shillings. This alleged difference between gold and silver did not exist. All gold and silver coins that were current passed approximately at their metallic value, and all were expressed by a greater number of shillings in New York than in New England. The author is wrong also in implying that the value of the gold pieces was usually expressed in dollars. The legal values of both gold and silver coins were expressed in the local currency—that is, in the pounds and shillings of the state or colony. Thus, in 1750 the legislature of Massachusetts ordered the rates of gold and silver coins to be as follows: Spanish milled pieces of eight, six shillings; a guinea, twenty-eight shillings; an English crown, six shillings and eight pence; an English shilling, one shilling and four pence; a double johannes of Portugal, four pounds and sixteen shillings; a moidore, thirty-six shillings; a pistole of full weight, twenty-two shillings; three English farthings, one penny. In 1784—the beginning of the period about which McMaster is writing—the same state passed a similar act in which the value of all the coins, gold as well as silver, is expressed in the shillings of Massachusetts currency. It is noticeable that the two lists are identical as to the value of each

coin at the two epochs. “The Spanish milled pieces of eight” of 1750, have, however, become “Spanish milled dollars” in 1784.

Perhaps the most extraordinary money statement in the volume—if we can speak of degrees where almost every paragraph relating to money is extraordinary—is the one in connection with the compensation of members of congress. At the first session of congress under the constitution a bill was introduced—which became a law—giving the members six dollars a day and mileage, and the speaker twelve dollars. The news-writers of the day are represented by Mr. McMaster as crying out against this extravagant pay, especially in the case of the speaker.

He has the very easiest berth in the house. He is never on a committee. He never draws up a bill. He never frames a message. Twelve dollars a day is seventeen hundred and fifty-two pounds a year and seventeen hundred and fifty-two pounds a year may be thought by the gentlemen who get it as a very pretty annuity.

In a foot note he adds:

It should seem, at first sight, as if this computation was wrong. But it must be remembered that the money of 1789 was not the money of 1883; that while a Spanish dollar contained eight shillings at New York, these shillings were *English shillings*, and that two Spanish dollars and a half made an English pound.

This is sufficiently explicit. Astonishing as this statement is, it is, nevertheless, in keeping with what had been previously said. The intelligent reader of the volume must have seen from the beginning that the equality of the local American pound and the English pound was involved in the statement so often re-

peated, that the Spanish dollar had different values in different states according to the number of shillings it represented in them severally. And yet this explicit assertion, made with the emphasis of italics, that a New York shilling was an English shilling, and a New York pound an English pound, comes upon one almost like an electric shock. The proposed pay of the speaker, twelve dollars a day, would, it is true, amount, for a year of three hundred and sixty-five days, to seventeen hundred and fifty-two pounds in the currency of New York. This was what the newswriters affirmed. Their computation is correct. Had the author stopped where they stopped, had that unfortunate note not been appended, his reputation for knowledge of our early money, as well as for historical accuracy, would not have been quite what it must be now. Note some of the contradictions to which his position leads. The New York writer computes the speaker's annual pay in New York currency, at eight shillings to the dollar. It amounts to seventeen hundred and fifty-two pounds. But these are equal to English pounds, our author says. A newswriter in Boston would compute in New England currency, at six shillings to the dollar, and the amount would be thirteen hundred and ten pounds. But these must be equal to English pounds also. The same would be true of all the states; and therefore the pay of the speaker, which is a definite number of silver dollars, would represent different amounts as expressed in English pounds, varying according to the locality where he resides. These amounts

would range from ten hundred and ninety-five in Georgia to seventeen hundred and fifty-two in New York and North Carolina. In other words, if the speaker lived in Georgia he would receive \$4,866 a year, and if in New York, \$7,786; and yet the bill gave him but \$4,380. To say that two-Spanish dollars and a half made an English pound in 1789, as Mr. McMaster does, is to assert that two dollars and a half are equal to four dollars and forty-four cents.

One obvious lesson to be drawn from the objections made by the newswriters of 1789, to the proposed pay of the members of congress, is that those writers felt themselves obliged to convert the sum from dollars into pounds, in order to make it intelligible to their readers. Instead of being so difficult to reckon in pounds, as the author would have us believe, any large sum expressed in dollars was less easily comprehended than when expressed in pounds. Those old money terms are not yet obsolete. The word shilling is often heard now in certain localities, and the shilling symbol is not uncommon on express packages. Sixty years after congress had made dollars and cents to be the legal money of the United States, there were rates of letter postage which could not be paid in our own coin.

The subject of the former money of this country is one to which very few have given any special attention, and by the great body of intelligent readers a correct and clear exposition of it would have been welcomed. The author had an excellent opportunity to do what no

historian had done, and what greatly needed to be done. That he has shown himself unequal to the opportunity cannot be denied. It is one thing to be master of a graphic style, and another to be able to state clearly and accurately the phenomena of the past, and give to them a consistent and true interpreta-

tion. In this 'History of the People of the United States,' so far as concerns money, an intelligent knowledge of the facts and the ability to interpret them seem both to have been wanting.

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*ART AND ARTISTS IN OHIO.

"ART in Ohio," said a friend, "you cannot find enough for an address on the subject." Our people have been obliged to be too utilitarian to study art. Ohio was organized as a state in 1802, and will not celebrate its centennial for seventeen years. Our people have had too much to do in clearing the forests and preparing to get a living, and in laying the foundation for their fortunes to pay much attention to art until within a few years. Not a pleasure carriage was owned in the state at its organization. The only communication with civilization at first was by pack-horses. Caleb Atwater reports having seen a grand jury and constable sitting under a tree, the constable keeping off the crowd so as to prevent their hearing the testimony of witnesses; while under a neighboring tree another constable was guarding a petit jury as they deliberated upon a verdict. It has been only about thirty years since the first railroad was finished from the Ohio to the lake.

"Nature," said Bancroft, "has made Ohio the highway of ideas." Why may she not excel in literature and art? Many of her citizens have wealth and leisure, and much progress has already been made in art in Ohio; its growth has been very steady, and its hopeful aspects now are due not only to the force of youthful ambition, but to mature study and labor. Art is always a later development than literature and science in a country like this. We think we shall be able to show wonderful growth and development, and that Ohio has already furnished many of the leading painters and sculptors in the United States, and that she has been especially prolific of artists; but her earliest artists had to exile themselves from the state, as they could not get employment in Ohio.

There is no evidence, that we can find, showing that there were any professional artists in Ohio previous to 1820, when Thomas Cole appeared first, and Steubenville had the honor of sending forth a youth whose name leads the list of Ohio's distinguished artists.

*An address delivered before the Ohio Archæological and Historical society by Francis C. Sessions, Columbus, Ohio, February 18, 1886.

Thomas Cole was the first American artist who painted landscape, professionally, in America; he was born in England, in 1801, but was of American ancestry; his father returned to America in 1819, and established himself in Steubenville, Ohio, as a woolen manufacturer. The difficulties with which he had to contend at the outset of his art career, form an affecting picture. From infancy he had been fond of the pencil, and the tinting of wall-paper in his father's factory gave him a slight practice in the harmony of colors. He was also engaged in making woodcuts for printers. He had a fine organization, and great fondness for poetry and scenery were his chief characteristics. A traveling German portrait painter passed through the town, in the pursuit of his vocation, and Cole, fascinated by the sight of his canvas and colors, at once determined to become a painter, although the failure of his father's business had brought the whole family on him for support. The struggles which the youth passed through make a long and painful story, but through it all he retained his bias for art. Some one has well said, "To me, the struggle of a virtuous man endeavoring to buffet fortune, steeped to the very lips in poverty, yet never despairing, or a moment ceasing his exertions, is one of the most sublime objects of contemplation." In February, 1822, he went on foot to St. Clairsville, where he proposed to establish himself as a portrait painter. Ohio did not then afford a very promising field for artists, and at St. Clairsville, Zanesville, Chil-

licothe, and in Harrison and Columbiana counties, which he subsequently visited, he not only failed to meet with any encouragement, but when he rejoined his family in the spring, he was in debt for the actual means of support during his absence. Undiscouraged by reverses, he spent the spring and summer of 1823 in making careful studies from nature, and the autumn saw him established in Philadelphia as a landscape painter. The winter was one of great privation, "the winter of his discontent," as he was accustomed to call it. He painted small landscapes and comic pieces, and was often glad to find regular employment in ornamenting chairs and Japan ware. His powers were nevertheless rapidly developing, and in the works of this period may be seen the germ of that rich and harmonious style for which he was afterwards distinguished. In 1825 he went to New York, where his family was now established, and had his studio in his father's garret, and began painting the autumnal Hudson landscapes, which in America and England are highly prized. This was the turning point in his career. He won the friendship of Durand and Trumbull, "and from that time," says Bryant, in his funeral oration on Cole, "he had a national reputation, and was numbered among the men of whom our country has reason to be proud."

The next four years found Cole in the enjoyment of great prosperity, and his paintings—while at the Catskills and Niagara and the White mountains, which afforded him varied and striking studies—found ready sale at fair prices.

In June, 1829, he sailed for Europe, but from ignorance of the peculiar features of American scenery, his pictures were regarded as exaggerations of nature, and therefore attracted but little attention. He visited Florence in 1831, but amid all the splendors of art and nature he wrote home to his friends that "he found no scenery which affected him so powerfully as that he had witnessed in the wilderness of America." When he returned to America, in 1832, the influence of Italian scenery and his studies of old Italian art had wrought so great a change in his style, that the public were disappointed in his works, and complained that the artist had lost his first freshness and originality, and that his Italian landscapes were overcharged copies from the old masters. We are beginning to feel now—and foreign critics are sometimes rudely, sometimes kindly reminding us—that while the culture of our artists may yet be best reached in older countries, the place for its exercise and result is in their own, and American art cannot be made in London or Rome, in Munich or Paris. The work by which Cole will be longest and best remembered in the art of his country, is the noble series of five pictures called "The Course of Empire," representing a nation's rise, progress, decline and fall; and the change which comes over the abandoned scenery is the one superb, complete return to the wilderness and solitude of nature. The series has been called "A great epic poem." The last, an allegorical series of four pictures, called "The Voyage of Life," representing

childhood, youth, manhood and old age, are among the most popular of his works, and through the engravings are most extensively known. Thorwaldsen visited his studio in 1841, in Rome, repeatedly to see it, and it elicited his praise. Bryant in his funeral oration says:

The conception of the series is a perfect poem. The child under the care of its guardian angel, in a boat heaped with buds and flowers, floating down a stream; the youth, with hope in his gesture and aspect, taking command of the helm; the matured man, hurried onward by the perilous rapids and eddies of the river; the aged navigator who has reached in his frail and now idle bark the mouth of the stream, and is entering the great ocean which lies before him in mysterious shadows—set before us the different stages of human life, under images of which every beholder admits the beauty and deep significance.

He died in Catskill, New York, in 1848. Shortly after his death, sixty-three of his works, belonging to different collections, were exhibited in the city of New York.

He was a writer of prose and verse of considerable merit. His life was one of singular purity, and during the latter part of it, he manifested a sincere and unostentatious piety.

There is a touching coincidence connected with Cole's three series of pictures. "The Course of Empire," his first series, was painted for Luman Reed, who died just before the completion of the last picture. His second, "The Voyage of Life," was painted for Samuel Ward, whose own voyage of life was over before Cole had brought his traveler safe through the river of Time to the ocean of Eternity. His third, "The Cross and the World," was painted for

himself, and the picture representing his pilgrim of the cross entering Heaven, was scarcely finished when his own spirit took its flight to those regions of bliss, in contemplation of which his soul was filled.

Hiram Powers came to Cincinnati, Ohio, when a boy, from Vermont, where he learned from a German the art of modeling in plaster, and for seven years had charge of the wax-work department in a museum. He acquired some local reputation for his busts and medallions of Adams, Jackson, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Chief Justice Marshall, Everett, Van Buren and other distinguished Americans. In 1835 he went to Washington and was employed in modeling busts of distinguished men. With the proceeds of this work, and by the help of Mr. Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, he carried out, in 1837, a long-cherished desire to visit Italy, settling in Florence, where the rest of his life was spent. He invented a process of modeling in plaster, which, by obviating the necessity of taking a clay model of the subject, greatly expedites the labor of the sculptor. In 1840 he completed his "Eve," and the "Fisher Boy" a little later. The "Greek Slave," finished in 1843, the work upon which much of his fame now rests, was widely known and popular, and was exhibited in many of the cities of America. Six or eight duplicates in marble are in existence; one is in the Corcoran gallery in Washington. The first was sold for \$4000 and is now in the gallery of the Duke of Cleveland; the third copy belongs to Earl Dudley; the fourth,

purchased by Prince Demidoff for \$4000, was sold at that nobleman's death for \$11,000, to A. T. Stewart of New York. Many of his statues of Washington, Webster, Franklin, Jefferson, Calhoun and others, are in different American cities. The original Webster, lost at sea, cost \$12,000. He executed a number of other works which have been extensively repeated. We visited his studio in Florence several times, and were delighted with an exquisitely carved hand of an infant daughter of Powers; although small and simple, it is one of the most artistic and touching of any of Powers' productions.

Hawthorne, in his "Marble Faun," makes Miriam speak pleasantly of him; says Tuckerman, "Powers is an eclectic in the study of nature, and has triumphed over academic dogmas and dictation." Thorwaldsen visited his studio and pronounced his bust of Webster the best work of the kind executed in modern times. The genius of Powers is singularly beautiful, and there is something in the career of this remarkable artist which strikes us as eminently American.

Appeal fair stone,

From God's pure height of beauty against men's wrongs;

Catch up in thy divine face not alone

East's griefs, but West's, and strike and show the strong

By thunder of white silence overthrown.

(From Mr. Browning's apostrophe to the Greek Slave.)

Mr. Powers left three sons and three daughters, who are still living in Florence. We visited the studios of two of his sons in 1882—Preston and Longworth Powers—in Florence, and their

studios were crowded with numerous works, portraits, busts and ideal figures. One of his daughters has considerable artistic genius.

But Mr. Beard's recollections of Hiram Powers are the most interesting of all. These two distinguished artists were almost daily associated as young men. Powers first gave evidence of genius when getting up the "Infernal Regions" for Monsieur Dorfeuille's museum. Here he displayed inventive ingenuity in creating mechanical contrivances and appliances that was amusing. Mr. Beard thinks Powers had creative genius in the mechanical arts but not in the fine arts. He was a ventriloquist, and a marvelous mimic, as well as the modeler of the most perfect wax figures that Mr. Beard has ever seen. His "Hell" was appallingly real. Great monsters, hydras, serpents and devils startled all who came within sight of "Hell." Those who crowded against the iron bars were almost knocked down with currents from electric batteries, boys and girls screamed, and women fainted outright. Beard assisted Powers in "raising hell." He used to tell Powers that he could beat him groaning if at nothing else. A bust of Washington, by Canova, inspired Powers to turn towards a higher art. He made a bust in marble of Nicholas Longworth. With Longworth's aid he went to Washington, where he modeled busts of J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Webster, Calhoun, William C. Preston and others. A brother of Senator Preston—John Preston, a wealthy South Carolinian—took such a fancy to Powers that he sent him

to Italy at his own expense. "As a portrait sculptor I do not believe that Hiram Powers was excelled by any man who ever lived," says Mr. Beard, but he adds, "he was not a creator in art, only the cleverest of manual experts." This judgment, which is the general judgment of artists, does not account for such exquisite creations as the ideal busts of "Genevra" and "Proserpine," which involve something more than clear manipulation. The "Greek Slave," Mr. Beard thinks, is a partial imitation of the Venus de Medicis.

A friend says :

I first saw Mr. Powers at his studio in Florence, Italy, in December, 1866. His great fame had then almost filled the world, and I entered his presence with a feeling of embarrassment and awe. He was somewhat reserved at first, but on a second visit he was quite communicative, and especially on an evening visit at his house, to which he invited me. While studying his works, he told me that there were five copies or replicas of the "Greek Slave," then in existence, executed by his hands. The first or original "Greek Slave" was in Raby Castle, England, and was the property of the Duke of Cleveland. It was first bought from him (Powers) by a captain in the British navy for sixteen hundred dollars, and then sold to the Duke of Cleveland for quite a fabulous sum. This was after it had attracted so much attention in the London World's Fair. The second and third "Greek Slave" executed can be seen in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, and at the residence of Mrs. A. T. Stewart in New York. In reply to the inquiry as to what suggested the subject, he said that it occurred to him while reading accounts of the sale of beautiful Circassian girls as slaves to the Turks. He intimated that his wife was his model, although it could hardly be inferred that Mrs. Powers was his sole model.

Let me say here to the criticism that the "Greek Slave" is an imitation of the "Venus de Medicis," that it is no more an imitation than Canova's "Venus," in the Pitti Gallery, is, or than Thorwaldsen's noble "Venus" is. Any nude female figure in marble, might be called an imitation of any like famous

antique. The "Greek Slave" lives and will live. It is admired by the whole world, and especially by women. This is enough.

I next admired most in Mr. Powers' studio, his idealized heads of women of mythology, poetry and romance. His "Ginevra" and "Proserpine" represent a large list. Exquisite delicacy, softness and the most expressive suggestiveness of qualities and characteristics, were peculiar to all these busts. These, like the most of Mr. Powers' works, were sold in England. All concede that his portrait busts were admirable. His "California," now in the Metropolitan museum in Central Park, is not so successful. The figure is a little gross. The Minerva-like birth of the state of California could be represented only by an allegorical group in marble or on canvas. A single figure, with a divining-rod in one hand, and a few thorns in the other, leaves the story untold.

As an artist Mr. Powers impressed me as he has impressed the world, but now think that he has been in earlier years overpraised, like most pioneers, and that while he had creative genius in art, as in all things else, it was not of the most original order. Reversing the usual conditions, he was greater in execution than in conception.

As a man, Powers reminded me more of Lincoln than any one I have ever met. There was the same rugged force and the same directness, the same strength and power in his speech, and a like disregard of appearances. His slippers were too large and much worn, and his whole dress slovenly and unartistic. But his eyes were piercing and blazing, his head well formed, and his face and figure giving evidence of the manly beauty he possessed in his youth. The savage ferocity of his utterances reminded one of Carlyle. Said he had to live abroad to avoid starving to death at home.

James H. Beard was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1814, and came to Painesville, Ohio, with his father when he was a small boy, and it was here he began his extraordinary career. He afterwards settled in Cincinnati, where he lived and painted for many years. In the early part of his career he devoted himself almost exclusively to portrait painting, and among his more prominent subjects were Henry Clay and

Presidents John Q. Adams, Taylor and Harrison. The later years of his life have been exclusively devoted to painting animals, principally dogs, and as a painter of the canine species he has no superior in either Europe or America. He is called "The Landseer of America;" but some one says, "It would have been as appropriate to have called Landseer the Beard of England." Mr. Beard is another of Ohio's great geniuses who is compelled to get employment outside of this great state.

James H. Beard was the son of an old lake captain, who settled with his family in Ohio, when James was about six years old. During the period from nine to seventeen, the family lived in Painesville, where his distinguished brother, William H. Beard, was born. James H. Beard's first impulse towards art came from watching the making of the figure-head on the first steamboat that sailed on Lake Erie, which was named *Walk-in-the-Water*. He made rough drawings of this somewhat artistic object upon all the scraps of paper he could command. From this he tried to draw everything that he saw. He painted portraits, such as they were, in Painesville before he was seventeen. He then began to travel through the state towards Pittsburgh. He got for his heads, which were all in oil, four and five dollars each. It may be here mentioned that Mr. Beard now sells pictures for three thousand dollars, and that his "Detected Poacher" brought three thousand six hundred dollars. In these early years he lived at hotels for

one dollar and a quarter per week, which included room, board, washing and mending. He boarded at private houses, in 1830, for seventy-five cents a week. He went to school to Judge Reuben Hitchcock, at Ravenna, when about eighteen. He settled in Cincinnati before he was twenty-one, where he almost literally painted the town. He painted full length portraits of Hon. William Henry Harrison and Charles Hammond, who were his intimate personal friends; of his patron Salmon P. Chase and his first wife, the beautiful Miss Garness, and also portraits of many other well-known citizens. The Harrison and Hammond portraits still hang in the Cincinnati library.

President Harrison made out the nomination of Mr. Beard for charge d'affairs to Rome, but his death prevented the nomination being sent to the senate. His first ambitious composition was the "Deluge," which hung in the old Burnet house for twenty years. The first figure-piece that attracted general attention was "North Carolina Emigrants," which was developed from a sketch of a single figure made for John Howard Payne. He followed the wagons of these clay-eating emigrants far into the country, in order to paint from nature their extraordinary dress, and their clay-colored, cadaverous features. "Poor Relations," his first picture engraved, was bought and engraved by the Art Union of Cincinnati. This and "Out All Night," engraved in London, have traveled the world over. "Child and Dog," painted in 1836, now belongs to the family of

the late Mrs. Stetson of New York. It was fancy's child, but his own dog. The picture was so well liked that parents asked him to paint half their children with dogs. His efforts to supply a demand made him an animal painter. In 1846, Mr. Beard first visited New York, and remained a year or more. In 1863 he again came to New York and stayed two years. Returning to Cincinnati, he prosecuted his art there until 1876, when he returned to New York to remain.

The standing of the "Beard Brothers," as artists, is very high. They have no superiors as animal painters on this continent. William H. excels in portraying the grotesque, the ludicrous, and the humorous human side of animal life. James H. makes his animals command our affection and sympathy, and instructs us in the graver lessons of human existence and truth. He is a moralist, combining some of the qualities of both Æsop and Franklin, whose dumb brutes are neither dumb nor brutes, but philosophers, heroes, knights, bullies, foster-mothers, good Samaritans, murderers or thieves. The truth of this observation is made especially clear by a recent picture representing "Jerry Crowly," of Central park, puzzling his brain over 'Darwin's Descent of Man,' with a volume of 'Pythagoras' at his feet, a human skull on his right hand and a monkey's skull on his left. No language can do justice to the *It's queer, isn't it?* expression on, or rather in the face of the man-monkey, who seems quite as unable to solve the problem of life as Darwin himself. This and

other really great works now in Mr. Beard's studio, at Thirty-fourth street and Broadway, New York, show that his powers are undiminished, although he has now reached the advanced age of seventy-five. He comes to the city and works with ceaseless industry day after day; his health and sight seem perfect; his intellect is not only clear, but most vigorous, which renders his comments and reminiscences concerning past events and historical men both instructive and delightful.

Among the earliest artists of Ohio, Mr. Beard recalls Aaron Corwin, who painted creditable portraits and scenes from domestic life. Corwin is said to have died in London, about 1830.

Sara Lee, who flourished in Cincinnati about 1835, was a good landscape painter, and would have been a better one had he not been cursed with a beautiful voice; which caused him to waste much of his time in society, being invited everywhere. Lee was originally a chair painter.

Mr. Tuthill, a pupil of Benjamin West, who came to Ohio from Albany, New York, was a successful artist in this earliest period of the state's history.

William H. Beard was born in Painesville, Ohio. Being the youngest son, and James H. the oldest, he thought himself somewhat imposed upon by his stronger brother. Tricks, impositions and practical jokes having been played upon him to the limit of human endurance, his good mother interfered, and told James H. that she would henceforth bring up her younger sons without his assistance. When his brother first re-

turned home from Cincinnati, where he had had success as an artist, he looked very "natty" or dressy. He thought him a great man then, but was mistaken: now he knows him to be a great artist and cannot be mistaken.

William H. left Ohio when twenty-one, passed a year in New York and then settled in Buffalo, where he painted five or six years. When twenty-eight he went abroad, and upon his return established himself in the Studio building, on West Tenth street, New York, where he has remained for twenty-three years. Mr. Beard says his natural bent or tendency is toward the terrible or tragically grotesque in life and nature. But there was no demand for such ghastly and ghostly works, so he put humor into his pictures to make them sell. He has always loved animals, and thought he saw as much grotesque humor in the bear as anywhere in the animal kingdom.

This modest artist seems disinclined to talk much about himself or his pictures.

The Beard Brothers are incomparably the greatest animal painters that this country has produced. The "Bears on a Bender," "Bulls and Bears of Wall Street," "The Place Hunters," and "The Consultation," are grotesque comedies on canvas, which contain more humor than could be condensed into a dozen volumes. If any artist has yet lived who can paint bears better than W. H. Beard, he has not made himself widely known.

He has the head and shaggy hair of a lion; it is worn long, and this with his

prodigious breadth of shoulder, makes him one of the best known men on the streets of New York. Modesty and good morals characterize the man.

W. H. Powell was born in the city of New York in the year 1820. When seven years of age, his parents emigrated to Cincinnati. He was instructed in art by James H. Beard. At fifteen he produced an ideal picture of Roderic Dhu, the Scottish chief to whom Scott has given immortality. A year later, his "Blind Bard," from the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," attracted very general attention. A group, suggested by Byron's "Siege of Cornith," and four allegorical pictures for the Cincinnati theater, were also completed in 1837.

In 1838 Mr. Powell became the pupil of Henry Inman, and exhibited in March of that year, two portraits in the Academy of Design, New York. In 1844 his "Pawn Broker," a picture of undoubted power, received much praise, and was sold to the family of United States Senator Cheves. The following year Mr. Powell visited Europe, remaining in Paris, Florence and Rome for three years, fitting himself for the higher branches of historical painting. Among the fruits of the years following his studies in Rome, were "Salvatoa Rosa among the Brigands," "The Cattle Driver of the Roman Campagna," "A Woman of Calabria," "The Young Shepherd" (given as their first prize by the Art Union of Cincinnati), "A Neapolitan Fisher," "A Mother and Child."

An historical picture, "Columbus before the Council of Salamanca," warmly commended by Washington Irv-

ing, caused Mr. Powell to be given the commission, by the national government, for the Capitol Rotunda picture, "De Soto Discovering the Mississippi." Armed with this ten thousand dollar commission, he went abroad a second time in 1848, and painted this popular historical work in Paris. In Paris he enjoyed the friendship of Horace Vernet and Couture, the Duke de Morny, and other artists and celebrities, and executed portraits of Eugene Sue, Dumas Pere, Lamartine and Abdel-Kadir. Before returning home Mr. Powell painted the "Burial of De Soto," engraved by Goupil, and "Washington taking leave of his Mother." His return to Washington was followed by many orders from senators and other public men, for portraits. His next important work was the "Battle of Lake Erie" in the rotunda of the state house, at Columbus. The same work enlarged, was ordered for the National Capitol, largely through the influence of General Robert C. Schenck. This latter picture was painted in New York, where Mr. Powell established himself about 1870. He here painted portraits of General McClellan, Major Anderson, Commodore Powell, General Schenck and many others. His last work was a full length portrait of Miss Emma Abbott. He was an associate member of the National Academy. Mr. Powell was a generous liver during his prosperous days, but died poor. A friend says of him, "I can say that a more polished and agreeable gentleman could not be found in New York. He was not a great artist, but a most industrious one."

No one of our painters is more distinguished than Worthington Whittridge, who was born in Springfield, Ohio, in 1820. As soon as he was of age he went to Cincinnati to go into some kind of business. He failed in almost everything he engaged in, and finally determined to become an artist; putting himself under instruction, he soon began to paint portraits. At that time there were a number of artists residing there, and there were a number of citizens who were interested in art and artists; among them were Mr. Nicholas Longworth, Mr. John Foote, Mr. Charles Stetson, Hon. Judge Burnet, and Griffin Taylor. To these gentlemen much credit is due for so many artists springing up in Cincinnati, and for the lead Cincinnati has taken as an art centre in the west. Whittridge soon left Ohio and went to Europe, studying in the galleries of Dusseldorf, Belgium, Holland, Rome, London and Paris, and finally settled in New York in 1859. We remember to have seen in the Paris exposition, in 1878, two of his paintings, "A Trout Brook," and "The Platte River," which attracted much attention, and were among the best in the American exhibit. He is a great lover of nature.

His most successful pictures have been "Rocky Mountains from the Plains," 1870, owned by the Century Club, "Trout Brook in the Catskills," in the Corcoran gallery; "Old House by the Sea" and "Lake in the Catskills."

Mr. Whittridge retains a warm interest in Ohio. Mr. Whittridge says, that the general judgment of artists is that Quincy Ward's "Washington," on the

sub-treasury steps, is a noble and imposing work. He thinks that Ward, a half century after his death, will be classed with Canova and Thorwaldsen.

Whittridge is a gray-bearded, dignified-looking artist, who seems scholarly and broadly cultured. He ranks in the first class of landscape painters, but there is nothing sensational about him. His social standing is high. He is a special admirer of Leutse (pronounced Lightze), who painted a superb head of him in one hour and forty minutes. Leutse's head, which has been extended into a full figure, Whittridge considers one of the best works of art in the United States.

John Q. A. Ward, America's first sculptor, was born in Urbana, Ohio, in June, 1830. His father was William Ward, a farmer, and owner of about one thousand acres of land. His mother's maiden name was MacBeth. He received his first instructions from teachers in the family, then in the village schools, and lastly, from John Ogden, a good scholar and worthy lawyer, who is still living in Urbana. An old series of the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' proved a great storehouse of knowledge to him. From childhood he worked images in clay of dogs and other animals, of objects as men on horseback, etc. He invented various contrivances, such as a miniature saw-mill, etc. The first work of art he ever saw was a copy of a head of Apollo in *terra cotta*, by Hiram Powers, which was owned by John H. James of Urbana. From sixteen to eighteen he suffered from malaria and general ill-health, and was depressed in

spirits. At the latter age, Mrs. Thomas, a married sister living in Brooklyn, New York, said to him: "Quincy, would you really like to become an artist?" His reply being a bashful "Yes," he was taken to New York in his eighteenth year, but for many weeks could not muster up courage enough to enter the door of Henry K. Browne's studio, although he was a friend of his sister's family. Finally he ventured to approach Mr. Browne and to timidly ask him if he would take him as an art student. Browne told him to go back home and model something so that he could see what he could do. He shot across to New York, bought a copy of the "Venus de Medicis," and lugged home a bag of clay over a distance of two miles, and went to work. He took his clay "Venus" to Browne and was accepted at once as a student. He worked over six years with his master, very hard. He executed a wolf's head for a fountain in Mexico, for which Browne paid him ten dollars, the first money he had ever earned. In this studio he learned all the minute details of the sculptor's art. The Frenchmen employed to assist in the mechanical expert work in connection with the erection of the equestrian "Washington," in Union Square, having "struck," Ward told Browne to discharge the whole lot, as they could complete the statue themselves. Ward says he passed more days in the bronze horse's belly than Jonah spent minutes in the belly of the whale.

The greater part of 1857 and 1858 Ward spent in Washington city, modeling busts of John P. Hale, A. H. Stevens,

J. R. Giddings and Hannibal Hamlin. He came to Columbus early in 1861 with a model of a statue of Simon Kenton, hoping to obtain a commission from the state. While here he executed a bust of Governor Dennison.

His next effort was the now famous "Indian Hunter," in Central Park, which had an enormous success from the first. Six copies in bronze, reduced in size, were sold on highly remunerative terms. Then followed the execution of the principal of Ward's works in this order: "The Freedman;" Bust of Dr. Dewey, in marble; statue, colossal, of Commodore M. C. Perry, in New York; "Seventh Regiment Soldier," bronze, heroic, in Central Park; "The Good Samaritan," statue of General Reynolds: "Shakespeare," in Central Park; "General Israel Putnam," heroic size, in Hartford; "William Gilmore Simms," bust in Charleston; General George H. Thomas, esquestrian, in Washington; "The Pilgrim," heroic, in Central Park; "Washington," bronze and colossal, in Wall street; "William E. Dodge," in New York.

Mr. Ward is now engaged on a bust of William H. Vanderbilt, and on a colossal statue of "Garfield," to be placed in Washington city by the Army of the Cumberland. He has also just completed the model of a gigantic soldier's monument for the city of Brooklyn. This last work will probably be the masterpiece of this sculptor. It illustrates our whole military history, from the Revolution to the Rebellion, including the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico. Washington, Jackson,

Scott and Grant appropriately represent the four periods.

It is by the universal judgment of American artists and art critics, Quincy Ward is placed first among American sculptors. H. K. Browne once said that "Ward had more genius than Greenough, Crawford, Powers and all the older American sculptors combined."

Eastman, Johnson, James H. Beard and other eminent artists have affirmed that Ward has passed beyond Story, Ball, Thompson and all other rivals, and is now without a peer as a sculptor. He is unquestionably the greatest artist that this country has yet produced. Numerous commissions for forty, sixty and a hundred thousand dollars now await his execution.

Ward says that George Hite, a native of Urbana who painted miniature portraits in Cincinnati and through Ohio, all over the south and in New York, was one of the best miniature portrait painters we have had. He painted an excellent portrait of Ward's wife. He died at Morrisania, near New York, in 1880. Ward executed, without charge, a bust of Mr. Hite, which is now over his grave.

Edgar M. Ward, brother of Quincy, and a native of Urbana, has had very marked success in New York and in Paris as a *genre* and figure painter. His pictures indicate the possession of rare genius, and give promise of high future distinction. He is now about thirty-three. Witt says "Edgar Ward is a strong and original figure painter, and may in time become as eminent as his brother Quincy."

William P. Brannon came to Cincinnati about 1840; he became a portrait painter of decided ability. During this early period he painted a life-size head of Dr. Lyman Beecher, which, with many others of that day, showed great promise of future eminence; but an indolent nature, and a spirit thoroughly Bohemian, prevented him from reaping the reward of his early promises. About 1860, he became a contributor to the daily press, and wrote some verses, which since his death have been published in book form entitled: "Vagaries of Van Dyke Brown," the latter his *nom de plume*. He died in Cincinnati about 1864-5.

James Cookins was a native of Terre Haute, Indiana. After studying in Munich for a couple of years, he returned to this country and opened a studio in Cincinnati, about 1861. He showed positive talent as a landscape painter, and a wonderful talent in illustrating fairy tales—his ideality invention—knew no bounds. About 1865 he married a Miss Cora Donnelly of Terre Haute, and returned to Munich, where he remained some five years. Since his return to this country, he has made his home in Chicago.

Jasper Lawman was born in Xenia, Ohio, in 1825, and went to Cincinnati when a lad of fourteen years of age. He painted a great number of landscapes of Ohio river scenes. He moved from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, where he has since resided. Many of his pictures represent some of the finest scenery in the west, and are in possession of some of the leading citizens of Pittsburgh.

A. S. Wyant was born in Tuscarawas county, Ohio, just fifty years ago. His father was a farmer who was somewhat ingenious. He remembers as a child having marked barn doors, walls and everything with charcoal and pencil sketches of improbable animals. He went, late in boyhood, from the place of his nativity to Defiance. When twenty-one years of age he sailed on a canal boat from Defiance to Cincinnati, where he arrived with one dollar and eighty cents in his pocket, and spent one dollar of this for 'Ruskin's Elements of Drawing.' He received his first aid and encouragement from Emile Bott, a clever German artist, who lived six or seven years in Cincinnati and then removed to Pittsburgh. Bott gave him the use of his studio free of charge, although he was himself poor. He then thought that Bott painted good pictures.

Wyant passed a year in Lexington, Kentucky, and two years in Louisville, painting portraits. Came to New York from Cincinnati twenty-three years ago. Since then he has had fair success, has had pictures in almost all academy exhibitions.

Wyant's Irish landscapes, from sketches made while in Ireland, are honest, meritorious pictures, and much admired by the discriminating. As a painter of wild and rugged scenery, Wyant excels.

R. S. Duncanson, a landscape painter of some promise, died in Cincinnati about 1876.

William Young, a native of Cincinnati, studied at Dusseldorf and Munich. He opened a studio in Cincinnati about

1860. Devoted his time and talents to painting landscapes. Died there about 1877.

T. C. Webber, portrait and *genre* painter, has been for thirty or more years one of the leading portrait painters of Cincinnati. His latest and most ambitious works are three large paintings, whose subject is "Rip Van Winkle," as illustrated by Jefferson. One of these pictures has lately been bought to find a home in the Art Museum. Wyant speaks highly of him as an artist who painted good pictures. One of his paintings is the McCook family in Washington, and there is a small exquisite landscape in the Corcoran gallery.

Thomas Lindsay, landscape painter, opened a studio in Cincinnati about 1856-7. He showed marked talent in his early years. His numerous works are well known there.

Henry Kemper, landscape painter, is a native of Cincinnati. He studied a couple of years in Dusseldorf, and opened a studio in Cincinnati about 1858. His early works gave promise of a brilliant future, but these promises have not altogether been realized.

John J. Ennekin was born in Minster, Ohio, in 1841. He received lessons in drawing in St. Mary's college, Cincinnati. Went to Europe in 1872. He now resides in Boston. His paintings are often seen at the rooms of the Boston Art Club.

John R. Tait was born in Cincinnati in 1834. He showed great artistic talent when a child, and went abroad in 1852 and again in 1859. In 1871-72 he

received the first class medals of the Cincinnati Industrial Exhibition. Hon. William Groesbeck of Cincinnati has one of his paintings. Some one has said of one of his paintings—of a large landscape with cattle—"that it reminds one of the best examples of the old Dutch painters, without any sacrifice, however, of the artist's individuality." He paints both game and domestic animals remarkably realistic, and with an inventive fancy his own.

J. H. Twatchman was born in Cincinnati in 1853. He began his studies in the School of Design in Cincinnati, and went to Europe in 1875. He is an artist of decided ability and perseverance.

W. H. Mahrman of Cincinnati, is an artist of much promise in figure painting. He studied in Munich. Devotes himself, I think, wholly to water colors. One says of him, "the realistic vigor of his work is quite exceptional among our water color painters, and it is expected that he will become a master in this art."

Henry Kirke Browne spent three years in Cincinnati, where in 1837 his first marble bust was executed. His statue of Washington in Union Square, New York, the first bronze statue executed in this country, was unveiled July 4, 1876. W. H. Beard spoke in warmest eulogy of Browne; he said this statue of Washington would live. His statue of DeWitt Clinton, in bronze, is in Greenwood cemetery. His equestrian statue of General Scott, ordered by congress, and one of General Greene,

ordered by the state of Rhode Island, are among his later works.

Shobel Clevinger was born in Middletown, Ohio, in 1812, and went to Cincinnati, when a boy, to learn the stonecutter's trade. He developed a promising sculptor, and went to Boston, where he made statues of Clay, Webster, and others, which attracted so much attention that he was induced to go to Italy to study. He died at sea while returning to this country. If he had lived, he would no doubt have taken a high position as an artist.

W. L. Sontag is a native of Ohio, and about twenty years ago lived in Cincinnati; he then went to New York. Tuckerman says :

His paintings illustrate the picturesque scenery of western Virginia. He has traveled in Europe and painted some memorable Italian views—compositions embodying all the traits, classic, aborescent and atmospheric, with much accuracy and emphasis. Differing from many of our landscape artists, he has a marked individuality of effect and color.

He spent considerable of his time in Italy, and many of his paintings are owned by lovers of landscape pictures in the east.

Miner K. Kellogg, of Cincinnati, is another distinguished artist. He resided a long time in Florence, and has painted national representative portraits, as the Circassian, the Greek, the Jewish and Moorish. One of his portraits is that of General Scott, in the New York City hall. His "Greek Girl," "Philosopher" and "Moor" are in the collections of C. W. Riggs of Washington. When in this country, he exhibited and sold a picture remarkable for its

flesh tints, and perhaps objectionable for its nude character, representing an eastern beauty reposing after her bath. Whittridge says:

Kellogg was at one time associated with Hiram Powers. That Kellogg painted good portraits and fancy pictures; his "Fisher Boy" was admirable. Mr. Kellogg's father was at one time the largest merchant tailor in Cincinnati.

Mr. Kellogg is well known as an expert in regard to the old masters, of whose works he has quite an extensive and valuable collection, which are now in the hands of Mr. L. E. Holden of Cleveland, who contemplates building a gallery for their reception at no distant day. M. Kellogg is about seventy-five years of age; he has been a successful portrait painter and really deserves great credit for his work among pioneers of art in Ohio, in a day when there was in this country far less appreciation of art than now. He now resides in Cleveland.

A favorite Cincinnati artist, Thomas Buchanan Read, was born in Ohio in 1822, and is known both as an artist

and poet. He came to Cincinnati at the age of seventeen. He entered a sculptor's studio, and also devoted himself to painting. He went to New York in 1841, and in 1850 to Europe, studying in Rome and Florence. Of his ideal pictures, the "Lost Pleiad" and the "Water Sprite" are the most characteristic. His portrait of George Peabody is in the institute, Baltimore, Maryland. His "Longfellow's Children," in a group, show his wonderful power as an artist, and they have been engraved and photographed, and we see them everywhere. The tone of his mind is essentially poetical. He has strong sympathies with beauty, both in nature and in expression, which find fluent utterance in verse, of which he has published several volumes. Beard thinks Read was both poet and painter of great merit. Thought some of his poetry superb.

On his return from Europe to Cincinnati, he died in New York a few years since.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

NOTE.—The author of this paper has used in its preparation "Tuckerman's Book of Artists," *Art in America*, and *Artists of the Nineteenth Century*.'

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS A STATE.

I.

A QUARTER of a century is a short period in the development of a state. Ordinarily it would occupy a small space in the growth of a government and the unfolding of a civilization possessing the elements of permanence and value. But time is not so important a factor in the making of history now as in the early ages of society. The number and importance of events are the main elements in calculating the consequence of an historical epoch. Judged by this standard, the first twenty-five years' history of Kansas—one of our younger American commonwealths—has a value greater than can be crowded into the records of many states and governments in a century of time. I propose to write a series of sketches relating to the personal history and public acts of some of the representative men and rulers of Kansas in the first quarter century of the history of this state that closed on the twenty-ninth of January last. The articles should have more than a local interest, for the actors moved as they were moved upon by a mighty impulse that made their acts and the history of the state in its formative periods national in scope, influence and results.

Kansas history is without a parallel. The travail of its birth, the ups and downs of its weird, wayward and wonderful life, the grandeur of its growth and the mystery of its development create a volume in the first quarter century of its history, every page of which is illumined with grand, heroic deeds, more inspiring than an epic poem. War has its compensations, and blood other victories than the crown of martyrdom. "Bleeding Kansas" won a crown that represented an ideal sentiment and something of the highest value besides. The Indian raids, the grasshoppers, when the surface of whole counties and districts became a moving, living mass, and the very soil seemed to have changed its nature and become instinct with life, and all vegetation was devoured, eaten up, and railroad trains were stopped by the "burden" of the grasshopper, yet was the soil fertilized and the state enriched with a stupendous scheme of advertising; and the drouth of 1860 did its perfect work as an advertising medium, for its like had never before or since been known in any American state.

Why should not the country become widely known when the parched earth for nine months received not a drop of

water from the molten sky, and great seams and fissures were formed in the earth that made overland travel dangerous as well as difficult. That a prohibition wave should roll over such a state with another advertising boom is not strange, for of water no Kansan can get too much, at least such was the thought a quarter of a century ago. Thus advertised, it is not singular that it should be said of Kansas that she bleeds one year, begs the next, and brags the third. Another notable fact is true of Kansas that cannot be said of any other state in the Union, that in the first quarter century of her growth she has 1,268,562 population, a valuation of \$237,020,391.27, over 4,000 miles of operated railway, the most munificently endowed common school system, and her governors are all living, hale, robust, healthy and in active business. Robinson, Carney, Crawford, Harvey, Osborn, Anthony, St. John, Glick and Martin, all except Harvey are living in Kansas, and each has apparently from ten to twenty or more years of active business life in reserve. During the last ten years her population has increased at an average of 74,021 each year, 6,168 per month, 1,542 per week, or over 200 per day. The last ten years show an increment of 740,213.

Where millions of Buffalo fattened and fed upon the rich and nutritious prairie grass, great herds of cattle are ranging, and soon every one of the more than 25,000,000 acres of rich lands in western Kansas will be utilized for the growing of stock, where the writer has traveled "from early morn till dewy eve" in a gov-

ernment ambulance without ever being out of sight of the countless herds of Buffalo, the prairies as far as the eye could reach being literally black with those bushy and shaggy-browed monarchs of the plains. And now a government report makes record of but two hundred buffalo left of the countless herds that roamed over western Kansas within the last fifteen years. There are under cultivation, including prairie under fence, 14,252,815 acres; number of acres in farms, 23,034,824; present cash value of farms, including improvement, \$408,073,454; value of farming implements and machinery, \$9,604,117. The total product of winter and spring wheat for 1885 is 10,772,181 bushels, valued at \$6,831,381. The number of bushels of corn produced were 177,350,703, valued at \$40,428,337.02. There are in bearing 4,195,486 apple, 116,271 pear, 5,511,629 peach, 400,018 plum and 979,366 cherry trees, while the statistics show a greater number of each variety not in bearing, having but recently been planted. These frozen facts from a material standpoint illustrate the rapidity with which industrial history has been made in this tenantless and untilled tract of twenty-five years ago.

But in those higher idealizations of liberty loving and patriotic sentiment and emotions that move humanity, Kansas crowns her work in the short period of twenty-five years. Unlike most states, Kansas, except perhaps in the case of Osborn and Harvey, does not promote her governors. She retires them and tells them to go to

work. The routine of gradation usual in most states is from the lieutenant-governorship to the gubernatorial chair, thence to the senate. Kansas governors have been compelled to be content with executive honors except Osborn and Harvey, the former being made minister to Chili and transferred to the wider field of minister plenipotentiary to Brazil, and the latter elected for a term to the United States senate. The first governor of Kansas was Charles Robinson. He was unanimously elected governor under the Topeka constitution. But this was one of the multitudinous constitutions under which Kansas did not get into the Union, and the election was one of many Kansas elections that did not count. Under the Wyandotte constitution he was chosen governor, and upon the admission of the state, January 29, 1861, was inaugurated as chief executive. No better man could have been selected to lay the foundations of a state, for his mind is creative, original and vigorous. He rarely works by copy. He belongs to the class of minds that originate and think out plans. Precedents and text books have little authority with men of his stamp of thought. An inchoate state was to be formed from most incongruous elements. It requires genius and originality to construct states, formulate laws and write constitutions and organic acts. It requires men of Robinson's originality, vigor and independence to do this work and do it acceptably and well. The state was born in the throes of a revolution. The picket guard fought the battle on the plains of Kansas that cul-

minated at Appomattox. Such an industrial, social and political revolution the world had never witnessed as the Robinsons and their confreres fomented upon the western bank of the Missouri and along the valleys of the Kaw and the Maries Des Cygnes. The passions of fierce border conflict had to be allayed. The theories of dreamers and sentimentalists must be boiled over and the refuse allowed to float away with other debris. Men of all classes, sorts and conditions had rushed to Kansas. The speculator, the idealist, the cold, clear-headed man of business, the politician, the poet and the scholar came, some to see the fun, some to help build a state, some to make money, more for political preferment and get notoriety if not reputation, and in the early stages the vast majority to raise the devil! These incongruous, cosmopolitan but in many instances naturally antagonistic elements had to be moulded into a compact and solidified state.

That Governor Robinson's work was well done a grateful people readily acknowledge, and he lives to see from all these warring, discordant and belligerent elements the consummate flower of a perfect civilization blooming in beauty and possessing all the characteristics of perennial growth and endurance. Of course he had his enemies. Men cannot live in such times and be participants in such events and stand on the left side of ciphers and be counted without creating enmities, jealousies and bitter antagonisms. He was impeached, by the house, but on his trial by the senate no evidence was adduced

to connect him with any offense or illegal transaction, and it was clearly a case of malicious prosecution, instigated by political opponents. His good name was left wholly untarnished by this endeavor to smirch it.

Governor Robinson was born at Hardwick, Massachusetts, July 21, 1818, and consequently will be sixty-eight years of age next July. He received a good common school and academic education, and two years' drill at Amherst college. His father was strictly religious and intensely anti-slavery. Charles Robinson inherited his father's hatred of slavery, but gave his father's religion rather the go-by. On religious subjects he is considered heterodox and independent and liberal. For the great fundamental principles of Christianity in their application and life work, wherever they improve society and make better men and women, he has the strongest sympathy. He gives liberally to the churches and is on good terms with the preachers. There is but little of the ideal and sentimental in his nature. His life has been spent in dealing with men in the practical application of principles rather than sentimental theorizings about ultimate truths. In philosophy he would be a Bacon rather than a Descartes. The poetry of Greece and the speculations of Plato have little charm or attraction for men of his stamp. It may be mentioned as a somewhat curious fact of the nine governors and seven senators and twelve congressmen during the last twenty-five years Kansas has but one senator, Pomeroy (ex-senator), and An-

derson, Haskell and Morrill (congressmen) who have been identified with any church organization as members. None, however, can be said to be openly heretical, though Governor Robinson and Senator Ingalls are so charged. But I think the allegation is at fault. Governor Robinson is liberal to the churches, and fully recognizes the great and imperishable trusts committed to their hands, and the important work with which they are charged. Senator Ingalls, it is claimed, is an agnostic, and his famous funeral oration on Ben Hill is cited as proof. But if his critics had conversed with him as often as the writer has upon these great and lofty themes, and had heard his earnest expression of a wish to be assured of a complete verity of the divine and sublime truths his mother taught him and his brother preaches with such earnest, eloquent and sincere simplicity, and had visited with him the grand woods around Washington, and felt the inspiration of contact and communion with nature, as his poetic soul took in the sublimity of the faith the Christian teaches, they would think Senator Ingalls to be a very harmless and innocent sort of agnostic. If to aspire to the reception without the hypocritical egoism of professing their comprehension of truths, unuttered and unexpressed, unrevealable and unknowable under existing conditions, be heretical and agnostical, Ingalls is indeed a prime agnostic and erudite heretic. That he scoffs at religion or derides the beliefs and assumed knowledge by some of things he cannot comprehend is not true.

Leaving college on account of ill health, and his eyes failing him from hard study, Governor Robinson walked forty miles to consult a celebrated physician, Dr. Twichell of Keene, New Hampshire, and there became so sensibly impressed with both the quackeries of medicine as so often practiced and the real utility and blessings to humanity of the healing art practiced as a science, he determined to study medicine. After a thorough course of preparatory study, the young medical student entered for a course of lectures at Woodstock, Vermont, and Pittsfield, Massachusetts, graduating at the latter school and receiving his diploma with the high honors of the class. Subsequently he became connected with the celebrated Dr. J. G. Holland, in the management of a hospital. In 1849, with failing health, he started out as physician to a colony bound for California overland. The colony arrived at Kansas City April 10, 1849, and on the tenth day of May left with ox and mule teams by the Kansas valley route for the land

Where the moor and the mountain
Were sparkling with treasures
No language hath told,
Where the wave of the river
And the spray of the fountain
Were bright with the glitter of genuine gold.

On May 11, thirty-seven years ago, riding his horse in the lead of the colony of gold seekers, Governor Robinson ascended Mount Oread, at Lawrence, where now stands the State University of Kansas, whose regent he has been for thirteen consecutive years, during and since its establishment, and for

which he has always been a most liberal and generous as well as intelligent and valued friend. This identical land, six years afterward, he preëmpted, and in his note-book wrote that if the land was opened to settlement and entry he would go no further, as there seemed to be gold enough for all human wants in the rich alluvial soil of the Kaw valley, and poetry and beauty enough in the grand rolling prairies beyond to fill the soul of poet, painter and artist combined. He remained two years in California, and, like most Californians of those days, followed a variety of occupations—miner, restaurant keeper, editor of a paper and member of the legislature. He returned to Massachusetts and in 1852 commenced the publication of the *Fitchburg News*, which he continued for two years.

With the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the immense excitement that followed the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, he was sent out by the New England Aid society to Kansas, as their confidential agent, charged with saving Kansas to freedom. In the darkest hours of the long struggle and conflict, as well as in the brightest moments of victory, Governor Robinson was the one safe counselor and leader of the Free State forces. He was admirably equipped for this mission.

His California experience had rounded and ripened a robust nature, and the perils that the hero of the squatter troubles had passed through in that strange combination of craft and cunning, of virtue and vice, of bravery and

pusillanimity, that marked the incipient stages of California society, fitted and schooled Governor Robinson for his Kansas work. In the "Wakarusa War," when Lawrence, six hundred strong, was besieged and beleaguered by an opposing force of twelve hundred, Dr. Robinson, as he was called in those days, was chosen major-general of the Free State party. He constructed forts and rifle pits, and showed no little budding military genius. But as a negotiator, pacificator and diplomat Robinson excelled. His was always the Fabian policy. He desired only to make Kansas a free state. He never sought collision with United States forces, and wanted Kansas free under the forms of law. He was charged with this mission. He was not particular about the tools to do it with. He would use the Democratic party as soon as any other agency or organization. Robinson has never been a partisan. He is too independent to be a political partisan. Although the recognized leader of the Free State forces, the venom of the opposition was not expended on him. It was not Robinson, but Lane, that the Quantrell ruffians sought when they massacred, in cold blood, one hundred and eighty of Lawrence's inoffensive and harmless citizens. Robinson never sympathized with John Brown's wild, crazy, cruel and murderous intentions and acts. Late attempts have been made to so identify the first Free State governor. The effort is futile and fruitless. John Brown never had the confidence of the Robinsons, Lanes, Parrots, Pomeroy's and other early Free State leaders. His

ways were not their ways. He never assumed the dignity of a command. He only led a squad. He committed murders on Pottawatomie creek. He was never suffered to lead on the Wakarusa or control in the councils of a freedom-loving Lawrence.

In 1855 the Free State men had been driven from the polls. Robinson was among the first to repudiate and disown the authority of the bogus laws. He was unanimously chosen a delegate to a convention which met at Topeka to formulate a state government. General Sumner dispersed the increscent Solons. In 1856, from May till September, he was a prisoner, charged with treason, at Leecompton. He was twice elected governor under the Topeka constitution, which was rejected by the U. S. senate. In 1861 he was elected the first governor of the state. In 1872 he was chosen a member of the lower house of the state legislature. In 1874 he was elected state senator, and reëlected in 1876. At the last election he came within forty-three votes of beating his opponent for the state senate, in a vote wherein the party majority of his opponent is about fifteen hundred.

Governor Robinson has been twice married. By his first wife, Miss Sarah Adams, daughter of a highly respected Massachusetts farmer, two children were born. Both died in infancy. His first wife died in 1846. October 30, 1851, he was married to Miss Sarah T. D. Lawrence, daughter of a distinguished Massachusetts lawyer, and connected with the celebrated Lawrence family of that state. He has no children by his second wife. Mrs. Robinson is a lady

of high literary culture and has written one of the best, and in many respects the best, of the many books that have been written on Kansas. Though highly accomplished, Mrs. Robinson is not much of a society woman, and lives quietly at home on the farm, five miles out from Lawrence, content with her books, the society of her husband and the friends who are favored with her refined and elegant hospitality.

Governor Robinson is a better writer than speaker. The distemper "scribendi" caught him at an early stage. His pen is pungent, his style terse, vigorous and strong, his sentences short and crisp, his words seldom unctuous. He can't write a puff. As a real estate agent he would be a failure. If Lane had

accepted the challenge of the pen, Robinson would have downed his great rival. But Lane always captured the crowd. Lane was ironical, humorous; Robinson sarcastic, solid and argumentative. Lane's place was on the stump, Robinson's in the sanctum. The pen is mightier than the sword, but the tongue is more powerful than the pen in a border community and among a seething, boiling mass of sovereign squatters. Lane went to the senate, Robinson to his farm, where he now resides in affluent circumstances, respected and loved by his neighbors, and honored by the great state whose sure foundations he aided so greatly in laying firmly a quarter of a century ago.

MILTON W. REYNOLDS.

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

THE following are well-known provisions of the constitution of the United States :

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows (Art. II, Sec. 1, 1).

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, etc. (Art. II, Sec. 1, 6.)

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided (Art. I, Sec. III, 4).

These provisions determine the nature of the Vice-Presidential office. The recent death of Vice-President Hen-

dricks, followed by the enactment of the Presidential Succession bill and the attendant discussion, makes an opportune time to trace their history through the Federal convention of 1787.

The intelligent American citizen, familiar with the constitution of his country from his youth up, and accustomed to regard it with much of the awe with which he invests nature herself, perhaps thinks the Vice-Presidential office the most natural and most necessary thing in the world. He supposes that the office was created, and its duties defined after the most pains-taking discussion. To him it is one of the necessary parts of a perfect instrument. These presupposi-

tions find small support in the history of the Federal constitution.. No other part of the constitution, that has been so fruitful in results, gave the convention so little trouble or occupied so little of its attention, at least so far as its relation to the Presidency is concerned, as the Vice-Presidency. And this seems all the stranger when we remember that the executive office underwent a most searching discussion. A history of the provisions in question, which will also be interesting in itself, will put all this in a clear light.

The resolutions offered in the convention on May 29, by Mr. Edmund Randolph of Virginia, popularly called the "Virginia plan" for establishing a national government, provided that the national legislature should consist of two houses, neither of which was named, but were silent as to the officering of both of them. They also provided for a national executive, to be elected by the legislature, but were silent as to the performance of his duties in case of his death, disability, or removal. *The draft of a Federal constitution, submitted the same day by Mr. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, provided that the house of delegates (the name by which, in his plan, the lower house was known) and the senate should elect their own officers; also, that in the case of the removal, death, resignation, or disability of the President of the United States, the president of the senate should exercise the duties of his office until another President should be chosen; and in case of the death of the president of the senate, the

speaker of the house of delegates.† On the fifteenth of June Mr. Patterson submitted the New Jersey plan for reorganizing the confederation. This provided for a plural executive but for no President, and therefore naturally took no account of the Vice-Presidency.‡

Naturally the executive office, and the succession thereto, in case of the death or removal of the President, did not escape the attention of Alexander Hamilton. The plan of government submitted by him, June 18, provided for a supreme executive authority to be vested in a President; also on the President's death, resignation, or removal, his authority should be exercised by the president of the senate till a successor be appointed. Hamilton's fully elaborated scheme, given to Mr. Madison about the close of the convention, provided that the senate should choose its own president, who should have a vote only when the house was equally divided. Also this provision :

The president of the senate shall be Vice-President of the United States. On the death, resignation or impeachment, removal from office or absence from the United States of the President thereof, the Vice-President shall exercise all the powers by this constitution vested in the President, until another shall be appointed, or until he shall return within the United States, if his absence was with the consent of the senate and assembly.§

The twenty-sixth of July is an important day in the history of the Federal convention. The twenty-three resolutions agreed to in the committee of the whole were now referred to what is

† Ibid, I, 145 *et seq.*

‡ Ibid I, 175 *et seq.*

§ Ibid, v. 537.

* Elliot's Debates, I, 143 *et seq.*

called the "committee of detail," with instructions to prepare and report a constitution conformable thereto. The first of these resolutions declared that the government ought to consist of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive; the second, that the legislature consist of two houses; but no provision was made for the presidency of the senate or the Presidential succession in case of the President's death, removal, etc.* The convention now adjourned until the sixth of August. On this day Mr. Rutledge handed in the report of the committee of detail, in which it was provided, first, that the senate should choose its own president and other officers; and, secondly, that the president of the senate should exercise the powers and duties of the President of the United States in case of his death, removal, resignation, or disability to perform his duties, until another President of the United States be chosen, or until the disability of the President be removed.

On the twenty-third of August, both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Madison, in debate, referred to the fact that, in a contingency, under the pending plan, the president of the senate would become President of the United States, as having a bearing upon the mode of electing the President. According to the report of the committee of detail, the President was to be elected by the national legislature; and Mr. Wilson's argument was that, since its presiding officer would sometimes be President, the senate, in "cases of vacancy, might have an inter-

est in throwing dilatory obstacles in the way, if its separate concurrence should be required."† Mr. Madison's argument was that the senate would have a further advantage in this, that a senator, the president of the body, in the contingency supposed, could, "by his negative alone, make three-fourths of the other branch necessary to the law."‡ These arguments induced the convention to insert the word "joint" before "ballot" in the pending clause; that is, the President should be elected by the joint ballot of the houses.

August 31 sundry matters that had been for a time laid aside were referred to what is called "the grand committee," consisting of one from each of the states represented; and one of these matters was the mode of electing the President. Various plans had been suggested, the favorite one being the joint ballot of the national legislature; but these were now all swept aside by the grand committee and a new one brought forward. In its partial report, submitted September 4, the committee broke ground in two directions; it provided for the election of President by electors, and also provided for a Vice-President. In this report we first meet these well-known words: "He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected in the following manner." Then follows the electoral method, much as it stood in the constitution until political complications growing out of this very Vice-Pres-

* Elliot I, 221 *et seq.*

† Ibid, v. 472.

‡ Ibid, v. 472-3.

idential office, in 1801, led to the adoption of the twelfth amendment. The same report also made the Vice-President *ex-officio* president of the senate, with limitations as to the trial of the President on impeachment and as to voting.* There now followed an earnest debate, turning almost wholly upon the merits of the electoral system and barely touching the Vice-Presidency. Three days later the section "The Vice-President shall be *ex-officio* president of the senate" was taken up, and now occurred the only discussion upon the merits of the Vice-Presidential office ever heard in the convention, at least so far as the record shows. And this Mr. Madison compresses into less than a half page of the invaluable "Madison Papers," as follows:

Mr. Gerry opposed the regulation. We might as well put the President himself at the head of the legislature. The close intimacy that must subsist between the President and Vice-President makes it absolutely improper. He was against having any Vice-President.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris. The Vice-President then will be the first heir apparent that ever loved his father. If there should be no Vice-President, the president of the senate would be temporary successor, which would amount to the same thing.

Mr. Sherman saw no danger in the case. If the Vice President were not to be president of the senate, he would be without employment, and some member, by being made president, must be deprived of his vote, unless when an equal division of votes might happen in the senate, which would be but seldom.

Mr. Randolph concurred in the opposition to the clause.

Mr. Williamson observed that such an officer as Vice-President was not wanted. He was introduced merely for the sake of a valuable mode of election, which required two to be chosen at the same time.

Colonel Mason thought the office of Vice-President an encroachment on the rights of the senate,

and that it mixed too much the legislative and the executive, which, as well as the judiciary department, ought to be kept as separate as possible.†

After this debate the section passed, eight states for, two against, one absent. On the provision that there should be a Vice-President, with the power, in certain cases, of succession, there was no debate whatever, nor was it brought to the test of a separate vote; it passed along with the provision in relation to the impeachment of the President, without a division of the question.

All the scattered rays of light thrown upon the Vice-Presidency by 'Elliot's Debates,' have now been concentrated. So far as appears there was no discussion of the necessity of this office. Every fragment of argument found in the record is given above, and how meagre it is the reader sees full well. Apparently, therefore, there must have been a good deal of thinking that did not find expression in the debates, or else the debates are imperfectly reported. Which ever of these suppositions be true, the later historians of the convention attempt to supply the missing links of argument.

How late was the day on which the subject appeared in the convention, has been seen already. "A Vice-President was suggested," says Mr. Curtis, "only when the mode of organizing the executive, and providing for some of the separate functions of the senate, came to be closely considered together. We are to look for its purposes, therefore, in the provisions specially devised for the settlement of these relations."‡ Unfolding

† Ibid, v. 522.

‡ 'History of the Constitution,' New York, 1859. II, 395.

* Elliot, I, 283; v. 506, 507.

his ideas further, Mr. Curtis says: "It was apparent that the executive would be a branch of the government that ought never to be vacant." The principle that regulates the succession in hereditary governments "must in some degree be imitated in purely elective governments, if great mischiefs are to be avoided." The difficulty which attends its application to such governments consists "in finding a number of public functionaries who can be placed in certain order of succession, without creating mere heirs to the succession for that purpose alone." In hereditary governments the heirs to the throne, in their order, may for the time perform no other function than that of kings in *posse*; "but in elective, and especially in republican governments, the succession," says Mr. Curtis, "must be devolved on some person already filling some other office, for to designate as a successor to the chief magistrate a person who has no public employment, and no other public position than that of an heir apparent, would be attended with many obvious disadvantages in such a government."* Possibly these "disadvantages" are neither so "many" nor so "obvious" as the distinguished historians of the constitution thought; but he is certainly quite right in reasoning, as he does, that the "peculiar construction of the senate was found to require a presiding officer who should not be a member of the body itself." The representation of the states in the senate was to be equal; it was important to withdraw neither of the two senators from a

state from active participation in the business of the chamber, so that a presiding officer was needed who would represent no one of the states. "By placing the Vice-President of the United States in this position he would have a place of dignity and importance, would be at all times conversant with the public interests, and might pass to the chief magistracy, on the occurrence of a vacancy, attended with the public confidence and respect." By this reasoning, no doubt, or something like it, the action of the convention was guided. The plan to which it led was a complete reversal of the idea of Pinckney and Hamilton. These statesmen proposed that the senate should have a presiding officer of its own election, and that he should succeed the President on his death, resignation, removal, etc.; the constitution provides that there shall be a Vice-President of the United States, and that he shall be the president of the senate, with the same rights of succession as in the previous case.

Mr. Bancroft compresses his brief discussion of the whole subject into two paragraphs:

"Such an officer as Vice-President," said Williamson, "is not wanted." To make an excuse for his existence, the convention decreed that he should be president of the senate. "That," said Mason, "is an encroachment on the senate's rights; and, moreover, it mixes too much the legislative and the executive." It was seen that the Vice-President brings to the chair of the senate the dignity of one of the two highest officers in the land chosen by the whole country, and yet that he can have no real influence in a body upon which he is imposed by an extraneous vote.

That the Vice-President should, in the event of a vacancy, act as President prevents the need of a new

*Vol. II, 396.

election before the end of the regular term, but an immediate appeal to the people might give a later and truer expression of its wishes."*

How appropriate the words of Mr. Bancroft would have been if uttered at the time, subsequent history shows: "An immediate appeal to the people might give a later and truer expression of its wishes."

When the constitution was finally perfected, and sent to the states for their ratifications, the Vice-Presidency does not seem to have attracted more attention from the people than in convention. The *Federalist* disposes of the subject in two paragraphs, written by Hamilton:

The Vice-President is to be chosen in the same manner with the President, with the difference that the senate is to do, in respect to the former, what is to be done by the house of representatives in respect to the latter.

The appointment of an extraordinary person as Vice-President has been objected to as superfluous, if not mischievous. It has been alleged that it would have been preferable to have authorized the senate to elect out of their own body an officer answering to that description. But two considerations seem to justify the ideas of the convention in this respect. One is, that to secure at all times the possibility of a definitive resolution of the body, it is necessary that the President should have only a casting vote; and to take the senator of any state from his seat as senator, to place him in that of a president of the senate, would be to exchange, in regard to the state from which he came, a constant for a contingent vote. The other consideration is, that, as the Vice-President may occasionally become a substitute for the President, in the supreme executive magistracy, all the reasons which recommend the mode of election prescribed for the one, apply with great, if not with equal, force to the manner of appointing the other. It is remarkable that, in this, as in most other instances, the objection which is made would lie against the constitution of this state. We have a lieutenant-governor, chosen by the people at large, who presides in the senate, and is the constitutional substi-

tute for the governor in casualties similar to those which would authorize the Vice-President to exercise the authorities and discharge the duties of the President.*

If this passage reflects Hamilton's own views at the time it was written, it is clear that his mind has undergone a change since he wrote out his plan of government. I have not been able to discover that the subject was discussed at all in the state conventions that ratified the constitution.

The man who now reads the foregoing history for the first time, if he shares the traditional American sentiment touching the constitution, will be sure to experience the feeling of surprise. He will be surprised at the late date that the Vice-Presidency really attracted attention. Neither Randolph's "plan," nor Patterson's "plan" attempted to provide for the succession to the Presidency in case of the President's death, removal, etc.; in fact, Patterson provided no President. Pinckney and Hamilton both proposed a president of the senate, chosen by the senate, who should succeed in these contingencies, and their ideas were incorporated in the resolutions that went to the committee of detail; but the grand committee rejected these ideas, and suggested a definitive Vice-President, who should *ex-officio* be president of the senate, thus completely reversing the process. He will be surprised again that there was no real debate on the Vice-Presidential question as such; that all the discussion was on collateral questions; and that of the six men who

* 'History of the Constitution,' New York, 1882, II., 86.

* No. 68.

are reported by Mr. Madison as taking part in it, four took decided grounds against the grand committee's recommendation. The four are Mr. Gerry, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Williamson and Mr. Mason; the two, Mr. Morris and Mr. Sherman. He will be surprised again that the Vice-Presidency was put into the constitution, not on account of arguments in its favor *per se*, but as an easy and dignified way of providing a presiding officer for the senate.

Nor can any man carefully study the whole history without coming to the conclusion that the fathers of Philadelphia did not foresee the really important part that the office which they thus created for the sake of another office, would play in our political and constitutional history. So far as appears, this was the only really important part of the constitution that was not discussed on its merits. In this, as in some other particulars, it is plain that they did not foresee how things were going to turn. In twelve years from the time that the constitution went into operation, there occurred a Presidential election which taxed the whole power of the electoral system, and also alarmed the country. At that time, in a state of things such as the fathers never contemplated, the Vice-Presidency came near upsetting the constitution and dashing the hopes of a great political party. This narrow escape led to the twelfth amendment, which is the only change in the mere mechanism of the constitution that has ever been made. It is well known that the electoral college system has worked quite differently from what its authors

expected; no one dreamed in 1787 that the electoral colleges would soon virtually become mere "nodding committees" to national party conventions. The fathers failed to see the enormous part that politics and political parties would play in the republic. They expected that only the most eminent citizens would be elected to the exalted office of President. They did not see how often the Vice-President would succeed, what part of the time he would be President. From the inauguration of Washington to the inauguration of Cleveland is ninety-six years, and for fourteen of these years, or more than one year in seven, the President's chair has been filled by a Vice-President. In that time two Presidents have been assassinated; I do not remember that any other great nation has lost two rulers in the same way in the same time. Again, the fathers expected that the Vice-Presidents would be men of Presidential rank and character. The first two, Adams and Jefferson, were, and an occasional one since; but in twelve years from the inauguration of the government, the Republican-Democratic party brought forward Aaron Burr, who so nearly won the first place instead of the second. For a long time political parties have respected "geography" in making their nominations. Generally, too, "availability" plays a larger part in nominations for the second place than in nominations for the first; since two factions in the convention struggle for the first place, and the one that wins is more than content to throw the second as a sop to the one that is de-

feated. With all the rest, men of first-rate ability have shown an increasing reluctance to stand for the place. All these causes have conspired to give the Vice-Presidential nomination to second, third, or fourth-class men. Vice-Presidents in the chair fourteen years in ninety-six! and yet it is hardly too much to say that, except John Tyler, no human being ever seriously thought of any one of these four men as a possible Presidential candidate.

About the time of the death of Vice-President Hendricks, Senator John Sherman was reported from New York as saying that the Vice-Presidency should be abolished; but that it would require

a constitutional amendment and was impracticable. He gave no reasons, as reported, for his opinion. Possibly the preceding narrative may contain some of them. However that may be, one cannot help thinking that, had the fathers of Philadelphia seen the trend of things as the historian sees it, they would not so lightly have concluded to create the Vice-Presidency because that was an easy way of settling another question, and that they would have thought an immediate appeal to the people in cases of vacancy might give a truer as well as later expression of their wishes.

B. A. HINSDALE.

HENRY P. BALDWIN.

THE life of a person who has lived an even and just course does not seem at first to be a very easy subject for biography. Many readers like sharp outlines and striking events. But no one who pursues a career of prosperity and success without being spoiled by it, reaches that result without much and earnest striving with many difficulties, which strengthen and develop the best human faculties. Just as the apparently smooth career of a commonwealth is the result of sharp and severe struggles with the untiring adversary elements that work against freedom and order, so the calm and serene wisdom of maturity and the self-control of a settled character can only come from patient and unyielding striving with many opposing forces.

The battles may be unseen, but there is no such triumph gained without them, and the world is always better for the examples of honorable and steadfast virtue. In public and in private station they command equal confidence, and bestow more honor on the places they fill than they can hope to gain from them. In all times a man who is just and firm of purpose presents an example to be studied and a career to be envied. Governor Baldwin's life has not been free from incident; but while he has been much before the public in various capacities, the success and esteem which he has gained in all of them have been due to the same qualities which have made him widely known and as widely respected in his unofficial career.



H. P. Baldwin

Henry P. Baldwin was born at Coventry, Rhode Island, February 22, 1814. He came of ancestry well known and respected for culture and probity. He is a lineal descendant of Nathaniel Baldwin, a Puritan from Buckinghamshire, England, who settled at Milford, Connecticut, in 1639. His father, John Baldwin, a graduate of Dartmouth college, died at North Providence in 1826. His grandfather, Rev. Moses Baldwin, was the earliest graduate of Princeton, and received his degree in 1757. He died at Palmer, Massachusetts, in 1813, where he had been pastor of the Presbyterian church for more than fifty years. On his mother's side, Governor Baldwin is descended from Robert Williams, a Puritan who settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1638. His mother was daughter of Rev. Nehemiah Williams, a graduate of Harvard, who was for twenty-one years pastor of the Congregational church in Brimfield, Massachusetts, where he died in 1796.

Governor Baldwin received a common school education followed by a course in a New England academy. Both of his parents having died while he was young, he entered a mercantile establishment as clerk, employing his leisure in study until he was twenty years of age, when he began business on his own account at Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and by exact and diligent habits laid the foundation of his future success. Having made a western tour in 1837, he removed in 1838 to Detroit and established himself in mercantile business, which he enlarged from time to time until he finally surrendered it a few

years ago to successors, who still maintain it on a large scale. He came to Michigan during what are sometimes known as the flush times, when people's ideas had become inflated, and a large part of the business of this region was done on an entirely fictitious basis. Lands were held at excessive prices, and banks flourished in all parts of the state with no reliable capital paid in, and with no security to bill holders. The result was overtrading to a dangerous extreme, and extended credit with nothing back of it. A collapse followed which was almost universal. The passage of a general bankrupt law in 1842 relieved all debtors of their liabilities, but there was hardly a case known in which there were assets enough to declare a dividend of the smallest amount. Although the land remained it was reduced to its primitive value, and unless productive was not marketable. Except the land there was nothing. All personal securities fell together.

Very few merchants were able to go through this crisis, and those who weathered it were placed at once in the list of sagacious and successful men who were reliable for the future.

Mr. Baldwin was one of the number that remained in sound condition. He was methodical and prompt; a good judge of men and far sighted. Conducting his business on a proper basis, and keeping out of wild speculations, he was able to take sight for the future, when prosperity must necessarily return to a new and growing country, and make such investments as his finances would justify. Like others among his

neighbors, he was sometimes compelled to take city property in payment of demands which there was nothing else to pay. When commerce revived and things began to improve again, he found himself in good credit, with a flourishing business. He had also become a man of mark; relied upon as sagacious and broad-minded, and in consequence burdened with many of those responsibilities that in all communities are forced upon those citizens who are thought most capable of bearing them well.

He had always been a devoted member of the Protestant Episcopal church, and at once on his arrival attached himself to St. Paul's church, which then occupied the field in Detroit. He was very soon made a vestryman and warden, and has always since, in that or in some other parish, not only filled such offices but borne more than his share of their labors and burdens. The commercial depression affected church revenues as well as others, and those who had means at command, and will to contribute them, had to do so largely. In all this work he was especially encouraged by the affection and aid of one man, whose friendship he acquired from the beginning, and with whom he lived in such close and loving intimacy as is rarely enjoyed by any one. Charles C. Trowbridge—whose name is the expression of all that is beautiful and venerable in human character—was his friend and confidant for more than forty years, and during all that time no important step was taken by the local church, or the Protestant Episcopal

church in the United States, upon which their advice was not sought and considered with respect. For just forty years they were fellow members of the standing committee of the Diocese of Michigan, and it may be safely said that to them it owes most of its financial prosperity, and very much of its religious advancement. Their joint wisdom and firmness have saved it from many perils. Both were continuously chosen as members of the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal church, and were among the most influential members of that body, which has frequently had upon its rolls the most distinguished statesmen and jurists of the United States. Both were always, when able to attend, members of the diocesan convention, and frequently upon the general and local missionary and charitable boards. Both gave as largely as their means would allow, and much beyond their proportion, to church and benevolent enterprises, and measured their beneficence by no jealous or narrow limits. In all records of religion and philanthropy, their names are inseparable.

Governor Baldwin was active as well in secular affairs of general concern. He took a lively interest in literary and educational progress, and was at one time president of the Detroit Young Men's society—a now extinct body—which in its day was the nucleus of intellectual life in Detroit, and numbered among its active members nearly every man of mark in the community. He was a Whig in politics, and earnest in his convictions and active in their support, although not a noisy politician. The

repeal of the Missouri compromise brought him forward more prominently in the measures then originated, which led to the forming of the Republican party, of which he has been from the first a member with decided views.

In 1852, after securing very largely by his own labor and contributions the success of St. Paul's church, in erecting a new church edifice and obtaining a rectory free from debt, he was led, by ill-health, to seek rest and improvement by leaving business cares behind him and obtaining the help of a sea voyage and a milder climate. He made an extended stay in Europe. When he returned public affairs were becoming disturbed by the questions rising out of the territorial acquisitions under the Mexican war; and the repeal of the Missouri compromise, already referred to, was the notable beginning of strife, which led to the War of the Rebellion.

But these disturbances did not interfere directly with the everyday business of the community, and city and state had interests which enlisted all good citizens in extending prosperity. Railroads had brought east and west into contact, and opened intercourse southward. The Sault St. Marie canal, which made access easier to the great northern mining region, aided much in enlarging business. Banks had become more reliable, and Governor Baldwin became interested in the Michigan state bank of which Mr. Trowbridge was president, and so continued while the charter lasted. During all this time church matters were keeping pace with secular. In 1845 Mr. Trowbridge

had been active in organizing Christ church, which was colonized from St. Paul's and was growing rapidly. Governor Baldwin, after Mr. Trowbridge's separation, became warden in his place and was treasurer of St. Paul's and of some diocesan funds. In 1858 the growth of the city led him and some zealous associates to organize a new parish known as St. John's church. The chapel and rectory, which were built in 1859, as well as the beautiful church, erected soon after, were placed on the corner of High street and Woodward avenue, which was then a point nearly isolated and in the eyes of many an unpromising place. But every one felt that the church could not help succeeding in the hands that managed it. A very large share of the whole outlay was made by Governor Baldwin, who always made it a principle to devote a large part of his income to pious uses. The Rev. William E. Armitage (afterwards bishop of Wisconsin, and with whose family Governor Baldwin became connected by close ties), was first rector, and it was not long before the chapel was too small for its worshipers, and the present beautiful church was added to it by the same munificent help. The parish, of which Governor Baldwin has always been senior warden, has had a remarkable history, and is known everywhere as one which has been preëminent in character and growth, sending out healthy colonies and foremost in good works. Two of its rectors have become honored bishops, and it is full of life. In the year 1860 Governor Baldwin accom-

panied Mr. Armitage on an extended tour in Europe and the east, which led to restoration of his health, which had become injured by over labor.

Not long after his return the political affairs of the country became much disturbed, and there was a general feeling that trouble was at hand. In the election of 1860, which put Mr. Lincoln in the Presidency, there was much solicitude felt concerning the choice of members of the state legislature, and many gentlemen, who usually kept out of active political conduct, were selected to manage state affairs. Mr. Baldwin was elected to the state senate, which was an exceptionally good one. The threatening aspect of southern affairs led to much counseling and reflection concerning the duties of the near future. But a new and unexpected complication arose in state affairs. Just at the close of 1860, and when the new administration was ready to be inaugurated, it was found that the outgoing state treasurer had made away with all of the available funds in his hand, and that the treasury was empty and unable to meet present or probable liabilities. John Owen, the new incumbent, aided by other patriotic gentlemen, of whom Mr. Baldwin was one, procured on private responsibility the means necessary to save the credit and meet the wants of the state. But the condition of the treasury called for a rigid investigation into the antecedents and causes of the unpleasant condition of the finances. Mr. Baldwin, with his long experience and good judgment in financial business, was chosen as chairman of the committee in charge

of this matter, and with unwearied diligence and great sagacity followed out the inquiry with thoroughness and impartiality, and found in the chaos and entanglement of accounts all that skill and ingenuity could unravel. The result was a complete overhauling of the methods, and security against similar troubles in the future. During the same session preparations were made, as far as possible, against the inevitable troubles which were then so near at hand. When the time came for action the Michigan troops were among the first and best equipped in the field. An extra session of the legislature became necessary to furnish ways and means as soon as the pressure of war required, and Mr. Baldwin was throughout regarded as one of the most valuable men in the public councils. He was during the war active in support of the government, and freely contributed time and money in aid of the charitable and patriotic measures that became necessary as auxiliary to the comfort and success of the army. During his legislative service he was also chairman of the committee for the examination of all matters touching the letting of the contract for enlarging and repairing of the Sault Ste. Marie ship canal, which was then the principal work of internal improvement over which the state had control, and which was essential to the Upper Peninsula and its commerce, in which Mr. Baldwin had always taken an enlightened interest.

In 1863 Mr. Baldwin took a voyage to California for relaxation from his labors, and while on the way to the

isthmus (the railroad not being open), the steamer in which he sailed was captured by the Confederate vessel, the *Alabama*, near the West Indies. After a detention of two or three days the captors discharged her on ransom bonds upon the steamer, cargo and freight, payable after the acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederate states.

When the National bank acts came in force, Mr. Baldwin was one of the chief stockholders in the Second National Bank of Detroit, and became its president and so continued until its reorganization—at the end of its chartered term—as the Detroit National bank, in which he holds the same position. He several years ago retired from the active management of his other business interests, and left them in other hands.

In 1868 Mr. Baldwin was chosen governor of the state, and took his seat in January, 1869, holding office through two terms, until January, 1873.

His record as governor is one which is very honorable. During his incumbency many important matters came up, in which his personal share was large and his labors heavy. As chairman of various state boards he always gave close personal attention to the business, and his great rapidity of thought and readiness in mastering complicated details, threw upon him much work which he performed cheerfully. During his administration a great advance was made in the establishment and progress of the state charities. He was founder of the state public school for dependent children—which is a recognized model

in a new field. He procured the permanent organization of a commission to supervise the state institutions. He recommended the establishment of the Eastern Insane asylum, the state board of health, and the state house of correction. He urged and procured appropriations for the enlargement of the university. He also projected and secured the building of the state capitol at Lansing, and appointed the building commission that carried it to completion. He urged changes in the direction of liberalizing the very low compensation of the state officials, executive and judicial. He also took the then novel step of placing the state library in the hands of a lady—Mrs. Tenney—a course which in that instance, at least, has been very successful.

While he was governor he was called on by the United States to prevent the use of the Sault canal for the transport of British troops on their way to the seat of war in the northwest, and performed that delicate duty quietly and without offence.

In 1871, the terrible fire which devastated Chicago was followed by similar disasters within the state of Michigan, which caused great suffering and privation. Governor Baldwin promptly called on the people of Michigan to aid their brethren in Chicago, and was soon required to issue a similar call in aid of his own people. Contributions came in so rapidly and freely that he was in about three months able to announce that further aid would not be needed. His methods in administering this relief fund were so well arranged that in 1881,

when a similar occasion arose in several counties of the lower peninsula, which had been swept by forest fires and made desolate, the governor of the state appointed Governor Baldwin, chairman of the relief committee, to gather and expend the large contributions. He assumed the office and his efficient and wise management, which took some months of his time, was the means of accomplishing great good.

In 1879, upon the sudden death of Zachariah Chandler, the veteran senator from Michigan, Governor Baldwin was appointed to serve through the unexpired term, and his record as senator was successful and honorable. He was a member of the Republican national convention of 1876, and was chairman of the Michigan Republican central committee in 1880 and 1881. Since his retirement from the senate he has spent a good deal of his time in travel, and has not filled any political office, although never giving up his interest in public affairs.

Governor Baldwin, while making no pretense of oratory, is a clear, concise and ready speaker, with a large fund of knowledge of men and of affairs, and extensive information. He is sociable and friendly, with personal dignity, but no ostentation, and is given to generous hospitality in a quiet way. He has as frequent guests the clergy from all parts of the country, as well as laymen. During the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis, which occurred when he was governor, he received and entertained that prince and his suite. He is frank and outspoken, but courteous in all his intercourse, and a willing and prudent counselor to many who need such a friend. His home is all that a home should be.

Among his many claims to respect and esteem, all who know him attribute to him the character of a Christian gentleman, a reliable friend, a bounteous giver and a true patriot, whose life is consistent and whose example is as valuable as his beneficence.

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

A PIONEER'S GRAVE.

Beneath a solitary tree
Left standing in the field alone,
A graven slab of sombre stone
Beside a hollow overgrown
With grass and weeds, I see.

II.

Thereon, an unpretentious name,
Too plain for Fame to love—
The name of him whose dust below
Lies dead and soulless while the show
Of Life goes on above.

III.

And dim beneath the mould of Time—
Old reckless Time, who in derision
Of transient earthly joys or tears
Has spared the date these fifty years—
A name which *once* meant lusty life,
With manful deeds of labor rife,
Means *now* but dust and a dim vision.

IV.

He lived, he died ; a common tale
From Adam until now.
Doubtless he loved to live ; the glory
Of Earth's adornment, never hoary
With crippled age, is the same story
To all who come and go.

V.

He lived ; how many years and days,
On the rude sandstone see ;
But if he lived to love, the stone
Can never tell his age alone,
For days of love have ages grown
And seemed a sweet eternity.

VI.

In youth bright hope inspired his heart,
His stalwart limbs were strong ;
Behind, the way of life seemed short,
Before him, very long.

VII.

His future glimmered on his fancy's eyes
With golden fruitage, like the restful scene
When Indian summer's hazy glory lies
A benediction from the purple skies
Upon the land, in crimson, grey and green.

VIII.

The Earth, his mother, of her wealth,
The measure of his days heaped high
With royal gifts of brawn and health,
And as the flying years went by,
Decked each one with such witchery
Of green and golden tracery
Inwoven o'er the woods and hills
To soothe him in his transient ills
And lull him to delight, that he
Loved her the more unconsciously.

IX.

He lived rough clad, a pioneer,
Lord of a sylvan hut,
Log built and low, but amply made
To shelter all his rustic brood
In comfort from the storms without.

X.

And when returning weary from his toil
Its blue smoke climbed reluctant to the skies—
A welcome signal of his evening meal—
Dear was its hue, cerulean to his eyes.

XI.

Dear was its old familiar form,
Its rugged logs, its ragged roof;
Dear its great wood fire blazing warm
Its hearty welcome from the storm
That in the forest howled aloof;
And dear its cool and calm retreat
For rest in summer's sweltering heat ;

Dear every feature of the place
Which marked its index on the face
Of the home-loving pioneer,
As still he wove from year to year
Each mem'ry in life's warp and woof.

XII.

That old log cabin is no more,
I see, where it has been ;
Beneath yon willow branching o'er
Its ashes make the grass more green.

XIII.

Few now and far between are they—
The cabins of the past—
And passing from the land away,
But while their ruins last
Pass them not by in thoughtless scorn—
Beneath such roof was Freedom born !

XIV.

His old age calm and quiet came,
He lived it on and on,
Like some magnificent old oak
Whose days are nearly done,
Whose branches, ornate in its prime,
Are stricken one by one,
So lapsed his faculties until
His glory all was gone.

XV.

At last like to a weary child
Who seeks its mother's breast,
Upon the sympathetic earth
He laid him down to rest.
He died, and here his dust remains,
Deaf to the sweet or sad refrains
Of human joys or human pains.

XVI.

And like his dwelling, he has served his day,
His Providence-appointed mission done ;
His task complete, his dust consigned to clay,
He is an emigrant who leads the way
His children's pioneer to the unknown.

—W. P. MARSHALL.

PIONEER MEDICINE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

VII.

AMONG the physicians who lived in northern Ohio in an early day, probably no one has been so widely known as Dr. Jared Potter Kirtland. His extended reputation depended not only upon his abilities as a practitioner of medicine, but still more upon his studies in the line of natural history.

Dr. Kirtland visited Ohio the first time in 1810, but did not establish himself here in the practice of medicine until 1823.

He was born in Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1793, being the son of Turhand and Mary Potter Kirtland. He was adopted by, and lived with his grandfather, Dr. Jared Potter, until the time of his first journey west, in 1810. This journey was undertaken at the solicitation of his father, who had been appointed general agent of the Connecticut Land company, and had visited Ohio in the successive years of 1798-9 and 1800. In 1803, Judge Kirtland removed to Ohio with his family, the only member remaining in Connecticut being Jared. Under the instruction of his grandfather, who was an eminent physician, the boy's tastes for the cultivation of flowers and trees were developed and he became expert in their care, having ample opportunity for this in the extensive gardens and orchards of his grandfather. He also assisted in caring for

a large plantation of white mulberry trees, which were cultivated for the purpose of rearing silk-worms. At this early age he discovered the power of partheno-genesis of the female silk-worm, thus anticipating the work of Siebold on this subject by about half a century. At the age of twelve he began the study of the Linnaean system of botany, a subject which occupied his attention during his whole life. He was also engaged in efforts to produce new varieties of fruit by crossing, and was successful in his attempts.

From 1808 to 1810, he was a student in the Wallingford and Cheshire academies, pursuing the branches of mathematics and the classics with a success which showed him to be possessed of extraordinary mental powers. It was his journey west in 1810 which interrupted his studies, but his interest in all natural objects made the journey full of instruction to him, since it showed to him new plants, flowers and animals.

On reaching Buffalo he saw for the first time some of the varieties of fish which abound in our northern lakes, and began by observation and dissection of every part a study which he followed for years, and which resulted long afterward in a monograph on the fresh water fishes of the west.

In the journey, which was made on



Jared P. Kirkland

horseback, he was accompanied by Joshua Stow of Middletown, Connecticut, and was joined at Lowville, New York, by Alfred Kelley. On reaching Painesville he met General Simon Perkins, with whom he rode to Warren, and a day later proceeded to Youngstown.

In a letter written by Dr. Kirtland, in 1874, to Mr. John M. Edwards, to be read at a reunion of early settlers in Youngstown, the doctor says:

Youngstown was then a sparsely settled village of one street, the houses mostly log structures, a few humble frame dwellings excepted. No bridges then spanned the Mahoning. In the following week I took charge of the district school in the village of Poland, consisting of sixty scholars, which I taught till late in September in a log house on the public square. Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and geography were the branches to be taught.

During his teaching much time was spent in the woods, and he was also interested in caring for his father's bees. His interest in the history, habits and care of bees continued throughout his life, and when past seventy years of age we have heard him discourse most enthusiastically upon the varieties of honey bees, how best to feed and care for them so they would produce the most honey. The recovery of his father from a dangerous illness, which had called young Kirtland west, and the death of Dr. Potter, with the bequest of a medical library, together with enough money to pursue the study of medicine in Edinburgh, Scotland, resulted in his return to Connecticut in 1811.

He studied medicine in Wallingford with Dr. John Andrews, and later in

Hartford with Dr. Sylvester Wells. During his medical study he was afforded especial facilities for the pursuit of chemistry, and devoted to this considerable time. By 1813 he was prepared to go to Edinburgh, but on account of the war then in progress this was impossible, so that he entered the newly formed medical department of Yale college. It is said he was the first student to matriculate in that department.

In addition to the study of medicine he had private instructions in botany from Professor Ives, and in geology and minerology from Professor Stillman. He also gave some attention to zoology.

Pursuing his studies too assiduously, however, he was obliged at the end of one year to desist. After a few months recreation, spent in Wallingford, he entered the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, which was then the most noted centre for medical study in the United States. He returned to Yale, however, in March, 1815, for graduation and shortly afterward began the practice of medicine in Wallingford, where he remained two and a half years. During this period he devoted much time to the cultivation of flowers, shrubs and fruit, and pursued his studies in the animal kingdom as well. He also superintended his grandmother's farm.

Since the field of medicine in Wallingford was measurably filled with other physicians, in 1818 Dr. Kirtland decided to move to Ohio, and made the journey thither to complete arrangements for that purpose.

On returning to Connecticut he found that during his absence he had been elected to a position of probate judge. Though this was contrary to his expressed wishes, he thought it proper to fulfill the responsibilities which were placed upon him, and succeed in attending to his practice and to others as well by the assistance of deputies. Shortly afterward an especially good field for professional labor was offered to him in Durham, Connecticut, which he saw fit to accept, and removing to this place remained until 1823. Here, as before, he followed during his leisure hours his scientific pursuits, caring at the same time for bees and raising fruits and flowers. In 1823 his wife, Caroline Atwater of Washington, died. She was celebrated for her beauty and loveliness. Her two children, a son and daughter, were also sick with what was called sinking typhus fever. The son died, leaving an only child, Mrs. Charles Pease, now living in Rockport.

The shock of this loss was such that Dr. Kirtland felt he could no longer continue to practice his profession in Durham. Again at the solicitation of his father, who was visiting him at this time, he decided to remove to Ohio, and they made the journey together.

His original intention on coming to Ohio was to occupy himself in mercantile pursuits and the cultivation of a farm in Poland, but his services were so much sought that he was compelled to abandon this idea and continue the practice of his profession.

Though many improvements had been made in the country since its settle-

ment, by the construction of roads and bridges, the doctor's tides were often attended with much hardship and exposure, and we have already related an instance of his coming home in winter, his clothing frozen stiff from fording a swollen stream. Not only were his professional services in demand in Poland, but he was called long distances. During an epidemic of sinking typhus, in which large numbers of persons were sick in Hartford and Vernon, Trumbull county, Dr. Kirtland gained much credit for his treatment of this disease. Drs. Jones and Allen were themselves early taken down with the disease, and the people of this section left thus without care, felt themselves under great obligations to Drs. Kirtland and Manning for the services which they rendered.

As before, Dr. Kirtland found time aside from his professional duties to devote to those studies which had always occupied so much of his attention. He had a greenhouse and vastly aided in improving the varieties of fruit raised about Poland.

In 1828 he was elected to the state legislature, and being thus called from home he associated with him Dr. Eli Mygatt. Dr. Mygatt continued to practice in Poland until a few years previous to his death, which occurred November 14, 1885.

In the legislature Dr. Kirtland quickly became a leader. A measure which especially enlisted his sympathies was a bill to reform the penitentiary system. Close confinement of prisoners had been the method in vogue. Largely through his efforts this method

was changed to one of hard labor, so that while the prisoner was benefited by being furnished with an occupation, the state was relieved of a great expense by the product of the prisoner's labor. He also took active part in securing the charter for the Ohio & Pennsylvania Canal company, the granting of which was strongly opposed by the Sandy & Beaver Canal company. For three successive years he retained his seat in the legislature, but in the intervals between the sessions continued his professional labors in Poland until 1837, when he was appointed professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the Ohio Medical college, established in Cincinnati. In 1841 and 1842 he lectured in the Willoughby Medical college on theory and practice and physical diagnosis, and in 1843, having resigned his chair in Cincinnati, he accepted the same position in the newly formed medical school in Cleveland, of which he was one of the founders. He retained this chair until 1864.

In 1837 he had removed to Cleveland, and the same year purchased a large farm in East Rockport, about five miles west of the Cuyahoga river. Professor J. S. Newberry, in an eloquent address presented to the National Academy of Sciences, says :

From the time when he first took up his residence in Cleveland, Dr. Kirtland was a highly honored and influential member of that community. His country home was beautiful with flowers from every clime, and his gardens and greenhouses were the admiration of all who beheld them. His farm was stocked with all the improved varieties of fruit, of many of which he was the originator, and was an arboretum in which a greater variety of exotic and native trees and shrubs was to be found than on any other private

grounds in the state. His city residence was the resort of the most cultivated and intellectual people, and he inspired among these an interest in science which led to the formation, in 1845, of the Cleveland Academy of Sciences. Dr. Kirtland, who was the first and only president, continued to hold office until 1865, when he was still more highly honored by the reorganization of the society and the change of its name to the Kirtland Society of Natural History.

In 1837 Dr. Kirtland became assistant to the State Geological survey, which had been organized under Professor W. W. Mather. He spent the first summer in making collections in all branches of natural history, with the intention of later studying and publishing of them. The survey was unfortunately abandoned in the second year, and, as a result, these collections which would have gone to the state were presented to and are at the present time preserved by the Kirtland Society of Natural History. Though the survey was abandoned by the state it was not lost.

Professor Newberry again says :

A large part of the material gathered was thus lost to the state and to science, but a report on the zoology of Ohio, which had been prepared by Dr. Kirtland, subsequently published in the second annual report of the survey, contained a nearly complete catalogue of the mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes and mollusks of the state, with notes upon the different species, which embodied in the briefest possible language many of the results of the original observations made by him through previous years. This catalogue was a most precious gift to the large number of young naturalists, who, like myself, were attempting to gain some knowledge of the zoology of the west. Without access to books we groped in the dark, gathering, studying and comparing, so that the local fauna were well known to us long before the names and relations of the species had been learned. The arrest of the geological survey unfortunately put an end to Dr. Kirtland's work in this connection, and thus greatly disappointed those who were hoping for a continued flow of knowledge from this inexhaustible source.

During the preparation of this work he had made a careful study and complete description of many objects embraced in it. To the subject of the fresh water fishes of the west he had devoted especial attention, himself making drawings of them. These were published, at a subsequent time, in the journal of the Boston Society of Natural History.

As early as 1829 Dr. Kirtland had begun to collect and study the fresh water shells. These had been considered hermaphrodite, but he discovered differences in shells, and later in the internal anatomy, which enabled him to distinguish with certainty between the sexes. His view was strongly controverted, but at a subsequent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science he presented a series of shells from the youngest to the oldest, and sustained his position so strongly, being supported in his views by Professor Agassiz and later by others, that the correctness of his discovery became universally acknowledged. This discovery was published in Silliman's *Journal of Science*, Vol. XXXIX.

In 1853 he made an extended tour of investigation, in company with Professor Baird and Dr. Hoy, through northern Ohio, Michigan, Upper Canada, Illinois and Wisconsin, and in 1869 and 1870, when seventy-seven years of age, he made a journey to Florida for the purpose of study. Here, too, he made collections, and he related the results of his observations with the same enthusiasm as in earlier years. His love of investigation did not confine itself to natural

history alone but extended to other subjects as well. The best article, so far as we have been able to ascertain, which has ever been written concerning the wrecks that occurred near Rocky river in the time of the war with Pontiac in 1763, was prepared by Dr. Kirtland for Colonel Whittlesey's 'History of Cleveland.' Had it not been for Dr. Kirtland, probably the relics, such as guns and muskets, which were found along the shore would not have been recognized as having been left here through the wreck of the old English batteaux.

Dr. Kirtland was a man of striking general appearance. Above the ordinary height, he had a strong and massive frame. We only remember him when advanced in years, but his noble head, silvery hair and beard and finely chiseled face, full of animation, were at once an attraction. Whenever it was our good fortune to see him he was most cordial and hospitable, leaving at once whatever might be occupying him to spend the time in conversation. This was not upon trivial topics, but upon that line of study or thought which was then occupying his mind. At one time his conversation was on new varieties of fruit or flowers, in the development of which he had had great success; at another it was Italian bees, their superiority over common bees, and the best means of feeding them; at another it was his discoveries of the relics of the old wrecks near Rocky river. Whatever might be interesting him at the time, whether history, politics or any subject in natural history, he had power with his enthusiastic presentation of the

theme to interest every one in it. As a result he became a great teacher in many ways. By the cultivation of a fruit farm, and his great liberality in distributing varieties of fruit trees, vines and berries, he taught the neighbors those kinds which were most valuable and best suited to the soil.

From greenhouse and flower garden, Dr. Kirtland distributed freely flowers, seeds, bulbs and plants, claiming that no one, however occupied, had any excuse for neglecting to beautify his yard, and surrounded himself with flowers and shrubs. In teaching medicine he always inspired interest in a broader field than that he taught, and every year sent out students enthusiastic not alone to study disease, but to find in botany, conchology and mineralogy, subjects of ceaseless interest and diversion.

In the stuffing of birds, too, he was an expert, and many of his specimens were sent great distances, some even to the British museum, supplying it with varieties hitherto not in their possession; and when he had reached nearly the age of seventy he told us with great enthusiasm of a class of young ladies to whom he had been teaching taxidermy. One of his chief pleasures seemed to be in setting others at work, and in this, perhaps no one has been more successful.

As has been well said, he was preëminently an educator. The life which he led in a new county, having access to no libraries save his own, which, however, was very valuable, shut off largely from an opportunity of uniting with learned societies, and men of like acquirements,

occupied with such a diversity of pursuits, he did not attain, perhaps, that extended reputation which would naturally have rewarded his talents had they been confined to one line of investigation. The product of his labors is not, however, to be less esteemed, for his life was expended in work in these directions which was of enormous value to the communities in which he lived.

With his many pursuits he carried on a considerable correspondence upon the subjects of his study, and this was always in a most beautiful hand, and he had no patience with anyone who wrote in a careless or slovenly manner.

During the time of the Civil War, though at the age of sixty-nine years, he was a most ardent patriot, and offered his services to the state and was for several months examining surgeon to recruits at Columbus. For these services he would accept no remuneration, donating what would have been paid him to the Soldiers' Aid society of northern Ohio, and he hired several substitutes to enter the army according to the method then in vogue.

No one was a more earnest reader of war news than he, or better informed concerning its progress.

In 1861, he had conferred upon him by Williams' college the degree of LL. D., and at various times was elected a member of many learned societies.

His conversational powers were of no usual sort. Full of animation and enthusiasm, he had great ability to interest others in those subjects which were occupying his thought, nor was he devoid of humor.

In summing up the life of Dr. Kirtland, we would say that, endowed by nature with vast physical and intellectual powers, he used them both most untiringly, not so much in medicine which he abandoned in later years but in the pursuit of various branches of natural history of which he was more fond, spreading his wonderful powers of investigation over a large field and becoming thereby the leader and educator of a great number of people, who were at once stimulated and benefited by his assistance.

Always at work, he had an enjoyment of life which is attained by very few in an appreciation of nature in her various manifestations and in initiating others into her secrets. In a life prolonged to the age of eighty-four years, and full of activities until almost the very last, he accomplished an amount of labor, sufficient to have taxed the powers of two ordinary men.

Dr. Isaac Swift, who came to Ravenna in the spring of 1815, was a physician much esteemed by his conferees. He was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, January 30, 1790. He studied medicine and attended lectures in New York City. Coming west on horseback it was his intention to proceed further, but in swimming Grand river his horse caught cold, so that on reaching Ravenna he was obliged to stop for a time. Being called almost immediately to see some one who was sick, he found occupation, and, since there was much illness, he was detained until he decided to make Ravenna his

permanent residence. He was subject to exposure, as were all early physicians, and at one time he returned home after an especially cold ride with one side partially paralyzed, an accident from which he never fully recovered. He was active in the support of public worship at a time when there was neither church nor pastor, and he held various offices of public trust, such as county treasurer from 1824 to 1832, and associate judge of the court of common pleas in 1846. Not long after 1830 he relinquished active practice for the most part and established a drug store.

He died in 1874, at the age of eighty-four years. During the last fifteen years of his life he gave up all active business, but until the end continued in full possession of his mental powers, interesting himself in whatever transpired, having been a man esteemed by his professional brethren and respected and beloved by his friends.

Dr. John Venen, a resident of Conneaut after 1815, died at that place on March 20, 1875. Had he lived to the time of his birthday, March 23, he would have been ninety-two years of age. He was born in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and at the age of twenty-two began the study of medicine in Shipton, Lower Canada, with Dr. P. Silver & Son. After three years spent here he continued his studies with Dr. Cyrus Root of Wheelock, Vermont. After having practiced for a short time in Wheelock and in Hartley, Canada, he removed to Conneaut, where he remained until the time of his death. He carried on a la-

borious, active practice, making long and hard rides, and was fortunately possessed of perfect health to enable him to endure these hardships. In his advanced age he walked erect, with a quick, elastic step and without a cane. His mind was active and engaged not only upon medical subjects, but he took especial delight in the consideration of theological questions, and was always earnest in the support of the church, and took constant pleasure in attendance upon and participation in its services. His wife, with whom he had passed a married life of about sixty-five years, survived him.

The second physician to establish himself in Cleveland was Dr. Donald McIntosh. He was born in Scotland, but it is thought received his medical education in Quebec. He was a small man, active and able.

In the War of 1812 it is believed he was on board one of the British vessels at the battle of Lake Champlain. He came to Cleveland about 1814, and lived on the corner of Water and St. Clair streets, carrying on his practice and at the same time conducting a hotel called the Navey House. Full of stories, a lover of sports and at the same time a remarkably good player on the violin, his hotel was a rendezvous for all seekers of pleasure like himself. He was a man of good ability and education, and could have taken a high position in his profession. He was, however, very fond of dogs and horses, and addicted to drink.

One evening he went out on Euclid

avenue to race horses with a man named Kirk, who kept a livery-stable. The course of the race was from the old Perry place, where the house of the Hon. H. B. Payne now stands. Dr. McIntosh's horse came down without a rider, and on going to look for him, it was found he had been thrown from his horse and had struck against the rail fence. He was brought to his hotel and soon died. Being refused Christian burial by one of the city pastors, the services at his grave were conducted by Irad Kelley. He died in 1834, at about the age of fifty-five years.

Dr. Erastus Goodwin, who was the earliest physician in Burton, Geauga county, was born in New Hartford, Connecticut, in 1786. He had a common school education, and studied medicine with a brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Brinsmade. He came to Burton about 1811, and thus endured the hardships common to the earliest physicians.

The War of 1812 soon called him from home, and he went as surgeon's mate to Dr. Peter Allen of Kinsman, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Hayes, and marched near to where Sandusky now stands. There was much sickness among the troops from malaria, and he suffered among the others. While confined to his bed, word came that a large force of hostile Indians had landed at the mouth of Huron river and was approaching the camp. Every one fled, and Dr. Goodwin was left alone to meet his fate, the only one remaining of this settlement. As the second night

approached he crept out to open a gate and allow the lowing cows to gain entrance to their calves and there saw a returning settler who reported that the party supposed to be Indians were prisoners who had been relieved on parole, after Hull's surrender, and that they had been sent down the lake in open boats. While located near Sandusky he met the daughter of Judge Gilbert, Miss Dotia Gilbert, whom he afterward married. He had several sons, the second of whom, Sherman Goodwin, studied medicine and practiced in Burton until 1848, when poor health compelled him to remove to Victoria, Texas, where he now resides.

Dr. Goodwin was a man of ability and had enjoyed as good opportunities for medical education as most of his associates, and he was much esteemed by them.

Mr. Lester Taylor, who, at the age of eighty-seven years, writes us concerning Dr. Goodwin, says: "I was intimately acquainted with him, and unquestionably he had the largest practice and was oftener called in council than any other physician of his day in the county. He was a man of integrity and iron will."

Dr. John Witherspoon Scott was born in Newbury, Vermont, August 6, 1791. He received a common school education and began the study of medicine with Dr. James Dennison of Royalton, in 1813. He entered the medical department of Dartmouth college in 1816, and received the degree of M. D. in 1817. He made the journey to Ohio on horse-

back, and in January or February, 1818, established himself in the practice of medicine in Parkman, where he remained during his entire life, with the exception of the years of 1837-38, which were spent in Chardon.

He received the appointment of associate judge for Geauga county in 1819, being associated with George Tod, father of David Tod.

Dr. Scott married, in October, 1821, Mary Ann, daughter of Judge Noah Hoyt. She survived him seven years, dying February 21, 1859. He died June 16, 1852, after a short illness. Dr. Scott was a man who attended assiduously to his profession, and held in a high degree the respect and affection of the community and esteem of the profession, and his long life spent in the practice of medicine in Parkman, gained him an enduring reputation. He was a man who, though modest and unassuming, was possessed of good ability, and was generally intelligent, possessing, through his personal and social qualities, many friends.

In the township of Chester the earliest physician was Dr. John Miner, who settled there in 1803. He was killed soon afterward during a tornado, by a large tree falling upon his cabin and crushing him beneath its timbers. Later came Dr. William N. Hudson, who settled in Chester in 1809. Dr. Hudson was born in 1788, being the son of David Hudson, one of the principal founders of Hudson college. He left Chester in 1818 for the purpose of studying his profession, and returned in 1825. He removed to

Meigs county, Ohio, in 1838 or 1839, and was afterward killed during the John Morgan raid.

In Chardon, a physician who was highly respected was Dr. Evert Denton. He was born in Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1790, and graduated at Columbia college, New York, at the age of twenty-one. After practicing for a short time in Connecticut he removed to Lockport, New York, where he re-

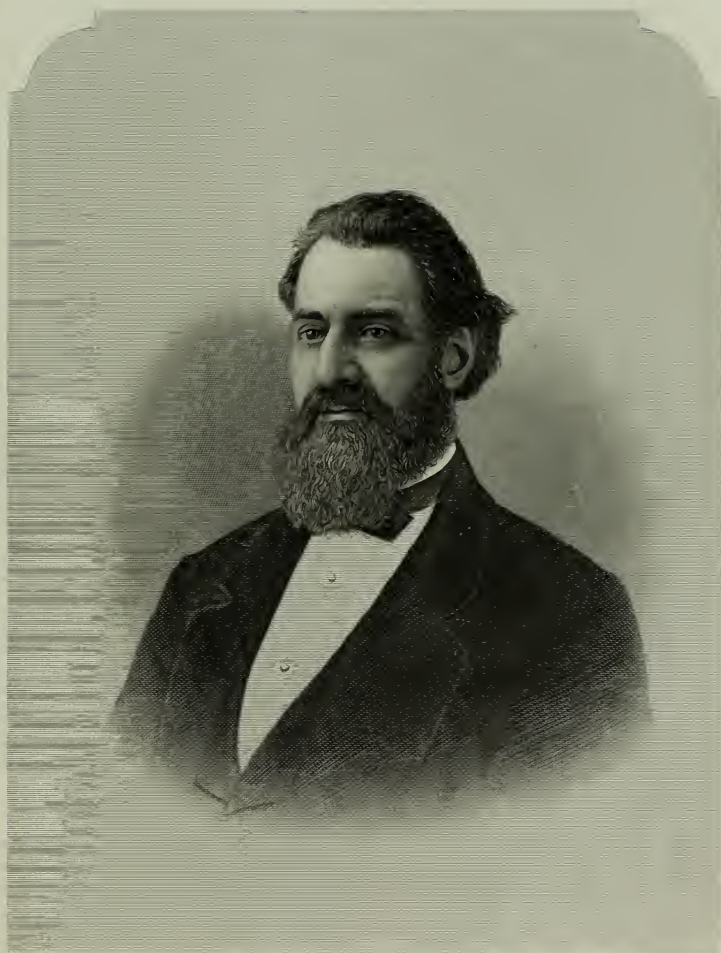
mained until about 1820, at which time he removed to Chardon. He was thrown from his horse on a dark night in 1829, and suffered an injury from which he died a year later. Cut off thus early, he had not time to gain that reputation to which his talent entitled him. He was, however, a man of more than usual ability and acquirements, and his memory is highly esteemed by those who know of him.

DUDLEY P. ALLEN.

HENRY J. HERRICK, M. D.

DR. HENRY J. HERRICK stands in the front rank of the physicians and surgeons of the west, and as a man has long since won repute equal to his reputation as a medical practitioner. Thoroughly educated, highly cultured, with a long and varied experience, he possesses in addition a high-minded Christian character, and a wonderful fund of sound sense that have made him an example and a force of unquestioned power in the community wherein he dwells. He is of the best New England stock, and has all his life been a supporter of the moral reforms and various forms of progress that found life in the New England mind. His father was a native of Massachusetts and his mother of Connecticut. They came to Ohio in an early day to aid in the development of this then new land, and to obtain a field wherein their native energy and industry could have full play. The subject of this sketch was one of a large family of children, and was born at Aurora, Portage county, on January 20, 1833. When he was a mere lad his father removed to Twinsburgh, Summit county, where one-half the boy's time was given the public school and the other half to the severe labors of the farm and saw-mill. It is needless to say that he gave to the one task the energy and industry that are

native traits in his character, nor that he made use of the other with all the strength of a nature that hungered and thirsted for knowledge. The whole bent of his mind was toward the education of himself and the full equipment of the powers with which he felt he had been naturally endowed. One of the surest signs of a high mental stature was found in the fact that the boy, amid the rudeness of the new country life that surrounded him, and without the suggestion from an outside source, should mark out for himself a course that included the obtaining of an education against the greatest odds and in the face of stern difficulties, and should move steadily forward until they were one by one overcome. He was with his mother much when a mere boy, and it was from her that he received an encouragement and a sympathy that was given him in no other direction, and in speaking of those days he always refers to her with the greatest affection and veneration. His thirst for knowledge drove him to close study at night when the work of the day was over, and the more he learned the greater within him was the desire to know more. In this way he fitted himself for college, and this preparation was assisted by a time at the Twinsburgh academy, under the care of the Rev. Samuel Bissell. At the



H. J. Hennick

age of twenty-one he entered Williams' college, where he spent four years in close and earnest study, his vacations still being given to manual labor and to school teaching. One of his comrades in Williams' was the late President Garfield, and because of their commanding size and Buckeye nativity, the two young men soon found themselves bearing the pet school appellation of "the Ohio giants." Young Herrick graduated with high honors, and then seriously set himself to the learning of the science of medicine, to which profession he had decided to give his life, although it had been the wish of his father that he should enter the ministry. He attended a partial course of lectures at the Berkshire Medical college, Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In 1858 he returned to Ohio and again betook himself to farm work in order to earn the means with which to continue his studies. He engaged with an uncle and went into the hayfield, and when his time was up had twenty-nine dollars in cash. He had paid for his entire college course of four years out of his own earnings, with the exception of seven hundred dollars which his father had advanced him as his share of the parental estate.

His labor in the hay-field ended on Friday night, and he spent Saturday in serious reflection. He felt that medicine was the direction in which his nature was set, and to which his mental faculties pointed. When his father asked him what course he had decided on, he said: "Take me to Cleveland, and I will take my chances of getting

through." His father brought him here on the following Monday, and left him at the City hotel. He had no friends here and only one acquaintance, Jarvis M. Adams, then a young lawyer, whose brother he had known in college. He called on Mr. Adams, and during the course of their conversation mentioned his desire. Mr. Adams' partner, Mr. Canfield, suggested Dr. Brooks, and after a call on him the young man made arrangements to study in his office. The next question was as to what he should live on. He decided to try for a position as teacher in the public schools, and for that purpose attended an examination conducted by Leonard Case, Bushnell White, and Professor Thome. He passed the examination, but failed in getting a school under a rule that no one should be engaged who did not intend to make teaching a profession. Finally a night school was opened in the Prospect street school house, and he was given charge of that. He taught during one hundred evenings of the winter, and attended lectures during the day. The next year he was asked to take charge of Geauga seminary at Chester, and did so, teaching there for one year. In 1860 he went to Chicago, where he resumed his medical studies under Dr. Daniel Brainard, an eminent surgeon. Through the influence of that gentleman he was appointed house physician at the United States Marine hospital in Chicago. He also entered Rush Medical college, from which institution he graduated in the spring of 1861, with the degree of M. D. About the same

time he was given the degree of A. M. by Williams college. Soon afterwards Dr. Herrick returned to Cleveland, and was employed as one of Dr. Brooks' assistants at the United States Marine hospital. In February of 1862 he decided to give his service to his country, and entered the army as assistant surgeon of the Seventeenth Ohio infantry. During some time he was in charge of general hospital number thirteen at Nashville, Tennessee, doing most valuable service and gaining an experience that has been of use to him through all after life. In December, 1862, he received a commission as surgeon, and at the battle of Chickamauga, where the hospitals of his division were in his charge, he was made a prisoner by the Confederates and sent to Richmond, where for two months he partook of the horrors of Libby prison. At the expiration of that time he was exchanged, and after a short forlough, which was spent in Cleveland, he rejoined Sherman's army at Chattanooga and took part in the famous march to the sea.

Always actuated by a desire to know more of his profession, and to explore every source of knowledge open to him, Dr. Herrick did not rest with the experience and education he had already gained, but on the close of the war went to New York City, where he attended another partial course of lectures, in order to better fit him for the labors of life. In 1865 he returned to Cleveland and became associated in partnership with his former tutor, Dr. M. L. Brooks. This continued until 1871, when it was dissolved, and from that time to the

present Dr. Herrick has practiced by himself. His standing in the medical ranks, from the day of his return from the army, was of the highest, and he long ago took a position as one of the foremost physicians and surgeons of Ohio. His practice has been and is of the most extensive character, and is by no means confined to the limits of Cleveland or Cuyahoga county. His success has been as marked in the field of operative surgery as in the practice of medicine, having performed the various capital operations with success, and lately in the radical cure of large and uncontrolled hernia. From 1865 until 1868 he filled the chair of professor of obstetrics, and the diseases of women and children, in Charity Hospital Medical college, and upon the reorganization of that college as the medical department of the University of Wooster, he was chosen to be professor of the principles of surgery, and at the same time lectured on hygiene. On the reorganization of the Western Reserve university, and the consolidation of its medical department with that of Wooster, Dr. Herrick continued to lecture on hygiene and on pathology, and after a time dropped the latter and devoted his instructions to gynecology and hygiene. He is also a member of the consulting staff of Charity Hospital; a member of the Northeastern Ohio Medical society; of the Cuyahoga County Medical society; of the State Medical society, of which he was president one year; of the American Public Health association; and of the American Medical association. In the dis-

cussion, and in the conduct of business, of these various associations he is an active and earnest member, while he has prepared and published a number of valuable papers on medical subjects, that have been received with marked attention and interest. Dr. Herrick also filled the government position of pension examiner through a term of nineteen years. On the inauguration of Governor Foraker, in 1886, he tendered to Dr. Herrick the position of surgeon general of Ohio, on the governor's staff. The appointment was made on the request of the Loyal Legion, and because of that fact Dr. Herrick decided upon its acceptance. He is also the recently elected president of the Ohio State Sanitary association.

Dr. Herrick was married on December 8, 1863, while home on a furlough after his release from Libby prison, to Miss Mary Brooks, daughter of Dr. M. L. Brooks, his old friend and partner. Four children have been born to them, and their home is one of the brightest and happiest places to be anywhere found. Dr. Herrick is of a cheerful and pleasant disposition, and always has a word of encouragement or good advice for the young. He is an earnest Christian, and an elder of the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian church. He is charitable, broad-minded, and a friend to every reform that is for the advancement of the people or the making better of the world. He is a close student and deep thinker, and a public speaker of acknowledged power and ability. He is respected and admired by all who have personal or professional dealings

with him, and those into whose family he comes in the capacity of a physician soon look upon him as friend.

That Dr. Herrick should have won his way at an early age into the front rank of his profession, was through no fortunate chance or mere accident. He has won every inch of the road upward. He early learned to know thoroughly the ground upon which he stood, and to recognize that the practice of medicine is an art founded upon scientific principles; in this respect allied to all other arts in their true application. The principles, which are the guide, are drawn from and are the conclusions of the unquestioned sciences of anatomy, physiology, histology, pathology, hygiene, chemistry and therapeutics. The road to success in the art of medicine must be found through these sciences, and all other endeavor is that of the charlatan or empiric. It has ever been a theory of Dr. Herrick's that one must comprehend the principles, and be able to interpret the individual case in the light of those principles; that the physician's success will depend upon his ability to detect differences in each individual case; and that it is well if he recognizes the human mechanism as a machine with all its component parts and organs—each designed for a certain function, and each performing that function as in a condition of health. This is implied in those underlying sciences which are the basis of the art of medicine. Comprehending the normal, one is able to detect and appreciate the departures therefrom, from whatever cause, which constitutes disease. He

holds that pathological anatomy is but the tracing in the tissues of departures from the natural process. Pathology considers the departure in all of its phenomena, taking knowledge of the disturbing cause.

Thus may be appreciated the complexity of the problems to be solved by the physician in his daily care of each individual case. The special skill which gives success is a not too common qualification. "Common sense"—which enables one under the guidance of these sciences to detect the variations in the different constitutions, as also the varying conditions, and change them for the patient's good in prescribing for the different phases of disease—other things being equal, the one having the above named qualification in the most marked degree will be most successful in practice. He will hold the dogmas of all authors under judgment,

and receive from them such suggestions and aid as shall give light in each individual case. Thus we may conclude that while the practice of medicine is an art, with true natural science as its foundation, it still must rest for skill and success upon the individual judgment. In this respect it is like all other arts. One may be fully versed in the science of navigation and still be a very unsafe guide to a ship in an uncertain voyage amid conflicting influences. Good discriminating judgment must be applied, in all the arts, to give success in the application of science to all the affairs of life. Views in the direction pointed out in the above have often been set forth by Dr. Herrick in his lectures and writings, as in his practice; and the success that has attended him in that practice is the best possible proof that his theories of medicine are laid upon broad foundations of fact.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

DR. PETER P. POMERENE.

THOSE who ruin and destroy are, by some strange fatalism of circumstances, given a larger share in the world's records than those who save and bind up. There is, of necessity, a sameness in the labors of a surgeon and physician, be he ever so successful, that prevents a full history of his life from being recorded, or at least keeps from him the full credit of the good works he has done. The soldier or the statesman may win in the bold stroke of a day, or even an hour, the glory that shall follow

them even beyond the grave, while the long labor of one who has served the world to better purpose than them both is done in such quiet unselfishness—in so many unnoticed ways, in darkness, winter and storm, and often so far away from the busy centres of the world—that it is often unnoticed, and never fully appreciated nor understood.

There are many worthy and able physicians among the medical men of Ohio, and in that profession Dr. P. P. Pomerene of Berlin, Holmes county,



Engraved by J. P. Pomerehne

J. P. Pomerehne

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stands in the foremost rank. He received the advantage of an ancestry of high character. His grandfather, Julius Pomerene, was of French nativity, and came to America with General Lafayette to fight for the liberties of a land that had appealed so strongly to their sympathy. His voyage to America was made on the ship that brought the great Frenchman, and on arrival he fought bravely in the American cause. He was a commissioned officer, but no record has been left as to the exact position he occupied. He was a man of fine education. On the conclusion of the war he decided to remain in America, and located at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was married to Martha Heller, a cultivated lady of German descent; and the fruit of their marriage was four children, their ages being in the order named—Annie, Henry, Julius and David. The latter died from an exposure that brought on lung disease, when but seventeen years of age.

In the year 1797 Mr. Pomerene removed with his family from Lancaster and settled in Allegheny county, at a point about seven miles below Pittsburgh. He was compelled to convey his family over the Alleghany mountains by team, and they endured great hardships, being compelled to camp out at nights for the greater part of the journey, with only a scanty stock of provisions upon which to subsist. He located on a farm that had only just been reclaimed from the forest, and upon which there were no improvements whatever. In the year 1800 as he was assisting in the raising of a log cabin, one of the men

at work with him made a misstroke, and with one blow of an axe severed his hand at the wrist. Lockjaw ensued, and his death followed in a short time. The mother and the little ones were left in straitened circumstances, now that the one on whom they had depended was taken away. She found herself in a new country, far from friends, and with the farm as yet unpaid for. She was compelled to lease it for seven years, the proceeds thereof going for the back payments. She found places for her children where she best could, and was compelled to go forth and earn her own living.

As Julius Pomerene was the only one of his name that crossed the ocean and settled in America, consequently all of the name in this country now are his descendants. His son, Julius Pomerene, the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on February 9, 1792, and with his mother and sister moved to Holmes county, Ohio, in the spring of 1821, and remained there for the remainder of his life. He was a farmer by occupation. He was married on December 16, 1823, to Miss Elizabeth Peirsol, then a resident of Holmes county, but having been born at Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, and taken by her father to Ohio when but thirteen years of age.

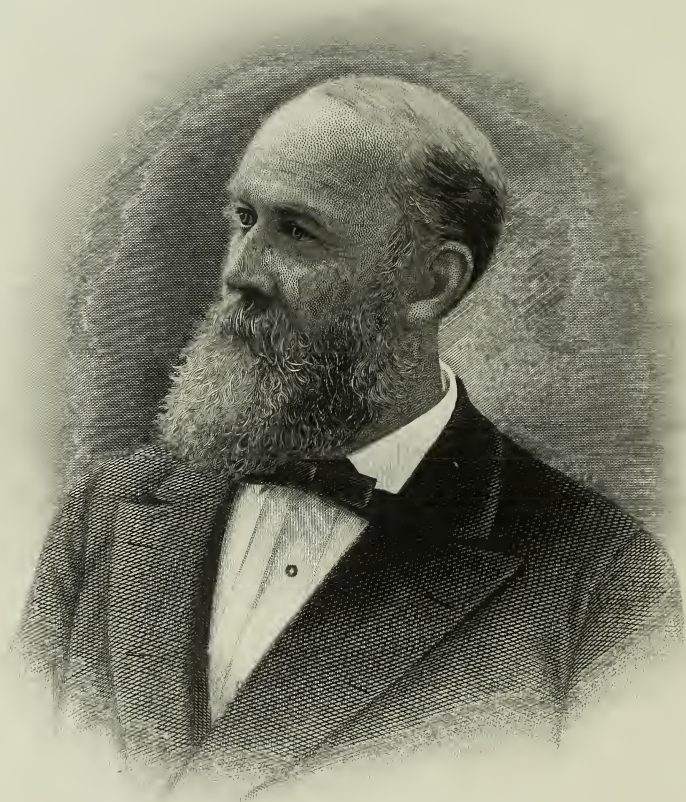
Six children, four sons and two daughters, were born to them. The son, Peter P. Pomerene, remained at home until he was seventeen years of age, having been given only the advantages of a country schooling. He

was determined, however, to gain all the education that could be had with his means and opportunities, and was enabled to spend one winter at the Western Star academy of Summit county. He also had one term at the Fredricksburgh academy. Being thus well grounded in a common school education he commenced in turn to teach, and followed that occupation for two years. His first examination for a school was under Judge John Jeffries of Wooster. But it was by no means his purpose to spend his life in that line of labor. He felt that he had a call in another direction. The practice of medicine had attracted his attention, and as soon as he was able he entered upon its study. He commenced to read under the instruction of his brother, Dr. Joel Pomerene, at Middletown, Holmes county, when but twenty years of age. After two years of study, in the winter of 1854 he attended one course of lectures at the Western Reserve Medical College of Cleveland. Because of limited means that prevented his carrying his medical education as far forward as he would have liked, he located at Berlin, Holmes county, on February 27, 1855, and commenced the practice of medicine. In the fall of 1860 he went to Philadelphia, and received a course of lectures at the Jefferson Medical college, from which he graduated in the spring of 1861. He returned to Berlin thus newly equipped, and resumed his practice, and has remained there since. He has been very successful, and has won for himself a high and honorable place in the medical profession. Nature admirably pre-

pared him for that form of work, and he has ever been a close student and a hard worker. He is a skillful practitioner and surgeon, and has practiced his profession in all its branches. He is one of the most genial and hospitable of men, making stranger as well as friend feel at home, and exerting a genial influence on all about him. He is liberal in his views, and while holding earnestly to any faith that may be within him, has respect for the beliefs of others, and is willing to see that each man has a right to his own opinion. He is generous, and many of the poor and suffering about him have grateful cause to remember that fact. He is ever ready to aid any enterprise that may be originated for the good of the public; and although busy day and night in his profession, has found much time for reading, and has closely cultivated his habits of observation. He is thorough and earnest in all that he undertakes, and has the undivided good will and respect of the community in which he dwells.

Dr. Pomerene was one of the charter members of the Holmes county Medical society, organized in 1858, and was made a member of the Ohio State Medical society, in 1870, and of the American Medical association in 1878. It is no undue praise, but a simple acknowledgement of his worth and success to say that in the thirty-one years in which he has practiced medicine and surgery, he has done more business in that line than any other practitioner who has ever lived in Holmes county.

Dr. Pomerene has been twice mar-



Portrait of William H. Miller

W. H. Miller

ried. His first wife was Lorhetta Maxwell of Holmes county. One son and two daughters were born to this union. The former, DaCosta Pomerene, is now receiving a theological course at Princeton Theological seminary. Only one of the daughters is now living. His wife was the daughter of Bezaleel and

Annie Wise Maxwell, and died on May 17, 1862.

His second wife, to whom he was married on January 1, 1863, was Elizabeth Wise, daughter of Peter and Esther Wise, also of Holmes county. Nine children have been born of this marriage—seven sons and two daughters.

DR. AKIN C. MILLER.

DR. A. C. MILLER has for so long held a place in the medical ranks of northern Ohio, and of late been so identified with medical education in Cleveland, that any article on the subjects involved therein would be incomplete with no mention of his career. Like a majority of our successful professional men he commenced at the foot of the ladder.

Having inherited strong physical as well as mental qualities, he found no difficulty in working his way to the front and in overcoming the many obstacles and disadvantages peculiar to his early educational surroundings. He was the son of Isaac and Dorothy Miller, and was born on the old homestead in Salt Creek township, Holmes county, Ohio, on September 7, 1832—the youngest of eleven children, five of whom are yet living. His advantages in his youth, when the common school system of Ohio had not been dreamed of, were of the most meagre character; but he made

the best of such as did exist, and supplemented them out of the great reservoir of his energy and determination. He created his own resources, making his way step by step, and with such success that by the time he was sixteen years of age he had charge of a school. The income thus won was used to advance him still farther, and he was enabled to take an academic course. For a long time he had felt impelled toward the medical profession, and had early founded himself on the resolution that nothing should come between him and that ambition. In 1853, just as he reached his majority, he entered the office of Dr. Joel Pomerene of Middletown, Holmes county. In 1856 and 1857 he attended his first course of lectures at the Cleveland medical college. Not having sufficient funds to carry him through his medical course, he opened an office at Orrville, Wayne county, where he succeeded in building up an excellent practice in a short time. On the break-

ing out of the war he immediately determined to give his service to his country, and in a way by which he could be of the most use. Accordingly he entered Starling Medical college at Columbus, Ohio, at the opening of the session of 1861-62, and requested a special examination for graduation. This was granted. He received his diploma, and promptly submitted himself for examination for the position of regimental surgeon. He passed successfully, and was appointed surgeon of the Fourteenth regiment, Kentucky volunteer infantry, there being no vacancy in Ohio commands at that time. He immediately joined his regiment, which was then in camp on the Big Sandy river in eastern Kentucky, and was with General Garfield in his campaign of 1862, in which he whipped Marshall, and rid east Kentucky of rebel rule forever.

While in the service, Dr. Miller filled the position of president of a board of surgeons to examine medical officers for the twelve regiments of east Tennessee troops; was president of a board of examining surgeons for disabled soldiers; was division surgeon on the staff of Generals Baird and White; was medical director of the eastern department of Kentucky, and surgeon-in-chief of hospitals in the same department. It is needless to say to those who know him that he fulfilled all these important trusts with fidelity, and gave to them the energy, industry and wise administration that have characterized his course in the walks of civil life. In 1864 he retired from the army, and again entered

upon the practice of medicine in Orrville. He graduated from Bellevue Medical college, New York, in 1868, and was soon afterwards appointed to the chair of diseases of the genito-urinary organs, in Charity Hospital Medical college, of Cleveland now the medical department of the University of Wooster. In 1881, when Professors W. J. Scott, G. C. E. Weber and others of the faculty withdrew from the medical department of the University of Wooster, the work of reorganizing the faculty was largely entrusted to Dr. Miller. In consultation with Professors Firestone and Pomerene and other remaining members of the faculty, he was soon able to present to the board of trustees of the university for election the names of a number of young, active and successful physicians, who had proved themselves eminently capable as teachers to fill the places the board had declared vacant. The result was the creation of a live, strong and progressive faculty, which is doing first-class work, winning the commendation of not only the patrons of the college but of the profession at large, and giving excellent promise for the future.

In this reorganization Dr. Miller was elected to the chair of obstetrics and diseases of women, the latter of which he still holds. By his energy and perseverance he has succeeded in creating and maintaining at the university a large clinic for women alone, where hundreds avail themselves of his treatment.

For many years Dr. Miller was one of the consulting physicians to Charity

hospital, and for some time was in charge of the lying-in department. Since the reorganization of the medical department of the University of Wooster, he, with the balance of the faculty, have founded University Hospital in connection with the college, which has already a record of success and usefulness.

Dr. Miller has given to his profession the best time and thought of his life, and all else has been compelled to wait upon that and to aid him in mastering it, and accomplish through it what good he could for the world. No outside ambitions have led him astray.

No allurements of politics or public life have caused him to forget the demands of the profession to which he is devoted. He has spent some time abroad, but most of it was given in the interest of his life's labor. The success he has won, and the high repute in which he is held, are the best possible proofs of the wisdom of his early choice, and that he has followed the path nature had designed for him. Generous, high-minded, patriotic and manly in all the relations of life, he is indeed a valued and respected citizen of Cleveland, where he has made his home since 1875.

HENRY I. GOURLEY.

MANY men achieve excellence and command success in some given direction, but it is permitted to few to follow several lines of life and stand in the front rank of each. Yet in Mr. H. I. Gourley, who is yet a young man in the enumeration by years, we find a striking illustration in this direction. As a teacher he has done a grand work and won universal public recognition and endorsement; as a business man he has produced results of the most positive character, and as a public man he has served the people with signal faithfulness and a most unquestioned ability. With the best portion of his life before him, there is no telling what still greater things he shall yet achieve.

Mr. Gourley was born at Thompson-town, Juniata county, Pennsylvania, October 3, 1838. His father, Joseph Gourley, was a farmer and resided near the little town referred to as the birth-place of the subject of this sketch. Joseph Gourley died in 1843, leaving two sons and one daughter aged respectively, three, five and seven years. Being deprived of the support of her husband and left without pecuniary means, the mother decided soon after his death to remove with her three children to Pittsburgh. Having reached that city, the circumstances in which she was placed in her new home soon

made it necessary for the mother to transfer the children to the care of others. At the age of six years, therefore, young Henry was placed under the care of a farmer in Pine township, Allegheny county. Here he remained until the age of eighteen, devoting his young days to the manifold duties which commonly fall to the lot of boys who are reared midst the scenes of rural life. It was on this farm that he acquired the early habits of industry which have characterized his subsequent life, and which rendered possible the measure of success and usefulness which has marked his career. It is probably true that those twelve years of busy labor were not of profit in a monetary sense, as his boarding and clothing and the privilege of attending the district school during a portion of the winter months constituted the compensation for his services. But they were the years which established the groundwork of his character and implanted within him a spirit of independence and self-reliance which has strengthened his succeeding days and enabled him to surmount the difficulties which have compassed his path.

With a mind hungry for knowledge, and earnestly desirous of acquiring an education, young Gourley found himself devising ways and means of attaining that object. He had no money, but firmly



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resolved that he would earn it. He, therefore, left the farm where he had so long labored, and the house which he had learned to look upon as home, and faced the world, armed only with his brain and courage, and determined to do heartily and well whatever fell to his hand. His start was sufficiently humble. Within a few days he entered into a contract with a neighboring farmer for cutting cord-wood at forty cents a cord. He went manfully to work, and during a period of fifteen days he cut fifty cords, for which he received twenty dollars in gold. In a financial sense, this was the first fruit of his own labor. During the harvest of the same year he earned thirty dollars more, which he added to that already obtained, and with this sum as a foundation upon which to work, entered Witherspoon Institute, located in Butler, Pennsylvania. He remained there for a period of four months, and on his funds becoming exhausted, was compelled to relinquish school and again find employment in the woods. Upon a further replenishing of his purse by the use of his muscles, he entered Duff's Commercial college at Pittsburgh, and graduated therefrom in January, 1857.

With his diploma under his arm, Mr. Gourley applied at the grocery store of Joseph Craig, in Allegheny City, for a position. This gentleman, who had known him from early childhood, gave him employment at eight dollars a month, with boarding in his own home. After four months of this service he concluded to seek his fortune in the west, and with a slowly accumulated

fortune of twenty-five dollars in his pocket, he bought a ticket to Chicago, and from thence proceeded to Dubuque, Iowa. The cost of transportation there about exhausted his funds, and he made haste to seek employment, but in vain. The great financial panic of 1857 was on in its force, and the time was most inauspicious for new ventures, and unfortunate for an inexperienced young man to be without money in a strange land. Unable to obtain employment of any kind in Dubuque, he engaged a deck passage on a steamboat to Davenport, of the same state.

This, the first steamboat ride of his life, proved an eventful one, and came near closing this record in its beginning. In passing through the drawbridge at Rock Island, the boat struck the pier and sprung a leak. The water began to pour into the hold with great force and volume, and the cry went up, "We are sinking." But the pilot was a man of nerve and experience, and steered the craft to shore, landing the affrighted passengers in safety.

Safe from wreckage on the waters, the young man set foot in Davenport penniless and at an utter loss as to the source from whence his next meal was to come, leaving the question of a night's lodging to settle itself when that of subsistence should be out of the way. But he was of the resolute sort, with an endless stock of courage and determination, and took hold of the dilemma by both horns for a fair, square wrestle. With his valise in hand he turned his face toward the, to him, unknown prairies. Having traveled a distance of twelve

miles he stopped, just as the sun was setting, at an humble cottage, and asked permission to stay for the night. The rough appearing but kind-hearted country-man graciously took him in and gave him his supper, lodging and breakfast. In view of the exhausted condition of his finances, it was fortunate for him that his host proved to be a native of Pittsburgh, for when he timidly asked for the amount of his bill, on the following morning, the response was, "I never charge anything for keeping over night a man who comes from my native city." The young stranger thanked him heartily and departed, knowing not where he was going, but all the time hoping that an opportunity of securing employment in some capacity or other would soon present itself. He was not disappointed. The opening came, and on the afternoon of the same day he engaged to a farmer at fourteen dollars a month. We have his own testimony for the statement that it was to him a happy moment when, in response to his anxious inquiry, that Iowa farmer consented to give him work.

Here he remained for five months, and on the expiration of that time again set his face towards Pittsburgh, reaching there in the autumn of 1857. The fortune which he had set forth to seek in the far west, was represented on his arrival home by just twenty-five dollars—a sum exactly equal to that possessed when he had departed six months before. While, in the light of a business enterprise, the trip did not prove to be an eminent success, it was of value

nevertheless, for he acquired an experience which has been of incalculable benefit to him from that day to this.

From 1857 to 1861 Mr. Gourley's time was principally occupied in teaching and attending school himself, the former occupying his time in the winter, while in the summer he attended Elder's Ridge academy, where he prepared himself for the senior class in college. In the fall of 1861 he was elected to the principalship of Troy Hill (now Seventh ward, Allegheny city) school, at a salary of forty dollars a month. He won unquestioned success in this position, and showed that he had entered at last upon a profession for which, both by education and natural gifts, he was eminently fitted. At the end of two years of this responsible labor, he took a step forward in his chosen line and was elected to the principalship of the Third ward (now Grant) schools, Pittsburgh, at a salary of eleven hundred dollars per annum. At this time the school was one of the largest in the city, employing sixteen teachers, and having an annual enrollment of about sixteen hundred pupils. To this responsibility Mr. Gourley gave four faithful years, meeting with unusual success as a teacher, and ranking among the most progressive and popular principals connected with the Pittsburgh schools.

Leaving the Grant schools, Mr. Gourley organized a select school at Shady Side, a beautiful suburb of Pittsburgh, and remained in charge thereof for one year. In 1868 he opened a select school for boys and girls in Pittsburgh, which institution at once became

popular and profitable, and was patronized by many of the pupils whom he had formerly taught on Troy hill and in the Grant school. But after having conducted this institution for one year, failing health and a desire to find more vigorous employment induced him to accept a position with the publishing firm of Charles Scribner & Company, of New York, as the representative of their educational publications in the state of Pennsylvania. He remained with this firm for a period of five years, during which time he had achieved unexampled success in introducing their series of text books on geography into the schools of western Pennsylvania. In a business sense this position was a remunerative one, but its duties were less in harmony with Mr. Gourley's inclination than those which pertain to teaching. He loved the school-room, and found his greatest happiness in imparting instruction to the young. In 1874, at the earnest solicitation of the board of directors, he consented to again assume the principalship of the Grant schools. But in less than two years after his return to the old school, what seemed to him at the time a favorable proposition from the publishing house of A. H. English & Company, Pittsburgh, induced him to again relinquish teaching, and accept a position with that firm. He assumed the superintendency of their agency department, and held it until their unexpected failure in 1878. Being one of their creditors at the time, he suffered a serious financial loss, which engulfed nearly all his accumulations of preceding years.

Immediately after this failure, the board of directors for the third time elected Mr. Gourley to the principalship of the Grant school. It seemed as if this position was always open for him, and indeed the remark became common among the teaching fraternity, that "if Mr. Gourley desired the principalship of Grant school, no one else need apply."

But the activities of the business life which he had been leading for several years in a measure unfitted him for the monotonous duties of the school-room, and besides, the circumstances in which he was left by the failure above referred to, made it not only advisable but absolutely necessary for him to find employment in some sphere promising more liberal compensation than that received in the teacher's profession. It is a lamentable fact that notwithstanding the great importance of the teacher's position, the pay attaching thereto is not such as to justify a man of ability and ordinary ambition in making a life-work of the profession. The world presents other spheres of employment in which an enterprising and prudent man may, during the active years of his life, accumulate something for his own comfort and support, and for the maintenance of those dependent on him at a time when sickness or the infirmities of age unfit him for work. With these considerations weighing upon him, Mr. Gourley took a step which was a loss to the educational interests of Pittsburgh, but in which he was fully justified by the considerations above outlined. He abandoned the profession of teaching

in 1879, and assumed the management in Pittsburgh of a branch of the school-book publishing business now owned by Taintor Brothers, Merrill & Co. of New York. In this responsible position he has since remained. He has been engaged in lines of educational work other than those here mentioned, having in 1876-77 assisted Professor M. B. Goff in the preparation of a series of arithmetics, which bears the latter's name, and which has been extensively introduced into public schools of Pennsylvania and other states. In 1881 Mr. Gourley commenced the preparation of a series of readers and speller for the use of schools. In this he was assisted by Mr. J. N. Hunt, whose name is associated with his own in the authorship of the books. 'This series was completed and published in 1882, and is known by the title 'The Modern Series of Readers and Speller.' These books have met with a most gratifying reception, and have already attained a wide circulation.

Successful as H. I. Gourley has been in the line of education and the business connected therewith, there is another strong and successful side to his life which must not be forgotten or overlooked. He is the possessor of qualities and a temperament which fit him for a successful public life, and such service as he has already given emphasizes that fact. He intended at an early day to give himself to the law, and in 1864-65, while engaged in teaching, he entered upon the study of that profession, reading with Messrs. Hopkins & Lazear. He never, however, completed

his legal studies, and finally abandoned the idea altogether. This step has ever been to him a source of deep regret, and he looks upon it as the great mistake of his life.

Mr. Gourley has been a very useful man to Pittsburgh in an official way, and has given much time and labor to the public good. He has resided in that city for twenty-five years, and during half that time has been a resident of the Seventh ward. In 1876 he was elected to represent that ward in select council for a term of two years. This position he has held uninterruptedly from that date to the present, having been reëlected five times. His popularity, and the high order of his official services, can best be understood when it is known that in three of these elections he received the unanimous vote of the people of his ward, representing all political parties. In 1879 Mr. Gourley was elected president of select council, and every year since, his course has been endorsed by an unanimous reëlection to that position. Considering the difficulties of the position of presiding officer, and the fact that council is composed of men representing each political faith, a unanimous reëlection for so many years in succession must be considered a compliment not often possible to men in public life. His efficiency and fairness in the position of president are conceded by everybody, and his promptness in disposing of business is universally recognized and commended. Since he assumed the duties of presiding officer, now almost eight years ago, but one of his decisions has been overruled by council.

In this one case the chair was right and the council wrong, and, discovering their error, reversed themselves by a subsequent action. During his long service as a member of council, Mr. Gourley has taken an active part in the discussion of all the important measures considered by that body.

Of these numerous and varied measures, considered by the councils during the last decade, the two most important, touching as they did the vital interests of the city, were perhaps "The completion of the new water works" and "The compromise of the Penn avenue indebtedness." About 1870 the territorial enlargement of the city, resulting from the addition to her limits of the section known as the East End, and of the boroughs south of the Monongahela river, as well as the vast increase in her population, made it necessary to provide enlarged facilities for supplying her citizens with water. The new water works were the outgrowth of this necessity. They were built on a magnificent scale, and at an enormous expense to the city. When completed the discovery was made that the immense engines, four in number, intended to force the water from the Allegheny river into the reservoir situated at a height of three hundred and fifty feet above the pumping works, were defective in the material of which they were constructed. Portions of the machinery began giving way as soon as the engines were put in operation. There was no telling at what moment the whole works might "let down." What to do with the machinery became a great question. Some

condemned the design of the engines, which had cost the city a million of dollars, and earnestly advocated the abandonment of the works and the purchase of new machinery. Others defended the plan on which they were constructed and advised the removal of the defective parts. Against the bitter opposition of a determined minority, the latter course was pursued. At an expense of about one hundred thousand dollars the engines were perfected, and they are to-day doing their work to the entire satisfaction even of those who desired to cast them away.

After the East End district referred to above became a part of the city, the opening and improvement of streets throughout that locality became an important question. As there were about fifty miles of streets to pave, the improvement became a serious matter to the property owners along the line of the interested streets. An act was passed by the legislature, known as "the Penn avenue act," under which the desired work was to be done, the property abutting to be assessed by the foot front for the improvement. Under this act the city of Pittsburgh issued bonds approximating in amount seven millions of dollars, in order to provide the money necessary to prosecute the work. The same act provided that the assessments made upon the property should be paid into the city treasury, in ten equal annual installments, and used for the redemption of the bonds issued by the city.

After the improvements had been made, the method of assessment, in

its application to many of the streets improved, was, for reasons which need not be presented here, declared unconstitutional. The city was in consequence forced to the necessity of making a compromise with the property owners, by which she was enabled to recover about forty per cent. of the amount represented by the bonds which she had issued, the balance of the debt being assumed by the city at large. This measure of councils is known as the "Penn Avenue Compromise." Among the more important matters which have recently engaged the attention of councils are those providing for the introduction and use of the natural gas found in abundance in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. By the adoption of these measures the great manufacturing industries are supplied with a cheap fuel, and the city is relieved of the cloud of smoke, resulting from the use of bituminous coal, which has enveloped her in the past. This relief from smoke is a transformation gratefully welcomed by the inhabitants of what has hitherto been recognized as the "Smoky City." Through the advantages thus afforded, Pittsburgh enters upon a propitious future. Great heretofore as a manufacturing centre, she is destined through the instrumentality of her natural advantages, and the enterprise and industry of her people, to increase in wealth and power and population until she shall take position among the great cities of our country.

In all these matters it is needless to

say that Mr. Gourley has taken an active and prominent part, while his voice has been heard and his vote given to that side upon which the best interests of the public were located.

Mr. Gourley has always been an ardent Republican, and during the past twelve years has taken an active part in politics. In 1880 he was chairman of the committee on meetings and speakers for Allegheny county during the Presidential campaign which resulted in the election of James A. Garfield. He did much of the hard work attending that campaign, and enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing Allegheny county give the Republican candidate a majority of sixteen thousand.

Mr. Gourley was married in 1867 to Miss Jennie Brenneman of Pittsburgh. Personally he is an agreeable, courteous gentleman, popular with the public at large, and possessing a host of close friends. He is highly cultured, has read much and studied much, and even while deep in the cares of business finds time to keep up with the current thought and literature of the day. All educational matters lie close to his heart, and any measure which has for its purpose the improvement of public schools finds in him an earnest friend. Viewed from all sides, and especially with reference to the long road of labor he has been compelled to travel, Mr. Gourley furnishes us with as fine a specimen as could be found of the successful and self-made representative American.

JAMES HENRY SEYMOUR.



A. D. Leveney

GENERAL J. H. DEVEREUX.

THE reputation achieved by the late J. H. Devereux as a railroad manager was national; and yet it was not alone because he stood in a high position that he was widely recognized the country over, and honored and admired wherever known. Much of his fame arose from the fact that as he stood in a great light before the public gaze, no flaw or blemish was found upon him. He carried to his labors a noble manhood and an exalted Christian character that worked themselves out through his works and became a source of public benefit. He proved to the world that one could command the highest success in a business career, and at the same time be true to himself, his Christian principles, and those whose interests had been lodged in his hands. A life like his is, indeed, well worth looking into.

Nature and ancestry combined to give General Devereux a noble mental and physical equipment for the work he was destined to do in the world. He came of the best New England stock, and his family line can be traced directly to the Norman conquerors of England. His ancestors were among those who purchased the town of Marblehead, Massachusetts, from the Indians in 1684. His father was Captain John Devereux, of the merchant marine. He was born in

Boston, on April 5, 1832, and early gave promise of a hardy independence of character, added to an upright mind and a brain of unusual quality. He received a thorough education at the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, academy, and as early as 1848, when but sixteen years of age, came to the then far west of Cleveland to test the powers of his own resources, and to make his way in the world. His courage, energy, and ambition were beyond his years, but even then he never undertook a task without seeing that all its requirements were fulfilled; and no responsibility that was laid upon him was ever neglected or betrayed. He commenced life at the lower grade of the profession in which he was afterward to command such success, and on the very line which he was afterwards to control as president, engaging as construction engineer on the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad. His labor was of the thorough kind and his advance certain. On the completion of the line, he obtained similar employment on the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula railroad, which was then seeking to give Cleveland an outlet toward the east. He earned and received the warmest commendation from those who had been his official superiors, and on his departure from the Columbus line, we find its superin-

tendent, Amasa Stone, writing of him: "He has performed his duties to the entire satisfaction of all parties with whom he has been connected; at this time I consider him entirely competent to take charge of a piece of road as division engineer, and with some more experience no doubt he will be fully qualified to take charge of the construction of a road." William Case, president of the Cleveland & Erie road writes to him as early as 1853:

It gives me the greatest pleasure to bear testimony to the energy, fidelity and correct manner with which you have discharged every duty assigned to you in the field or office, and to recommend in the strongest terms your services as engineer and draftsman to any company desiring such assistance, fully believing they will be as satisfactory to others as they have been to our company, and to the C. C. & C. company previous to your engagement with us.

These extracts are simply made for the purpose of showing that General Devereux's success in life was not the outcome of accident or the result of a combination of circumstances, but that he laid the foundation thereof in early manhood, and built in character as well as reputation with every year that passed. He was only twenty-one years of age, it should be remembered, when the above was written.

In 1852 the young man turned his face toward the south, and for the next nine years was one of the busy and moving railroad spirits in Tennessee. He became division and resident engineer of the Tennessee & Alabama railroad, which position he held for eight years. He was for a time civil engineer of the city of Nashville. "He was prominently connected with the

internal improvements of that state and section," says one appreciative record of his life, "and was referee in important cases as to location and construction. He became the leading spirit of the state and section in railroad affairs, and had determined on residing there the rest of his natural life." But the war cloud swept across the land, and his hopes and material expectations were swept away with those of many other northern men who had located themselves in the south. His heart was with the Union, and he decided to close up his affairs as rapidly as he could and tender his services to the government. He was compelled to pursue a course of discretion and judgment, as he was a marked man because of the opinions he had not concealed, and his life was more than once in danger. But his purpose knew no change, and he finally placed his life and services at the disposal of the country he loved so well. There was a field in which he could do a work of especial value, and he was soon assigned thereto. The faithfulness, energy and far-seeing judgment that were shown by him in the responsible service of managing the government railroad lines that were under his care, marked him as a man of no ordinary stamp, and produced results that were of the greatest benefit to the cause he served.

In the early part of 1862 he was directed to make a reconnoissance for a military road in the Shenandoah valley, and when it was completed he received the appointment of superintendent of military railroads in Virginia. Under

that authority he had official charge of all railroads out of Alexandria or connected therewith. It was a difficult task that had been committed to his hands. He found all the railroads of Virginia in a most deplorable condition, but he went to work with characteristic energy, and with a wonderful executive ability, and soon reduced chaos to order and regularity. It was in the spring of that year that the forward movements of the Federal armies in Virginia called for active operation by the government of all the roads that centered at Alexandria, and were connected from that point with Washington. "These lines of railroad," says one record of the war, "were in the most deplorable condition; and in the midst of chaos, and of imperative demands for endless transportation to and from the advancing enemies, General McCallum was suddenly called to the head of the department of railroads, and in turn summoned Colonel Devereux to act as controller and chief of the Virginia lines."

No one knew better than himself the giant task that had been laid upon his shoulders, but he accepted it manfully and gave to it the best that was within him. In describing this portion of his life and public service, I shall draw freely on the record above referred to. "The work was herculean, and its difficulties were well nigh unsurmountable; the constant assaults of the enemy upon the roads being almost equaled in injurious effects by the intolerance and ignorance of Federal officers, whose ambition by turns extended to the special

ownership and direction of every mile of track, and every car and locomotive." No line had ever been drawn between the jurisdiction of the chiefs of the road management, of the war department, and of the army, but the unwritten law was none the less exacting, as laid down by quartermaster's and commissaries' departments, by ordnance and hospital departments, by the chiefs in command in the field. Through all this maze of difficulty ran the demands made necessary by the movement of large bodies of troops, of batteries, with pontoons, and the conveyance of the sick and wounded. Other difficulties of a minor but none the less irritating nature presented themselves. The roads were infested with suspicious characters and peddlers, and the trains swarmed with them, to the injury of all departments of the service. Colonel Devereux looked the whole matter over carefully, saw what there was to be done, and proceeded to do it. He commenced at the beginning of the difficulty, and patiently and deftly unwound it day after day. He compelled order and discipline out of disorder and chaos. He filled the reconstructed shop with tools, and the roads with adequate equipments; quietly and patiently but persistently developed the system of military railroad law, and made it harmonize with the regulations of each department. He swept away with a single stroke every peddler, leech and spy and thief from the trains, which now became in reality through trains of government supplies, as the orders required, and were manned and officered with the most rigid disci-

pline. He organized a corps of inspection and detection which swept away all that was bad or suspicious, and made his eye the chief sentinel of the army, before which everybody and everything had to pass for recognition and approval. With strong practical sense, he avoided as far as possible all clashing between the departments, by fitting the vast machine to all their wants. He developed the resources of the great machine under his control until Alexandria became the centre of a great system that worked with celerity, energy, and precision. Bridges and roadways might be destroyed, but they were rebuilt on the instant. The trains went through on time. There was no confusion, no indecision, and no delay. To quote :

It was a gallant thing, with Pope's army driven back and scattered in confusion, to bring into Alexandria every car and engine in safety—in some cases working the cars up the grades by hand, while the ground trembled with the shock of battle. Such work as this he repeatedly performed. It was a noble labor, that of caring for the sick and wounded, which was made a part of the military railroad work, and the United States sanitary commission gratefully acknowledged his constant and valuable aid in this direction. No officer stood better with the war secretary (Stanton) nor with the President (Lincoln), and, holding a position which could have been turned into a source of immense personal gain, his integrity was beyond doubt—no man dared even attempt to bribe him. He directed and moved men and machines by a thorough system, and the result was great smoothness in operation and precision in management; hence the promptness of movement and immunity from serious accident, which marked the workings of these military railroads.

The magnificent work done by General Devereux in this department deserves more detailed and complete description than is possible in the limits

here assigned. But it must be said that it was appreciated, not only by the country at large, and in a general way, but by those in authority and competent to know whereof they spoke. From many testimonials in that direction, let the following stand for example :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON CITY, March 9, 1864.

DEAR SIR : I pray you to accept for yourself and Colonel McCallum my thanks for the photographs received this morning, and the kind sentiments expressed towards myself, which are fully reciprocated. The faithful, energetic and skilful services rendered by Colonel McCallum and yourself in the railroad department is highly esteemed, and has proved eminently useful to the military operations of the government. Your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

J. H. Devereux, Superintendent, etc., Alexandria, Virginia.

Many other expressions of a like character might be quoted. He was repeatedly complimented by General Meade for bravery and distinguished services, by General Meigs, General Ingalls and others. He continued in the work until in the spring of 1864, when he saw that the end was drawing near, and then decided to seek a new and more congenial field of usefulness. He tendered his resignation, which was received with sincere regret. Many and earnest were the expressions of grief at his departure; and he carried into private life not only the knowledge that he had done a noble and patriotic service to his country, but also the loyal and undivided affection and respect not only of those who had been above him, but also of those who had been under his command.

He took up anew the real labor of his life, but this time in the more congenial

associations of the north, and in a position more befitting his abilities and experience. He came to Cleveland in March, 1864, and accepted the position of general superintendent of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad, which he filled with his usual energy, and to the best returns for those whose interests had been placed in his hands. He was soon afterwards made vice-president under Mr. McCullough, which office he held until May, 1868, when he resigned to accept the vice-presidency of the old Lake Shore road. His departure was made the occasion of a public testimonial from those who had been under his direction. Fully eight hundred men in the employ of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh company gathered at Wellsville, half way between Pittsburgh and Cleveland. General Devereux was present by invitation, and was presented with a fine blooded horse and family barouche as a mark of appreciation and esteem. This action was entirely unexpected, but it touched him deeply. The event is referred to only to show that no matter where he was, or what might be the greatness of his power or position, he ever won and held the esteem of the humblest man under his control.

General Devereux was promoted from vice-president to president of the Lake Shore road, and continued as such until the great consolidation of all the lines between Buffalo and Chicago, into the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. He was then made general manager of the entire line, and had executive control thereof, with all the branches, a position of immense responsibility,

and affording an unlimited opportunity for work. During his government the line was very successful, and its reputation among railroads for safety and accommodation to public, and the prudent and economical management in the interests of the stockholders, stood deservedly high. The reputation of General Devereux as a railroad man had been all this time one of steady growth, and his control of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern showed that he had no superior in the country. This fact was proved by the many calls that came to him from various directions to take charge of various roads, and finally in 1873, he decided on a change, and accepted the presidency of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis—the road upon which he had commenced railroad life, in a very subordinate capacity, twenty-four year before. It was a part of the same arrangement that he should also accept the presidency of the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad company, and he assumed the duties of those two important offices at about the same time. He was, at the same time, the president of minor railroad corporations, whose lines formed part of the system of the larger companies under his control. There was work enough ahead, even for one whose mind was of so comprehensive a grasp, and whose powers of mental labor were so great as his. The fortunes of the Atlantic & Great Western were at a low ebb at that period. Laboring under the most discouraging odds, he succeeded in putting the line in the best condition under the circumstances, but at the close of the

year 1874 it was deemed useless to continue the struggle until a change in its financial condition had been effected. He was accordingly made receiver, and shortly afterwards resigned his position as president and director, as incompatible with that of receiver appointed by the courts. His appointment to the place just named was received with satisfaction by all concerned, who knew that their varied and clashing interests were in safe and honorable hands. This appointment was made in 1874, and remained in force until 1880, when the company was reorganized under the name of the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio, of which new corporation he was made president, remaining such until November, 1881. While connected with the Atlantic & Great Western he took great interest in the building of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, which gave an outlet to Pittsburgh by the way of Youngstown. He remained a trustee and director of that line until his death. He was also director and vice-president of the Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Connelville road, trustee and director of the Dayton & Union, and vice-president of the Cleveland & Mahoning Valley company. Of a number of his other railroad connections and labors, the following has been written by one who knew and appreciated General Devereux's railroad history at its full value :

It goes without the saying that he was a busy man, but he was never apparently in a hurry, and his deliberate manner of doing business was the secret of his being able to do so much without exhaustion. Acting chiefly in the interest of the Atlantic & Great Western railway, he took an active part in the project that had hitherto been a failure

of raising the funds for building a line from Marion to Chicago. The line was built, and is now known as the Chicago & Atlantic. This line, working in connection with the Erie, began to be a menace to the interests of the Vanderbilt system, of which the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis formed a part. Thus General Devereux found himself serving two interests, and his sense of justice not allowing him to do so, he resigned his presidency of the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio, in November, 1881. It was in 1880 that he became president of the Indianapolis & St. Louis railroad. It was then owned jointly by the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis and Pennsylvania company, and upon the principle that what is everybody's is nobody's property, it was a wretched road. In May, 1882, the interest on the road having been defaulted, a foreclosure and sale was ordered, the line passed into the control of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis, and was reorganized as the Indianapolis & St. Louis railway, with General Devereux as president. Under the wise administration of General Devereux and his able corps of lieutenants, the line has been transformed as if by magic into one of the best roads in the west.

General Devereux remained at the head of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis road until his death, and made it in its mode of work, its reputation, and its results, one of the model railroad lines of the country. It is regretted beyond expression that space will not permit of a review of his labors in that field, nor such extracts of practical railroad wisdom as might be made from his various annual reports. The honest and high-minded methods of his private life were pursued in all his railroad connections, and his endorsement of any project came to be looked upon as a sure guarantee of its worth and claims on public confidence. He gave the road under his control the best that was within him, and that was no small contribution in these days when railroading has become not only

a practical science but a complex financial problem as well. He had been educated for a railroad man, from the taking of a level for a grade, up to the executive control of a great combination of lines, and "in all these positions he had acquitted himself with such ability as, while yet on the sunny side of fifty, to become a leading man in railway circles." There was a widespread appreciation of his ability as a railroad man. When he was placed in charge of the Atlantic & Great Western road, a leading journal stated several general truths when it said :

It was indeed a fortunate day for this corporation when its fortunes were placed in the care and keeping of General J. H. Devereux. From the day of that identification to the present the road has been growing in public and private confidence, and rapidly increasing in prosperity. General Devereux's presence was enough to inspire confidence, and it did. His administration while in command of southern railroads during the rebellion demonstrated the wisdom and sagacity of President Lincoln in placing his trusted friend in that important position.

One reason for General Devereux's success in the management of roads may be found in the fact that he believed they were built and operated for the purpose of serving the public as well as adding to the possessions of their owners. Some rules he once sent forth to his conductors and train men may contain a hint to other managers who would be pleased to emulate his success. "Treat people," said he, "as if you appreciated and were willing to acknowledge their custom. Try to accommodate and please. In short, act as any good business man would toward his customers." On the occasion of his severing his con-

nection with the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio railroad, so high an authority as the *Petroleum World* said of him :

He has well, honorably and successfully filled every place or position, public or private, to which he has been called or assigned, without even the semblance of a stain to tarnish the brilliancy of his record as a soldier, his character as a man, or his career as railroad official. He has reflected credit from every station in life, and would adorn any position, from the presidency of a railroad to the Presidency of the nation.

While the railroad was the main avenue through which the subject of this sketch made himself of use to man, he was many sided in his relation to the world, and sought in many ways to make his influence felt for good and in the bettering of those about him. He was a friend to religion, to science, to art, and to culture and education in all their best and highest forms. He was a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Cleveland, holding at the time of his death, and for a long time previous, the office of senior warden. It would be useless to tell, or rather to attempt to tell, the various ways in which his usefulness was made apparent through his church connection. He was a member of the standing committee for the diocese of Ohio. On one occasion we find him a delegate to the diocesan convention at Columbus; and again a lay delegate to the general convention of his church, in 1877, on which occasion the *New York Times* declares that "the tone of that convention was set chiefly by two men, Bishop Williams of Connecticut and General J. H. Devereux of Ohio, who insisted that their church

should oil its machinery and put itself into closer contact with the American people." His labors in behalf of the church and its interests were constant, while his generosity flowed forth in a broad and deep stream. He had the rare faculty of carrying his religion into everyday life, even in so difficult a position as the management of a railroad. Less than a year before death called him out of the usefulness of life, he ordered that Sunday work be dispensed with in all departments as far as practicable, and that no freight trains be run except to carry live stock or perishable freights. That order was looked upon by close observers as an entering wedge, which should open the way to a reform in all the lines of Sunday travel and transportation. He was deeply interested in the religious and moral welfare of the men under his control, and made every effort within his power for their good. When the railway branch of the Young Men's Christian association was opened in the Union depot at Cleveland, he did everything in his power to advance and encourage it. He was present at its dedication, and took occasion to say that the enterprise could not have anything but a good effect on the men, and he "hoped the time had passed when it was generally considered that there were none but profane and vulgar men connected with railroads. Manly qualities were the standard upon which railroad men should be judged, and should esteem each other." He hoped to see the men brought up to a higher standing by the efforts and exer-

tions of those interested in their welfare. He presided at one of the first meetings ever held in a Cleveland church for the benefit of railroad men, and made an address full of fervent and heartfelt endorsement of the subject.

He touched the public life of his adopted city and state in many ways. He was one of the incorporators of the Case School of Applied Science, and a warm friend to the objects that institution had in view. He was a member of the Cleveland Humane society, and a liberal contributor thereto. In 1885, he was elected a member of the Loyal Legion of the United States. He was a member of the committee on invitation and reception at the Garfield funeral. In 1879 he became a life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; he belonged to the International Institute for the Preservation of Weights and Measures; was a member of the National Cattle and Horse Growers' association of the United States; and was for many years a mason of high degree. He was elected an associate member of the United States Sanitary commission, in 1863; was one of the directors of the Cleveland Bible society; in short it is useless to attempt an enumeration of the many ways by which this large-brained, large-hearted man attempted to do his duty and make the best use of the powers with which he had been endowed. He was always busy in some direction. Mindful of his old home, we find him on one occasion giving liberally to the little church there located, and on another

presenting it with Willard's famous picture "Yankee Doodle," which he had purchased for that purpose.

He was never a "silent partner" in any enterprise to which he gave his heart and hand, but made himself felt and effective by suggestion, by voice, and by vote. On one occasion we find him suggesting a convention for the discussion of the questions arising between shipper and carrier, in order that all might be amicably settled, and the railroad made to best fulfill the purpose of its creation. He had ideas of his own on subjects to which he had given thought, and they went far below the surface and down into the causes of things. When the Cullom Inter-state Commerce committee met at St. Louis in June, 1885, General Devereux was one of the first witnesses summoned, and his ideas and suggestions were listened to with close attention and given great weight. He read a paper to which he had given unusual thought, and that presented the whole case as it had never been presented before. He described the fight that was constantly going on for through business, and stated that rates were ground in a perpetual mill. He was positive that something must be done to check a great and growing evil, or else the railroad interests of the country would go to certain destruction. He warned the committee of the gravity of the situation, and stated, among other things, that he would favor a law making it a criminal offense to cut rates secretly. At one of the most important railroad meetings ever held in America, attended by the leading managers of

the country, and held at Chicago, General Devereux presided, and offered a measure that was adopted, and was regarded everywhere as a long advance step toward the solution of the great problem in which he had taken so deep an interest. It provided for the appointment of a committee "of seven or more experienced men, who shall carefully consider the existing laws governing, and the practice obtaining in railroad construction and operation; that whatever change, alteration and protection, under law, is found to be reasonable and requisite, the same shall be set forth in prepared argument, together with all the facts of the situation." The wisdom of this suggestion, and the results that are even yet expected to flow therefrom, although the author of the measure is now powerless to use voice or pen in its aid, are well set forth by the *Railway Age*, which said:

The importance of the movement contemplated can scarcely be overestimated, and its success would render very substantial service to the country. The plan proposed for awakening attention is comprehensive, and the difficulties to be surmounted are so numerous that it is absolutely necessary that many prominent actors in legislative, official and commercial circles should be enlightened. As matters are drifting now, few, if any, lines extensively engaged in competitive traffic, and depending upon it for a considerable portion of their net revenue, occupy an impregnable financial position. The nature of some of the most essential reforms can easily be described, but the railway problem of this country, as an entirety, requires more careful consideration than it has ever yet received, and an indispensable prerequisite of the legal action necessary to avert downward tendencies, is the enlightenment of a large body of men whose co-operation is desirable and indispensable.

General Devereux was a man of the greatest personal courage, and his in-

fluence over men with whom he came in contact was unbounded. An illustration of the manner in which these qualities worked together for the good and safety of Cleveland, is thus graphically told in a newspaper account of the great railroad strike of 1877:

The tension was extreme. The Socialists had publicly called a meeting at the park to take steps, in broad daylight and in defiance of all authority, to complete their plans of destruction. The railroad men had no purpose of their own to proceed to plunder and outrage, but unfortunately they had thrown the door open to disobedience to law, and, as is always the case, matters were getting beyond their control. It had been arranged for all the railroad employes to march in procession to the meeting at the park and swell the crowd of malcontents. The Lake Shore men had already turned out.

The Bee Line men had, up to that time, remained quiet when Colonel Devereux received sudden notice that the boys on his line had determined to join the strikers and the procession. He knew the danger if the railroad men should be deluded into the demonstration of support of the Socialists, already strong enough to defy law and order. With a man like him, to see was to act. Accompanied only by his private secretary, Mr. J. T. Wann, he proceeded at once to his shops. He found a body of eight hundred men formed ready to march under the instigation of bad counsels. He jumped on a planer and asked to be heard. He was received with hootings, and some of the more headlong cried "kill him! kill him!" For a long time he could get no hearing. Finally a gray-haired leader appealed to the better sentiments of the men to at least listen to President Devereux, who had never deceived them. It was granted unwillingly at first. After a time with attention—in the end with support and acquiescence. He pointed out the certainty of the excesses to be perpetrated by men with whom they had no real interest, no sort of sympathy. He appealed to them for their own manhood to be calm, to take no part in proceedings sure to bring lasting and bitter regret to them, and to put a stigma on them impossible to wipe out. His character known to all and the passionate appeal he made to them, daring it in the face of all danger to himself, not only procured from his men the promise to abstain from taking part in the procession, but agreement to continue work

in the shops. He was asked if that satisfied him and he replied: "No! I will not be satisfied till every man, raising his right hand, shall swear in the presence of the just God whom we all revere, that he will not only take no part in incendiary meetings or acts, but will further swear that, on call of the constituted authorities, each and every one will be a special policeman to put down any riot and disorder from whatever source."

Every hand went up—the oath was taken. The Lake Shore boys also kept away, and the procession and meeting at the park failed of its full purpose, and the authorities had time to prepare against further emergencies, and the danger to Cleveland was averted by the courage, devotion and personal influence of one man.

General Devereux's love for his home and the care and solicitude he displayed for wife and children, were among his most marked characteristics. He was married in 1851, to Miss Antoinette C. Kelsey, daughter of Captain L. A. Kelsey, one of the early mayors of Cleveland. Four children were born to them, all of whom, with the wife, are yet living.

The mystery in which God's movements are shrouded before mortal eyes was seldom more strongly shown than in the fact that this noble and useful man was called from all labor at a time when he was of the highest and most certain use. With a mature mind and judgment, an influence that ran into many high places, an experience that is granted to few, and a pure mind and conscience as guide and balance wheel to his action, he was only on the edge of a great career that should run off into many lines of usefulness. But the end came, and all the hopes and expectations that had been built upon his life came to a standstill. Those who loved him best felt that some great compensa-

tion for the loss must lie beyond in the unknown, or else he could not have been taken before the real results of his life had come to fruit.

General Devereux had enjoyed excellent health all his life, his splendid physique and temperate habits standing in his favor amid many toils and grave responsibilities. But in July, 1885, he was suddenly prostrated with what was then supposed to be lumbago. In the fall of that year he went to Europe, and had the advantage of the best medical skill to be found in London. The physician there diagnosed the case, as had those of Cleveland, as some malignant internal disease, with the symptoms pointing to cancer. He returned home in January no better for the trip, and with the shadow of a great danger overhanging him. But he faced it with a brave front, and as death came nearer and nearer to him, he showed no fear, but was prepared to calmly accept whatever might befall. His body grew weaker, but the light within still burned with a steady glow. He continued his daily visits to his office until the last Saturday in February, when he was compelled to return to his home and keep his room. He sank gradually, but was still full of cheer and courage for those about him, although he had known long before that there was no shadow of a chance left for life. The end came at 11:05, on the night of March 17, 1886, and with such silence and quiet peace, that he seemed to have fallen into a gentle slumber, rather than the sleep that knows no waking.

The blow fell with severe weight on

those who were nearest to him, and caused a wave of genuine sympathy to flow toward them from all quarters. The loss was not altogether theirs, but of the public as well. His funeral, that was held in St. Paul's church on Saturday the twentieth, was attended by a large concourse of people, among whom were representatives of the various lines of usefulness to which he had given himself, and of societies and enterprises of which he had been a part. The expressions of these same societies and organizations, as voiced in the sometimes formal resolutions of condolence and regret, were genuine and heart-felt, and carried the impression that their authors had left more unsaid than was said, and showed that they had found it difficult to express the full feelings of the heart.

An attempt to describe the mental and moral character of a man like J. H. Devereux is one of difficulty, no matter how much the heart and the pen may desire to do justice, and that alone. His qualities and capacities in a professional sense have been indirectly set forth in what has gone before. He stood in the front rank among railroad men, and every onward step he took was earned by his own application and energy. At a period when railroading was largely experimental, and in the control of untrained men, he brought to the business a degree of special culture and information that was of great value in determining the future of railroad management. He was born to command men. "He possesses," wrote one who knew him well, "one marked char-

acteristic in an unprecedented degree. It is a magnetic power over men, which wins and commands the esteem of all, of whatever grade or condition. It comes from the impress of manhood in every expression of his face, and stamps him in the estimation of every one he meets as a man of great character and force." He made his mark on all lines of railway work, being one of the first to realize the ruinous tendency of the fierce railway competition of the last few years, and laboring earnestly to bring about a coöperation which should result in a general system of pooling, by which rates could be properly maintained. As a railroad manager and as a man, he always held the unbounded confidence of the late William H. Vanderbilt, who placed many important trusts in his hands, and depended implicitly on his faithfulness and judgment. He long ago saw and detected the difficulties which sooner or later would arise between capital and labor, and used all the power of his position to make strong the fraternal bonds between the two, so that other methods than strikes and violence should be resorted to in settling the questions between the two. In speaking of one phase of his a railroad career, the *Indianapolis Journal* justly said:

The good works of J. H. Devereux, late president of the Bee line system, live after him. About a year ago he instructed the heads of all departments to arrange their respective departments to do as little work as possible on the Sabbath day; superintendents were asked to run as few trains as they could consistently; yardmasters were requested to do only yard work which was actually necessary; clerks at offices were instructed to keep their work up in such a manner that they need not be at the office on Sun-

day, and everything practicable was to be done to bring about a better observance of the Sabbath, and the effort has been fruitful of good results. Agents, clerks and employes have been able to spend much of their time on that day with their families, and trainmen, who had previously hardly seen their wives and children on that day, it having been used for clearing-up day, have become, under the new rules, acquainted with them, and, best of all, the business of the road has not suffered in the least by the humane act.

He was as thorough and earnest in his church work as in that of everyday life. He was for years superintendent of the mission Sunday-school of St. Paul's church; was always in his place at church and Sunday-school when at home; was the life of the vestry at its meetings; was helpful and generous, and never showed a desire to find fault. Of his private Christian life, Bishop Rulison said at his burial service:

There are not many men in this charitable city who gave more liberally to charity in proportion to their means. I have heard that he was generous to a fault, and gave more than he was really able to give. I know of men and women in this city who have been helped, they never knew how, but they will know their benefactor when they gather around the great white throne.

Of his personal character much indeed might be said. There was not a touch of false pride about him, and the poor and humble received the same courteous attention that was bestowed on the rich and great. While possessing that natural dignity which is characteristic of the highest type of manhood, he had at the same time an affability and kindliness of spirit that won respect and was altogether free from patronage. He never lost his balance, and no matter how harassed or perplexed he might be, he held himself be-



J. P. Robbins

yond any exhibition of temper or impatience. St. Paul's vestry voiced the feelings of all who knew him when they said :

We feel that we cannot too strongly express our admiration for the abounding courtesy, the rare nobleness, and the exalted Christian character of our departed brother, and our high appreciation of the great service, which for many years he rendered to this parish, and to the general church, by wise counsels, generous gifts, abundant labors, and a truly Christian character.

Resolved, That we believe our beloved brother to have carried into all the manifold activities and relations of his eventful life, a lofty integrity, and a

chivalrous honor, and a Christ-like desire to be considerate and helpful toward every human being.

Modest, brave, generous, true to his convictions and yet just to those who differed ; positive, yet gentle and just ; seeking to do his duty as one who expected to render an account therefor—he lived a pure and noble life, and has left a heritage in a good name that is loved by all, and will live in memory long after his mortal frame has been returned to the dust from which it came.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE LIFE-SAVING SERVICE OF THE LAKES.—THE RELATION OF CAPTAIN DOBBINS THERETO.

THERE is much of interest to the historian, the poet, and even the romancer, to be found in the present and past of the great lakes that lie along our northern boundary. History and biography run back into tradition, and through it all there lies a thread of endeavor, of heroism and achievement that well illustrates the American character, and shows that knightly deeds are not altogether fictions of the past. The men who first made their way, in rude and unwieldy craft, before the uses of steam-power were known, across these unknown waters, finding their own paths, and ever on the outlook for unseen dangers, were the advance-couriers of the civilization that came by slower marches along the shores. Many are the stories that Ontario and Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior might tell, could their silent majesties be endowed with speech.

Thrilling would be their tales of the missionaries, the traders, the hunters and the light adventurers who rode over their waters before this republic had a name or had asked a place among the nations of the earth. Every harbor, outlet and island could voice strange stories of peril by day and night, of storms, and wrecks, of losses and brave deeds, of rescues, and the contentions of men in their warfares against native and other men.

In no department of lake-life, perhaps, could more of interest and excitement be discovered than in the United States Life-saving service, that has now so many well-equipped and well-manned stations about these coasts. The history of that giant combination of rescue from the waves would read with thrilling interest, and there is no branch of the public service that so well illustrates

the humanity of the present age. Its growth was slow, and it has been only within a few years that any adequate amount of attention has been given by the government to this work. I quote from a recent article in Harper's magazine:

The American Life-saving service under its present elaborate system of relief is ten years old. Its development covers nearly a century. The initiatory movement was the organization by a few benevolent persons of the Massachusetts Humane society in 1786. In attempting to alleviate the miseries of shipwreck on the Massachusetts coast, small huts were built; and in 1807 the first life-boat station was established at Cohasset. The society depended upon voluntary crews, but so much was accomplished of value that some pecuniary aid was received, as time wore on, from both state and general governments. The magnificent work of the coast survey, begun in earnest in 1832, absorbed the resources of congress for a decade and a half, during which period nothing was attempted in the way of life-saving except through voluntary societies. A few public vessels were, indeed, authorized in 1837 to cruise near the coast for the assistance of vessels in distress, but it was through the movement in aid of commerce, which extended to the light-house system. In 1847 five thousand dollars were appropriated by congress toward furnishing light-houses on the Atlantic, with the facilities for aiding shipwrecked mariners. The money, after remaining in the treasury two years unused, was permitted to be expended by the Massachusetts society upon Cape Cod. In the summer of 1848, the Hon. William A. Newell, then a member of the house of representatives from New Jersey, incited by some terrible shipwreck on the coast of that state, induced congress to appropriate ten thousand dollars for providing surf boats and other appliances for the protection of life and property from shipwreck on the coast between Sandy Hook and Little Egg harbor.

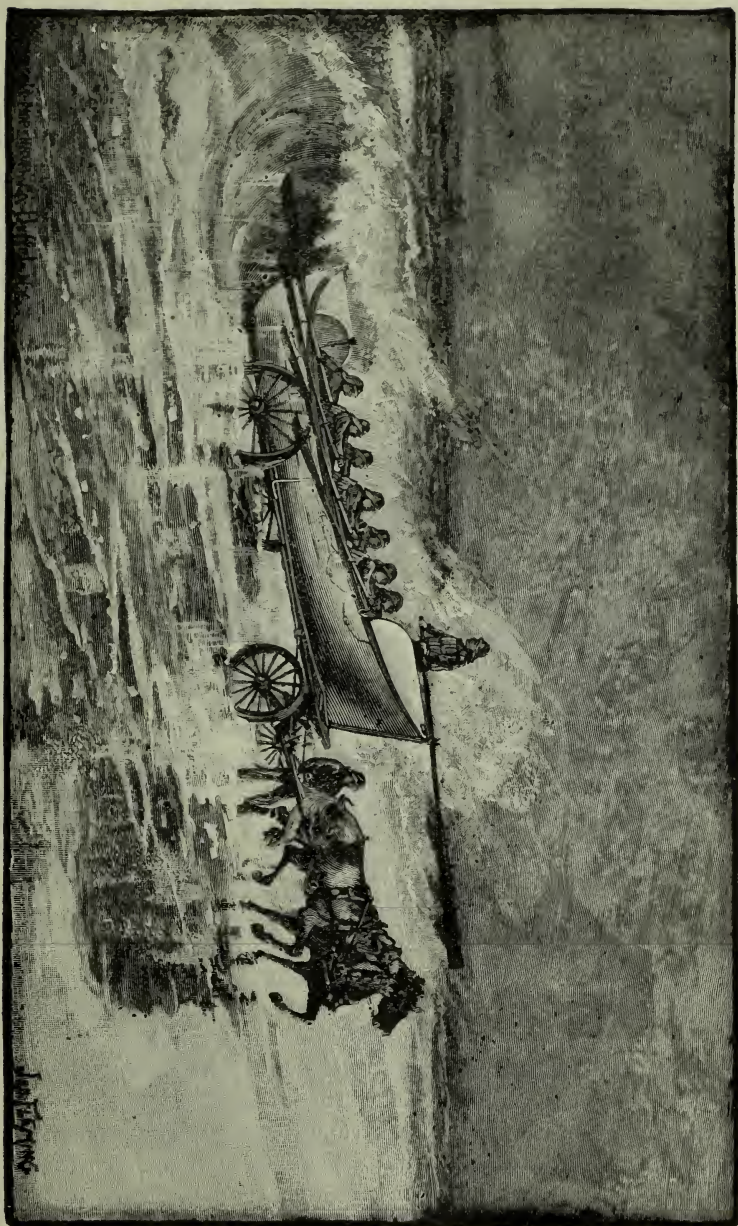
At the next session of congress a still larger appropriation was obtained, and twenty-two station houses were erected on the coasts of New Jersey and Long Island. Although no one was paid to man them, yet, they became of such

great service, through the labors of volunteer crews, that congress was induced to extend and make more effective the system by appropriations from time to time, but "the absence of drilled and disciplined crews, of general regulations and of energetic central administration, rendered the record of the institution unsatisfactory, and its benefits checked by the saddest failures." The new era began, about 1871, and, its growth has been steady, until the magnificent service of to-day has been reached.

That advance has been an evolution, one thing making way for a better as invention and experience were brought into play. It is not the purpose of this sketch to follow all these lines of improvement, but to illustrate one, and that is the invention and growth of the Dobbins' life-boat that has played so grand a part in the life-saving service, and that has been a great factor in the making of that service what it is. But before speaking of the boat, it is but proper to glance at the life of the man by whose experience and brains it was created.

Captain David Porter Dobbins came of a maritime stock, and was the son of one of the most prominent and active men to be found in the early history of these lakes. His father, Daniel Dobbins of Erie, Pennsylvania, was born on the banks of the "Blue Juniata," at Lewistown, Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, on July 5, 1776, and came to Erie county of the same state with a party of surveyors, under the auspices of Judah Colt, esq., and assisted Thomas

LAUNCH OF THE DOBBINS LIFE-BOAT.

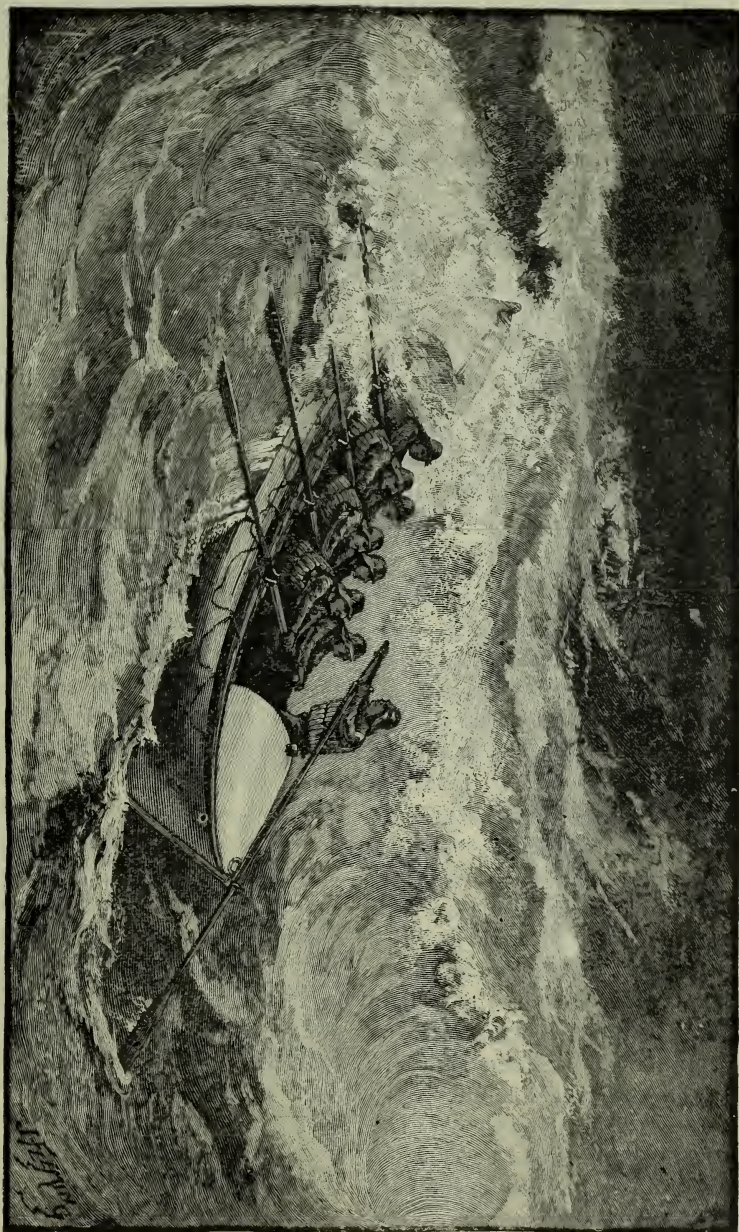


Reese, agent of the Population Land company, to lay out the town of Erie, in 1796. In the year 1800 he went south, where he married Miss Mary West of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, at Charlton Creek, near Canonsburgh, Washington county, Pennsylvania, and returned with his bride through the unbroken wilderness on horseback to Erie. He immediately engaged in the transportation business on the lakes, in command and as part owner of the schooner *Harlequin*. In 1803 he sailed the schooner *Good Intent*; in 1804, the schooner *Wilkinson*, and in 1805 and after the schooner *Ranger*. In 1809, in company with Rufus S. Reed, esq., he purchased of Alexander McIntosh of Moy, Canada, the schooner *Charlotte*, and refitting her into a two topsail schooner, changed her name to the *Salina*, in honor of the great carrying trade she was designed to enter. The *Salina*, with Captain Dobbins in command, was actively engaged in transporting salt from Schlosser, at the head of the Niagara portage on the upper Niagara river, to Dunkirk, Erie, Cleveland, Sandusky and other upper lake ports for distribution in the south, by wagon portage to the rivers, and bringing return cargoes of skins, furs, etc., for the Hudson Bay and Northwest Fur companies, in transit for an eastern market. In 1812, while lying at anchor at Mackinaw, loaded with furs valued at over two hundred thousand dollars, and having Rufus S. Reed and William W. Reed of Erie, as passengers on board, the *Salina* was surprised and captured by a British fleet of gunboats, and the fort on the island surrendered

to a superior force of British and Indians. These acts were the first advices the Americans in that section had of the declaration of war by Great Britain. The cargo of fur was secured by the captors, and Rufus S. Reed and W. W. Reed, with other paroled prisoners, were put on board the *Salina*. That vessel and the schooner *Mary*, ballasted with provision and both despatched as cartels, under the guidance of Captain Dobbins, who was not paroled, for Malden. These vessels, on arrival in the Detroit river, were seized by General Hull, in command of the American forces at Detroit, and at the surrender of Detroit by Hull were included in the surrender and fell again into the hands of the British. Captain Dobbins made his escape, in disguise, to the Canada side of the river during the capitulation, and footing it down to the mouth of the river at Bar point, procured a dug-out canoe, and with a price set upon his head, dead or alive, and the Indians on his trail, paddled out into Lake Erie and headed for the American shore, landing for rest and sustenance on the Middle Sister, Put-in-Bay and Cunningham islands on his way, and finally reaching Sandusky bay in safety.

From Sandusky he sallied forth on horseback through the wilderness to Cleveland, thence to Erie in an open sail boat. When he reported the disastrous news of the loss of Mackinaw and Detroit to the Commanding General Mead, he immediately despatched him on horseback as bearer of dispatches to the government at Washington. On ar-

GOING OUT THROUGH THE SURF.



rival and delivery of the dispatches to President Madison, Captain Dobbins was admitted to a cabinet meeting, and the grave question of frontier and lake defense and protection was discussed. As a result, Captain Dobbins received a commission as master in the United States navy from President Madison, and was furnished with directions and means to commence the building of a fleet for the defense of the lakes. He returned to Erie, employed all the wood and iron working men he could find, and with his own hands cut the first tree used in the construction of the fleet. After getting the timber supply well under way at Erie, Captain Dobbins repaired to Black Rock in search of a skilled shipwright. At that place he found Ebenezer Crosby, an old ship carpenter, whom he employed under written contract for "twenty shillings and a pint of whisky per day," to take charge of the construction of the vessels at Erie. Returning with Crosby to Erie, he proceeded to lay the keels and got in frame two fine gunboats, *Porcupine* and *Tigress*, before the gang of shipbuilders under Noah Brown, from New York, arrived and took charge for the government. Relieved of the construction of the vessels, Captain Dobbins next appeared in company with Lieutenant-Commander Perry, who had arrived and taken command at Erie, on his way to Buffalo and the Niagara river, to take part with General Brown in the siege of Fort George on Lake Ontario. He accompanied Perry to the falls, and returned to Black Rock to defend and protect some merchant ves-

sels which were being converted into gunboats at Scajaquada creek, Black Rock. As Fort George fell, Fort Erie was evacuated, and Captain Dobbins was enabled to sail his fleet of converted craft out of the Niagara for Erie, with Commander Perry on board the *Caledonia* as the flag ship, on the passage up, barely escaping capture by the British fleet, which was sighted in the offing. Arriving finally at Erie, the vessels were all gotten safely over the bar, and with the vessels then in building, were prepared for warlike purposes, and finally composed the famed fleet of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry.

Subsequently Captain Dobbins was actively employed in transporting guns, ammunition and supplies for the fleet from Buffalo to Erie, in open boats, and during the winter, in the latter part of December, 1812, he discovered and led an expedition out on the ice twenty miles, to the centre of the lake, to recover his old schooner, *Salina*, which had got away from her captors, and, with a valuable load of British supplies, had drifted with the ice down the lake and was frozen in, in the solid mass, some twenty miles from the shore, off Erie. After removing a large quantity of her cargo of "Scotch pork," and other British army supplies, the torch was applied and the *Salina* disappeared in smoke and water. Captain Dobbins was engaged during the greater part of this winter and following spring in transporting, as best he could over the ice on the frozen lake or along the shore in open boats, the guns and ammunition required for the vessels in

building and preparation for the conflict, often narrowly escaping and eluding the vigilance of the enemy, who were on the alert and striving to cut off the much needed supplies. On the

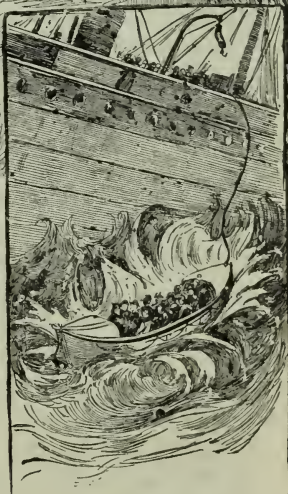
completion of the fleet, Captain Dobbins was put in command of the fast sailing schooner *Ohio*, kept by Perry on active reconnoitering, scout and supply duty, while the balance of the fleet proceeded to the rendezvous at Put-in-Bay, where the fleet received recruits and supplies, and drilled their

men in the use of arms and management of sail vessels. During the last trip to the Erie naval depot, for gun carriages, small arms and sailor recruits, that Captain Dobbins was making with his gallant schooner gun-boat *Ohio*, the British fleet appeared off Put-in-Bay and challenged Perry to open conflict with his half-manned and half-fitted Yankee fleet. The challenge was accepted, the fleets met, and the memorable battle was fought within the hearing of Captain Dobbins, on the *Ohio*, miles away, on that memorable September 10, 1813. After the battle and the repairing of the vessels, and all British craft had been

cleared from Lake Erie, Perry was relieved by Sinclair in command of the American fleet. Sinclair fitted out an expedition, consisting of the *Lawrence*, *Niagara* and one or two gun-boats, to



PANIC LAUNCH.



DROP LAUNCH.

reduce Fort Mackinaw and Penetanguishin, which remained in possession of the British. Captain Dobbins' knowl-

edge of the great lakes caused him to again be brought to the front. Sinclair intrusted the guidance and piloting of his fleet to him. After encountering a fearful storm on Lake Huron, the fleet appeared off Mackinaw, and opened fire. But on account of the great elevation of the forts, and the lack of a force sufficient to land, Sinclair was compelled to haul off and sail for Penetanguishin, which place he soon reduced, and, after having destroyed the shipping in port, sailed for Lake Erie and his naval depot at Erie.

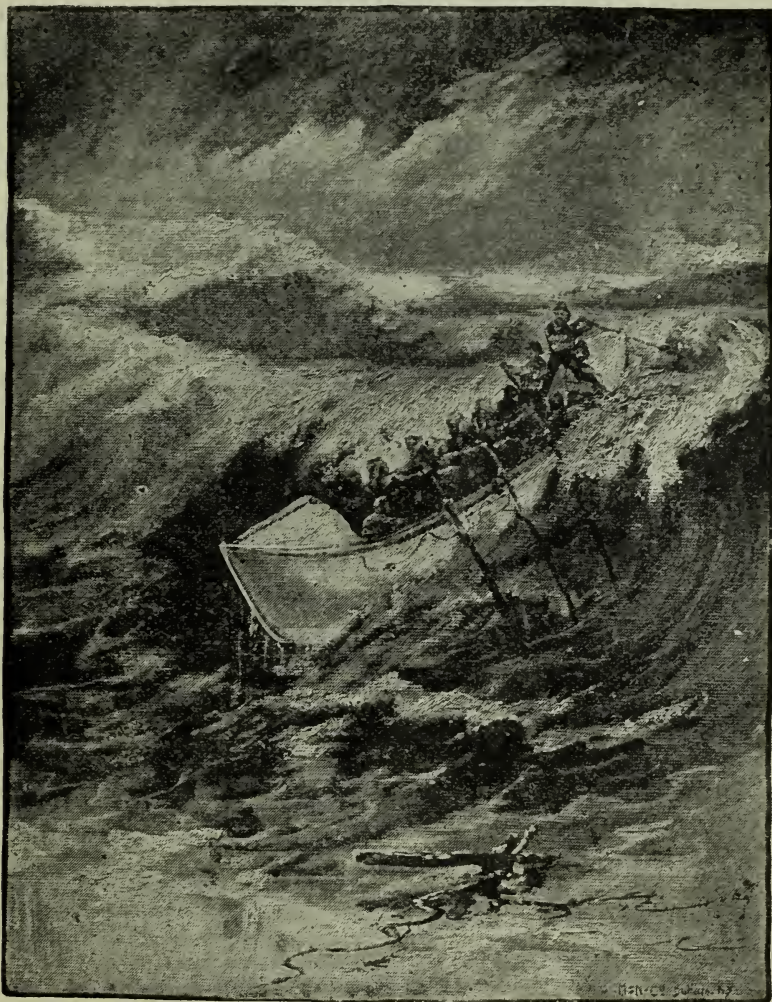
Peace declared, the disposition by sinking for preservation of the best of the vessels composing the two fleets, and sale of others, and the breaking up of the navy-yard at Erie accomplished, little if anything was left to do in the way of public service. Captain Dobbins was permitted to hold his commission in the navy, and reëngaged in the merchant service. He took charge of the *Lady Washington*, a fine schooner, and engaged in the transportation of troops and supplies for the armies of the western frontier. In 1816 he entered Green Bay with his vessel, transporting arms, officers, men and supplies for the fort at the head of the bay. The *Washington* being the first vessel larger than an open boat that had ever entered the bay, slow progress was made, the channel having to be buoyed out in advance. The harbors and islands found in the bay on the way were named after the vessel and officers of the expedition — Washington harbor, Boyer's bluff, Chambers' island, Green island and Dobbins' group, now known as Straw-

berry islands. In 1826 Captain Dobbins, being ordered to sea on an expedition to bring home the remains of Commodore Perry, preferred to resign from the navy and enter the engineer service in the construction of the harbor pier improvements at Erie and Ashtabula. In 1829 President Jackson appointed him captain in the Revenue Marine service, and gave him command of the revenue cutter *Richard Rush*. He afterwards succeeded to the command of the revenue cutter *Erie*, and, after cruising successfully in this snug little craft for a few years, resigned and retired from active service in 1849. He died at Erie, in 1856, at the age of eighty, his wife surviving him some twenty-three years, and dying in Erie at the rare old age of one hundred years.

Captain David Porter Dobbins, the worthy son of this worthy sire, was the third son of the brave old sailor whose record lies in brief directness in the above. He naturally had a predelection to a life on the wave, and reared as he was in an atmosphere filled with the impulse and romance of his father's career, it is not strange that he soon turned in distaste from a shore life and became a sailor in occupation as he was in heart. He was born at Erie, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1817. He received a common school education at the Erie academy, and then served a brief period in the cabinet-making business, for a portion of the time with Mr. Vincent at Cleveland, and afterwards with Mr. Pollock at Erie. He soon tired of this quiet occupation, and longed to be on the lakes, toward

which ran all his youthful feelings and desires. He received his first lesson on shipboard, on the steamer *William Penn*, commanded by Captain Wight,

manded by Captain Asa E. Hart, and the brig *Indiana*, under Captain "Buck" Burnett. In 1837 he bought the schooner *Marie Antoinette*, built by



LANDING IN THE SURF.

in 1833; following on the schooner *T. W. Maurice*, the United States revenue cutter *Erie*, the schooner *Buffalo*, com-

Augusta Jones at Sandusky, hauled her out at Erie, rebuilt and changed her name to *Nick Biddle*, in honor of the

famous banker of Philadelphia. He kept her in active service for several years, and finally sold her in 1840 to H. M. Kinne, esq. He married Miss Mary Richards, eldest daughter of the late Captain John Richards of Erie, Pennsylvania, and retired from the lakes for one year. At the expiration of that time he took command of the schooner *Henry Norton* at Cleveland. This was in 1842; he had command of the *William Woodbridge* in 1843 and 1844. In 1845 he bought the schooner *Emily* of Captain Aaron Root, and after sailing her a number of years, sold her, taking command of the steamer *Lexington*, in '48. In 1849, with Parmalee, Ball and others, built the propeller *Troy* at Cleveland, and taking command sailed her in the Chicago trade until 1851, when he sold out and went into the marine insurance business with Dúrfée and Atwater at Buffalo, in 1852. In May, 1853 he moved his family from Erie to Buffalo and has resided there since. For several years while sailing on the lakes, it was his custom to ship for winter cruises at sea, visiting the West Indies and gulf ports in the coasting trade, returning in the spring at the opening of navigation on the lakes to resume his business on the fresh water.

Continuing in the marine insurance business, he competed on the Erie canal for the one hundred thousand dollar prize offered by the state of New York in 1875 for the best steam canal boat. His steamer, the *William Newman*, lost the first prize through the fraudulent trick of pickling her coal with brine, played by some of the competi-

tors, but was awarded the second prize, and made the quickest passage through the canal from Albany to Buffalo that has ever yet been made by steamer, viz: four days.

Captain Dobbins afterwards became interested in the Baxter Steam Canal Boat company, assuming the management of the line of some sixteen steamers running between Buffalo and New York, in which position he continued for about two years.

From his earliest years upon the lakes, Captain Dobbins had not only taken great interest in rescue work and life-saving, but had himself been instrumental in saving many lives and a vast amount of property from shipwreck.* In 1876 he was commissioned

* In illustration of that point, I take the liberty of quoting the following from an article regarding Captain Dobbins' life and labors, published in the *Buffalo Express* of December 20, 1885:

"Years afloat had taught him the language and the temper of wind and water. He had come to know what to do in emergencies, and was known from one end of the lakes to the other. He organized and led the first relief expedition that ever put out of Buffalo to a sinking wreck. The story of that episode should not be lost from local annals. It was in October, 1853. On the night of the third, the schooner *Oneida* was sunk off Point Abino. Vessels coming into port next morning reported that she lay on the bottom with a dozen feet or so of her foremast out of water, and several men lashed thereto. A little later another vessel arrived and reported that three survivors were clinging to the mast. Later still, another vessel came in with the news that one man was clinging to the mast. The incoming vessels had been unable to go to their relief. There was excitement in Buffalo. In vain were steamers' captains urged to put out to the wreck. Finally Captain Dobbins organized a volunteer crew, including Captain Eugene Newman, Captain Gunning, Captain Glass, and other masters of vessels. They loaded a life-boat on wheels, and with four horses



Engr. by A. L. Ritchie

Daniel Dobbins

superintendent of the Ninth United States Life-Saving district, which comprises the coasts of Lakes Erie and Ontario and the falls of the Ohio river at Louisville, Kentucky, along which has been established ten first-class life-saving stations. That position he still holds. Not content with good service, it has been the captain's study for years to improve the service. Previous to entering the life-saving service, and during his extended maritime experience, he had occasion to share in many life-boat rescues, and seeing the many imperfections in the life-boats in general use, he quite naturally turned his attention to improving and providing something better. The result was, after long years of patient study, the production of the "Dobbins self-righting and self-bail-

hailed it to the Black Rock ferry. When landed on the Canada side, a rough and fatiguing twelve-mile tramp was made along the shore to Point Abino. The wreck was some miles off shore, and the weather exceeding boisterous. The boat was launched, reached the sunken wreck with great peril, and got ashore again with the one half-dead survivor. Just as they took him off, the steamer *Mississippi* hove tardily in sight, too late to give aid. A night was spent at Point Abino for rest. So heavy was the work of hauling the boat along shore that two horses were killed. The citizens of Buffalo presented to Captain Dobbins and each of his comrades a gold watch, suitably engraved. The captain still carries his. The man who was rescued was named Wakelee. Not long since, while on an official visit to Painesville, Ohio, Captain Dobbins received a grateful call from Wakelee's aged mother, who lived near that city. Of that first life-saving crew of Buffalo but two now survive, Captain Dobbins and Captain Gunning, now of Chicago. In 1860 Captain Dobbins again distinguished himself by the rescue of the crew of the schooner *Comet*, ashore at Tifft farms near Buffalo. He saved the crew, but the "Francis" metallic life-boat used was dashed to pieces."

ing insubmergible life-boat" for ship and shore use, which is herein illustrated. The Dobbins life-boat is strong, portable, self-righting and self-bailing, of moderate weight (from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds). It can be readily carried on a suitable transport-launching wagon along the shore, and launched through the heaviest surf. It can as readily be swung at a ship's davits and dropped into the sea in safety, by suitable detaching apparatus, with a full complement of passengers and crew on board; or, in cases of sudden emergency, such as a collision or fire, with their inevitable panic among the ship's company, it can be unceremoniously pitched from the deck without the aid of davits or tackle, and being insubmergible, self-righting and self-bailing will at once emerge ready to carry out of danger thirty or forty people, or even in an exigency, sustain for the time being, at least one hundred human beings. The Dobbins life-boat has been repeatedly tested and examined by United States Naval Commissions, Boards of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels, Boards on Life-Saving applicances, Royal Naval constructors, United States Navy officers and officials of the Merchant Marine, and stands preëminent in character by all that have had the privilege of testing or seeing it.

While a technical, or "builders," description of this wonderful boat might be out of place in a sketch for general readers, enough may be said that, with aid of the illustrations, will convey an idea of its strong points, and of the advance step that it is on all other boats

of that character. It has marked advantages over all the rest. In the first place, it cannot be stove below the water-line. The method by which it is ballasted, which is different from that of any other life-boat, is a strong point in its favor. Sheets of cork, water-proofed by being dipped into hot paraffine, are set vertically, sheet to sheet, and tree-nailed together through the entire space below the deck. The hold, therefore, is a continuous mass of cork, and manifestly forms a thickness which cannot be pierced or broken in by any shock of impact or collision.

her hold having been flooded. It must be added that in this instance, though the boat had become deeply immersed, and the men sat hip-deep in water, they rowed out with desperate gallantry, and saved fourteen lives. This feat, however, would have been impossible if there had been a violent wind or sea, for the boat had been clearly disabled for any task more extraordinary than that she performed." The disaster which befell her could not have happened to the Dobbins life-boat. Even if the outside planking of the latter had been bruised or broken by the blow of

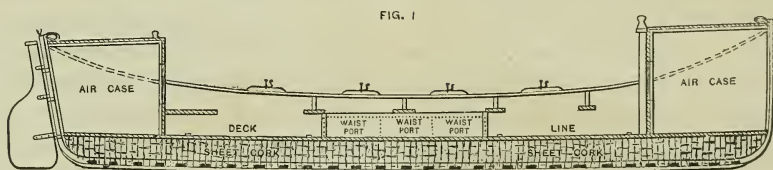
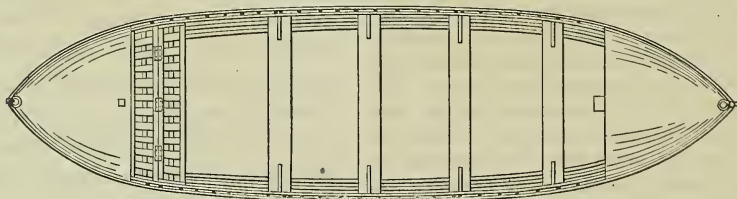


FIG. 2



SECTION AND PLAN OF THE DOBBINS LIFE-BOAT.

Being also literally solid, with no space nor interstice of any kind in her mass of buoyant ballast, the boat cannot fill nor founder. "In 1858," says one writer, "the English life-boat at Youghal, County Cork, in going out to a rescue, got stove on a rock, a hole being made in her bottom as large as a man's head. She instantly filled to the height of six inches above her deck, the spaces between and above the cases of ballast in

colliding, the water could not have entered her cork-proof hull, nor could she have sunk an inch. Even at the last extremity of breakage, her buoyant ballast, riveted as it is together, would still form a life-buoy. She is, therefore, absolutely incapable of being stove, and as absolutely insubmersible. She is also remarkable for her portability, while a third advantage is the smallness of her liability to be capsized.



Thomas M. Gary

Engr'd by E. B. Hall & Sons 13 Barclay St. N.Y.

It shares the quality of the open surf-boat, through which the latter, though unable to cope with all varieties of sea and thus being limited in its field of service, has been so seldom capsized. Experience has shown what it is, and high testimony could be easily quoted to show that its merits are understood and appreciated.

Captain Dobbins is one who has earned and deserves the reputation and success that have come to him. No man stands higher in the public esteem of Buffalo than he, and no one can truthfully say aught against him, nor has any one such disposition. Full of health, vigor and elasticity of spirit, he is as generous as he is genial, and is always engaged in some good work. Plain and outspoken, he goes to the heart of the matter in hand, and does his duty with fear of no man and favor to none. As an official he is thoroughness itself, and requires every man and

every station to be up to the full demands of the service. He finds many ways of being useful to the public of Buffalo. He is a prominent member of and has been a vestrymen of Trinity Protestant Episcopal church, and is a member of Hiram Lodge, F. and A. M.; is a life member of the Young Men's Association, Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy; Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, and formerly a member of the Mechanics' Institute, and Buffalo Board of Trade. He has a son, John R., who served with distinction in the One Hundred and Sixteenth regiment, New York volunteers, during the War of the Rebellion, and who is now growing oranges and lemons in southern California; and an accomplished daughter, Anna, the wife of James P. White, esq., of Buffalo, son of the late Professor James P. White, M.D., of that city.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

THOMAS MCGRAW.

THOMAS MCGRAW was born at Castletown, on the river Shannon, county of Limerick, Ireland, on the seventeenth day of September, 1824. He unites in himself a valuable and, considering his place of birth, very unusual combination of blood, his mother, Elizabeth Faught, having been a German by descent and a representative of the Lutheran church, while his father, Redmond McGraw, came from one of the

Scotch-Irish families, whose sturdy Protestantism has stood as a bulwark against the ascendancy gained by the Roman Catholic church elsewhere in Ireland. Redmond McGraw was a man of liberal education and personal culture, a gentleman by birth and occupation, a happy instance of the good results of intermarriage between Irish and Scotch, and both he and his wife were steadfast upholders of the Protest-

ant religion, while honesty of purpose and conscientiousness of action marked both alike.

In 1825 the family removed to New York state, and there remained for ten years, the father buying and cultivating a farm, and the son acquiring such practical knowledge and such systematic education as was in those days the lot of farmers' boys during the first decade of life. Mr. McGraw made his landing in America at Quebec, and his first purchase of land was made at a point just south of the Canadian border in New York state. The land was wild, and after clearing it he found it undesirable. He then removed to a point near Ogdensburgh, where he repeated the experience of clearing a farm and finding it less fertile than he expected. From this farm, his attention being called to the land about St. Thomas, in Canada, he bought a farm near that place and sixty miles from Detroit. These frequent changes are accounted for by the fact that he was a man of independent means, and up to the time he came to America he had never done any work with his hands. He had a taste for farming, but no experience. Coming to America for the sake of the future of his children, he had to serve an apprenticeship as a farmer, although already a man of middle age. His ultimate success is the more surprising for this fact.

In 1835 Redmond McGraw sold out his interests in Canada, and joined the tide of emigration to Michigan—then at its height—but shortly to receive a terrible check by the financial crisis of

1837, and the years of depression which followed. He made a settlement in the township of Canton, Wayne county, during the last year of the territorial status, and there his son lived for five years. He did not inherit his father's taste for agriculture, and these five years were profitably spent at school and in the acquisition of knowledge by reading every book which came within his reach. This latter process of education has served the purpose of some very eminent men as the foundation for a broad and liberal culture, but, given the omnivorous literary appetite of a boy of a dozen years, with full freedom to read what he chooses, without much oversight from his elders, and the immediate result is likely to be the reverse of conventional. Lincoln gained almost his first glimpse of people and things beyond his own horizon by reading the 'Arabian Nights,' by the light of light-wood torches, and it was perhaps from some such romantic source that Thomas McGraw obtained the ideas of sailor life which determined him to go to sea.

This conclusion was reached soon after he was fifteen years of age, and he almost immediately left home to carry his plan into effect. It is probably very fortunate for him that he was led to change his mind and give up a project so unpromising, and yet his setting out upon an independent enterprise was advantageous, and the result very probably influenced his whole future. He had reached the city of Rochester, New York, before he had quite argued himself out of his nautical fancy, and in that city he engaged as a clerk with a sub-

stantial merchant, receiving a salary of ninety-six dollars a year. This sum, which now seems so insignificant, was then very liberal payment for a boy of but fifteen years. It speaks volumes for the purchasing value of money fifty years ago, and for the wisdom and economy of young McGraw, that, when, after two years service in Rochester, he resigned his place and returned to Michigan, he reached home with fifty-five dollars in cash, saved from total earnings of less than two hundred dollars. Those were not days when ready money was by any means plentiful. The sum which the boy brought from Rochester was one that it would have puzzled many a reasonably prosperous Michigan farmer to raise in an emergency, and its possession made him a boy of mark, indeed, quite a capitalist in his way.

The use he made of this money was characteristic. Fifty dollars of the sum he at once laid out in forty acres of Michigan land, so wisely selected that, seven years later, in 1848, it was sold for seven hundred dollars. This was Thomas McGraw's first investment, and to it may be traced, with perfect distinctness, his present fortune. The fifty dollars has never been lost in all the long years since it was paid to the boy in Rochester. While the country has passed through many financial crises, while war has made and ruined thousands, while great speculative fortunes have grown like mushrooms and melted away like snow, the fifty dollars has been steadily earning other dollars and, if one could follow backward through

all the books that Mr. McGraw has kept for nearly fifty years of busy affairs, that little sum would be found at the top root of his fortune.

Redmond McGraw would gladly have kept his son with him, and made a liberal offer to that end, but the distaste for farm life already mentioned, and a dawning appreciation of the higher dignity and possibilities of an active life, led the young man to decline the proposal and to accept, instead, a position as clerk in the Detroit office of a Pittsburgh iron company, in which place he remained until the year 1847. This situation he never regarded as other than a business school, an apprenticeship for an independent mercantile life. He was satisfied if he could support himself while he was learning, and did not press for increased salary, though it is probable he might easily have secured it. His employers were quite willing to pay him his own price, so long as that price was small enough, and, as a consequence, the six years which he spent in their service were of far more profit to his mind than to his pocket. He had done no little thinking for the future, and to one conclusion he had come above all others—that at the earliest moment he would cease to work for others and begin to work out a future for himself. He appreciated, from his boyhood, the value of money, not for the mere pleasure of its acquisition and increase, but for the higher fact that the best impulses and the highest tastes of a poor man are crippled and impotent. To make money for what it would enable him to do and to be, was his de-

termination, and to that end he must command the fruits of his own thought and labor.

In 1847, deeming the time ripe for carrying out his plan, he resigned his place, and, after casting about him for a location, hit upon the township and little business centre of Novi, in Oakland county, where he invested his little capital in a stock of general merchandise. Here, at the very outset, as he now recognizes, he made a mistake. He thinks that to have boldly entered the field in Detroit would have saved him time and added to the profit of his earlier years. He had, however, not quite enough confidence to enter into competition with men whose greater wealth and greater experience made the race apparently so unequal. He was, even at the age of twenty-three years, a thorough business man, by instinct and training. He knew no other code of commercial ethics than that which demands of both parties punctilious regard for their contracts. He had been, thus far, brought in contact only with men who, when they made or received a promise, regarded its prompt and literal fulfillment as a matter of course.

In those days, even more than now, the business methods in rural communities were lax. A contract was regarded as a conventional promise, to be carried out at the time fixed if convenient, otherwise to be postponed to a more agreeable season. This tendency was and is in no sense dishonesty, but the result of false business education. In such a community Mr. McGraw had many vexations, and it was long before

he could bring those with whom he dealt to understand that he required different treatment at their hands. He never fully converted them, but he never himself fell away from his own business standard.

The county of Oakland and adjacent country are noted for their production of fine wool, and wool-buying is naturally a part of the business of every merchant. Mr. McGraw, with the rest, drifted into the wool trade, but with him it soon became more than an incident, and, before long, it was the principal interest, to which his general mercantile business was only a convenient appendage. Before many years it grew beyond this stage as well, and in the spring of 1864 Mr. McGraw was compelled, by his enlarged interests and the wide territory upon which his agents operated, to seek a more central situation. He consequently moved to Detroit, on April 1, in the year named. At the same time he opened a branch house at Boston, Massachusetts, the centre of the wool trade of the United States.

His success has been very great. No man west of the Atlantic cities has bought and sold so much wool as he. Scarcely any man in the business upon a large scale, has dealt in this most fickle and critical commodity with so near an approach to uniform success.

His methods have been original and his reliance upon his own judgment implicit. The few occasions when he has failed to realize as he expected have been the few when he has permitted himself to be persuaded against his own opinion. During the war he made con-

tracts with many of the largest woolen mills in the country, by which he purchased especially for their use. His skill in buying the exact goods which they needed enabled them to pay him outside figures, and placed him in a position where he could outbid speculative buyers, at a handsome profit to himself.

His buying has for many years, whenever actively in the market, secured the states of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, and his name, face and repute are known in every wool centre of the country, as those of one who succeeds, by legitimate methods, in the largest undertakings, and whose judgment weighs heavily against that of any man in the business.

Fearlessness and self-restraint are among Mr. McGraw's striking business qualities. When wool is to be bought cheaply and he believes there is a profit in it, he supports his judgment with all his energy and means; when the price and other conditions are unfavorable, he does not hesitate to remain entirely out of the market. There is nothing about him either of the speculator or adventurer; he does business for the sake of making money and cannot be induced to risk his own means on those of others, unless he firmly believes in the future. One incident will serve to show the promptness of his action. Some years ago, having dealt very lightly during two bad wool years, he became convinced that the time for a profitable venture had come. He went east and arranged for the disposal of any wool he might buy and then he returned to Detroit. Two facts counseled haste—

he was certain that the price of wool would rise and he had an advantageous freight contract which would expire in thirty days and which the companies refused to renew. He set to work and, within these thirty days had bought, through his agents, from the wool growers and shipped to Boston 1,250,000 pounds of wool which was so sold under his individual supervision as to fully justify his judgment.

Mr. McGraw is an excellent judge of character. In such a business as his, the employment of a large number of agents is necessary. They must be men of peculiarly good judgment, tireless activity and entire honesty. It is necessary to trust these men, widely scattered as they are, and their competence and faithfulness can only be judged by results. Mr. McGraw relies upon his judgment in hiring his agents; he gives no man employment unless he deems him worthy of confidence. After such employment he trusts his man implicitly until some sign of unfaithfulness appears, then the confidence is gone, once and forever, and, with it goes the man. This policy is vindicated by the fact that, in nearly forty years, Mr. McGraw has never been at a loss by the dishonesty of an agent.

The financial management of an extensive wool business is a serious matter. All wool is bought for cash, and the buyer must be able to wait for a good selling market if he would have the largest profit. At times Mr. McGraw's disbursements in buying wool have reached the enormous sum of seventy-five thousand dollars a day.

With characteristic self-dependence he has always so managed his finances as to hold his wool until his own time for selling, never having sacrificed a pound to meet his obligations, and this he has done without even having had an endorser upon a dollar of his paper. His business success is due to judgment in buying and selling, to judgment in the selection of agents, to skill in providing money for the immense demands of his business, and to an integrity, unswerving and ingrained, by which alone his financial ability has availed him. In all things he depends upon his own judgment and efforts and his success is of his own winning.

For some years following 1872, he curtailed his business operations, intending to settle down to a more quiet life, but he found that his years of activity had made repose a burden; he also felt that a useful life implies labor and enterprise, and thus both duty and inclination drew him again into the field. In 1876 he resumed business almost upon the old scale. There was another interval, about 1880, when the state of the market led him to withdraw very largely. This was followed by another period of activity, which still continues. His desire is, however, rather to draw in than to extend his enterprises. In 1868 his wool purchases amounted to four million five hundred thousand pounds, and for many years ranged from two million five hundred thousand to four million pounds.

Mr. McGraw's investments are largely in Detroit business and real estate interests. He is a half owner in the

Globe Tobacco company and has for many years been its president. Mr. McGraw's object in investing in the tobacco business was purely a desire to assist some friends who were practical men and needed capital to carry out their plans. His general policy has been to keep his money in his own control, and to avoid partnerships or investments which might interfere with entire independence of action. He was one of the organizers, and for five years president of the Michigan Savings bank, ultimately resigning for private reasons. For twenty years he was a stockholder, and for seven years a director of the American National Bank of Detroit. He has now no official connection with any bank.

One of his pet interests, in which he feels a justifiable pride, is the magnificent Mechanics block, at the corner of Griswold street and La Fayette avenue. This large building was erected by several leading capitalists of Detroit, among whom were some of the most sagacious business men of the city. These gentlemen completed the body of the building but omitted the soul. They made the structure complete enough, according to the ideas of twenty years ago, but it was conspicuously lacking in the modern appliances demanded by the tenant class. The block proved a financial failure and when Mr. McGraw bought it, most people thought he had done a very unwise thing. He spent a large additional sum in rendering the building absolutely complete for its purpose. For a time, appearances promised ill for his project, but, as the advantages



George A. C. C. C. C.

Mr. C. C. C.

of the structure came to be appreciated, it filled with tenants of the best class, and has well repaid his confidence in its future.

In politics Mr. McGraw is an Independent, acting and voting with the Republican party, which he believes best guards the interests of the people. He was for two years a member of the board of public works of Detroit, retiring when the board ceased to exist. He is a member of St. John's Episcopal church and was at one time a member of its vestry. He held this office for a number of years, until he retired to make way for another.

He married in the year 1848, Miss

Mary T. Seldon Gardiner, daughter of James Gardiner and granddaughter of Redmond Hazard, a man of the greatest mark in western Massachusetts, and well known, the country over, as a leader in business and politics. He was a pioneer manufacturer of Hancock, in that state. A descendant of his, of the same name, was one of the persons who, during the war, went to Germany and spent some time in a successful effort to float the bonds of the United States at the critical time when the financiers of both England and France were in sympathy with the South. Other members of the Hazard family are now prominent in many fields.

WILLIAM CHISHOLM.

It is not often that the founder of so great an enterprise as the Cleveland Rolling Mill company is able, when ready to lay down the responsibilities he has so long and ably carried, to commit them to the hands of a son whose record in that line of industry is such as to show that he will care for them as they had been cared for in the past. Yet such was the case when Henry Chisholm in 1879 sought the rest that he never had been able to enjoy in his useful and busy career, and laid upon his son William Chisholm the management of the great corporation he has since had in charge. That he has more than justified that choice is shown in the record made in the seven years during which he has had the

Cleveland Rolling Mill company under his official management and control.

William Chisholm was born in Montreal, Canada, on May 22, 1843, his father at that time being a builder and contractor, which occupation he followed with considerable success. In 1850 he took a breakwater contract for the newly completed railroads at Cleveland, and brought his family here. The son was placed in the Cleveland public schools, and on working his way up through the various grades, entered the high school, where he remained two years. His father had meanwhile gone into the iron business, and had laid at Newburgh the foundations of the great industry that has done so much for Cleveland's manufacturing and material

growth. On leaving school William went to Newburgh and took charge of the company's store for about two years. He had ere this decided to make iron the business of his life, and in pursuance of his own desire, and with the approbation of his father, took every possible opportunity to learn the business in all its branches and details. This was no theoretical training, but an actual, manual contact with labor in all departments of the mill. He took off his coat, and, with that Scotch pluck and grit that are among the best endowments of the human race, went in among the men and worked hard enough and long enough to become a practical maker of iron. As a further educational advance, in the same direction, he then took a course of mechanical engineering in the Polytechnic college at Philadelphia, where he remained four years. His application while there was close and effective, and the result thereof, in connection with his practical training in the mills, was to give him as thorough an equipment for his chosen field of labor as any young man could possibly have.

About this time the Cleveland Rolling Mill company had about completed a branch mill at Chicago for the manufacture of iron rails. Of this new organization, the Union Rolling Mill company of Chicago, William Chisholm was made secretary and general manager, a position of great responsibility for one of only twenty years of age. He went to Chicago in 1863. When the mill was formally opened and the first rails rolled, Mr. Chisholm himself took the

tongs and did the work of a roller, which was a great surprise to the employés, as they by no means expected to see a boy fresh from college take hold, in a practical manner, and show that he understood the trade. It gave him a hold on their confidence and respect from the start. He fulfilled all the duties of his position with signal faithfulness and ability, and had much to do with the building up to a large success of the company to which he belonged. He was soon promoted from the position of secretary to that of vice-president, holding that of general manager as before.

In 1879 Mr. Chisholm was induced to come to Cleveland and enter upon an even wider field than he had occupied before. His father, Henry Chisholm, the president of the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, had begun to feel the effects of the close mental and bodily labors to which he had given himself for nearly fifty years. The wonderful strength and vitality with which nature had endowed him were feeling at last the large demands made upon them. He could well afford to rest, as he had won wealth, a name that will always be mentioned with honor and respect whenever the story of America's growth in iron making is told, and the respect and good will of the community in which he lived. He felt the need of younger shoulders upon which to lay some of his burdens, and he naturally turned to his eldest son, who had shown his fitness to receive them. The latter, therefore, disposed of his Chicago interests and was made vice-president of

the Cleveland Rolling Mill company. He gave his whole time and attention to the affairs of the company, and the new blood and energy were felt at every point. On May 9, 1881, his father died, and he was chosen president of the great corporation, a position he has since held. All the offices held by his father in the various organizations of Cleveland were offered him, but having, in the overwork and premature breaking down of his father, an example he was wise enough to heed, he accepted only a few, and such as he knew he could carry without neglecting in any way the chief labor of his life. That he has administered the affairs of the Rolling Mill company in a wise and able manner, is well shown by its retention in the front rank of the iron concerns of America, its large business and wide connections, and the strength with which it has held its own at every point. Iron makers have had many difficulties to meet, and some vexed problems to solve, in the the last five years, and Mr. Chisholm's place has been no sinecure, but he has gone forward with patience, caution, a wise view of the questions involved, and a purpose to do right by not only those whose interests financially are entrusted to his hands, but also to those who are in his employ. Naturally reticent in speaking of himself or his purposes, Mr. Chisholm has not always been understood by those having business with him, but all are coming to understand the true worth and genuine manliness of which he is possessed. All agree that he has gone through many trials with firmness, moderation and prudence, and

that each outcome has but added to the justness and correctness of his views.

Mr. Chisholm, while giving his chief time and attention to the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, has other connections with the business interests of Cleveland. He is a director of the National Bank of Commerce, a director in the Union Steel Screw company, and interested in several iron ore mines of Lake Superior, as well as the lake marine; a member of the Civil Engineers club of Cleveland; a trustee of the Cleveland Society of Savings; one of the three trustees of the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, and of the Industrial Home; an incorporator of the Case School of Applied Science; a life member of the American Society of Civil Engineers; and has a part in other organizations of a business or social nature needless to enumerate here. While in Chicago Mr. Chisholm was a member of the Commercial club, made up of only two members of each line of business, and represented, in company with another gentleman, the entire iron interests of that city, and was made an honorary member thereof after his removal from Chicago.

Mr. Chisholm has kept entirely out of public life, having no taste whatever for publicity in any form. He has traveled much, making with his family a six months tour of Europe in 1879, after his departure from Chicago, and before his permanent location in Cleveland. He was also abroad during the summer of 1885. He was married in 1864 to Miss Mary Henrietta Stone, the

only daughter of Mr. A. A. Stone, a prominent business man of Chicago. Two boys and two girls have been born to them, and it is in his home that Mr. Chisholm finds his chief happiness and is most content. He is, comparatively speaking, a young man, but is one of the leading manufacturers of the west already, while there is no telling the reputation and influence into which he may grow. His habits of trained industry, unquestioned honor and honesty, the command he has of himself and those under his official control, broad-

ness of view, united with enough conservatism of action to prevent his taking undue risks, and great executive ability, show that he has inherited his father's best and strongest traits of character. Mr. Chisholm has unusual courage and decision, and, when he believes that he has the right on his side, will pursue the chosen course to the end. He is personally of a quiet and retiring disposition, but when that hedge is broken down he is found to be one of the most genial, generous and companionable of men.

G. E. HERRICK.

MR. G. E. HERRICK received his legal education from men who united success and ability with character and principle, and most loyally has he followed their example. He has gone along the pathway of his profession for near a third of a century with a view to justice and right as well as an extension of practice, and as a result stands in the front rank of his profession to-day, and in the possession of the respect and confidence of the whole community.

He comes of a good New England ancestry. His grandfather was Colonel Francis Herrick, a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, and a soldier who gave his country a faithful service in the war of 1812. His father was Ephriam Herrick, the youngest son of Colonel Herrick, who was born in Lee, Berkshire county, and who came at an early date to Wellington, Lorain county,

Ohio, of which township his father was one-fourth owner. It was there that the subject of this sketch was born, on January 17, 1827. He was given a thorough course in the common schools of his home, supplemented by the training of the high schools. With a mind that thirsted for knowledge, and an unusual liking for books, the young man decided on taking a college course and accordingly entered at Oberlin. After a time there he was taken sick, and went home with the full expectation of returning to his books at an early date. But circumstances decreed it otherwise, and he entered upon an educational course of another character, that has been of the greatest advantage to him in the prosecution of his profession. Elyria was at that time, before the advent of the railroads, an important business place in the traffic from the south



G. E. Herrick

toward the lake, and from the west toward Cleveland. It possessed a number of large commercial establishments that extended their trade into all the country round about. While at home, as related above, the young man was given an advantageous chance to enter one of the largest of these mercantile houses; and as it had always been a desire of his father that he should gain a thorough knowledge of practical business, no matter what profession he might follow, he accepted, and went into the store at the age of seventeen. He remained there for several years, learning all there was to be known in that line, and gaining a fund of practical business knowledge that has been of the greatest benefit to him in the practice of his profession, and in the larger operations of later years. Having decided at an early day to be a lawyer, and never having wavered in that decision, Mr. Herrick came to Cleveland in 1850, and entered the law office of Andrews, Foote & Hoyt. No finer and more thorough training school for a law student could have been found in the land than was here. The members of that firm, Sherlock J. Andrews, John A. Foote and James M. Hoyt stood in the front rank of the Cleveland bar, and had an immense practice. Judge Andrews, especially, was then in the full prime of his legal powers, and had few peers in the west or in the country at large. The young student had before him not only the example of brilliant superiors and the education that could be found in the daily watching of an immense practice,

but was shown as well that a man could be a successful and famous lawyer and at the same time a high-minded Christian gentleman.

Mr. Herrick remained here for the regular two years course of study, and was admitted to practice in March of 1852. He opened an office on his own responsibility, and made so good advancement, that in a year and a half he possessed a comfortable business. About 1856 General Merrill Barlow, who had come to Cleveland from Massachusetts a couple of years before, and Mr. Herrick formed a partnership under the firm name of Herrick & Barlow. This continued until after the election of Hon. John Brough to the governorship of Ohio in 1863, when the office of adjutant-general of the state was tendered General Barlow, and accepted. When he went to Columbus to assume the duties of a position that was no mere sinecure or place of ornament in those troubled days of war, the law partnership of Herrick & Barlow was dissolved, the senior partner continuing alone. He remained so until the close of the war, when his brother, Colonel J. F. Herrick, who had been in the army, and who had previously been a student in his office, returned home. The firm of G. E. & J. F. Herrick was then formed, and has remained substantially in that shape from that day to this.

Mr. Herrick's practice has always been large, and has been of a general character. Some twenty years ago he was placed in charge of large property interests, which he managed so successfully that he has never been without

considerable business of that character. His knowledge and skill as a lawyer, his wide acquaintance with business and ability in that direction, combined with his high personal integrity, have eminently fitted him for the care of the property of those who could not well look after their own interests. In addition to that, he has had a large practice in the courts. In the trial of cases he is wonderfully clear and lucid, having every point covered, and with a thorough knowledge of the law bearing thereon. As a lawyer and counselor on matters connected with land titles, he has no superior at the Cleveland bar, and in matters affecting the rights and responsibilities of corporations, he is equally at home.

One thing that marks Mr. Herrick's character as a lawyer and a man of business, is his remarkable good judgment. All who have had dealings with him or have entrusted their interests to his hands, have soon come to see that he is wonderfully endowed in this respect, and that his advice in all matters is sound, safe, and always followed by good results.

Mr. Herrick has been connected through his capital and general supervision rather than by personal participation, with a number of corporations which have had an influence in developing and advancing the material interests of Cleveland. Prominent among these is the Cleveland Linseed Oil works. Three years ago, after the death of Truman Dunham, the company was reorganized, and Mr. Herrick was elected its president, which position he

has since held. It is a very large and successful organization, and has been of material benefit in the extension of the commerce of Cleveland. These connections with business enterprises have been simply incidental to Mr. Herrick, his chief time and attention being given to the law.

Mr. Herrick has had opportunities in abundance to go into public and political life, but has steadily declined them all. He has been urged again and again to allow his name to be used in connection with various city offices, but has had neither time nor desire to accept the overtures. He has been mentioned often in connection with the nomination to congress, but no suggestion of that kind has ever originated with him. He has ever been active in benevolent and reformatory work, and mention of one prominent institution for which he has done much good must not be forgotten here. He has for many years been connected with the Cleveland Bethel Union, and has always been a faithful and hard-working friend thereto. He was chairman of the committee appointed to raise a fund to pay off the debt on the Bethel building, and in that capacity did the greater part of the work that resulted in raising sixty-five thousand dollars and relieving the noble old institution from danger. Mr. Herrick is now the president of the Bethel Union, and gives it a large portion of attention and watchful care. Among the other institutions for the good of the public with which he has been connected, the Humane society may be mentioned. He has been one of the trustees of the



L. F. Moore M.D.

First Presbyterian church for ten years, and is now the president of the board. Many good causes that have plead their needs and wants before the Cleveland public during the past twenty-five years, have found in Mr. Herrick a helping and encouraging friend. All his influence is on the side of morality, temperance and good government, obedi-

ence to law, the elevation of the masses, and the proper guardianship of those who cannot aid themselves. There have been many who have attracted a larger share of public attention than he, but few there are who have exerted a more helpful and manly influence on those met in the busy walks of business and social life.

SYLVESTER FREDERICK MIXER, M. D.

DR. SYLVESTER FREDERICK MIXER must be assigned a place of honor and usefulness when any account is taken of the men who have made Buffalo and given it a standing in the professional world. For many years he labored with all the strength of a great nature, and all the earnestness of a true heart, for the bettering of the world about him, and when he was called to the rest and reward of the higher world, his best monument was found in the love and respect of the community in which he lived for so many years.

The life and labor of even the most successful physician and surgeon afford little of note for the biographer, made up as they are of daily rounds of duty, a constant stream of doing good, and an ever ready purpose of help for the suffering, without any strong and salient points of interest to which the attention can be drawn. And the more closely he has attached himself to his profession, and the less he has had to do with outside affairs or pursuits, the less can

there be said of him beyond this grand epitaph—that he spent his life in the service of others; and, like the Greatest of all Physicians, “went about doing good.”

Dr. Mixer essentially gave himself to the line of his profession, and lived up to the most exacting requirements, although he was in full sympathy with all the great movements of the world about him, and watched the progress of events with the keenest interest. He was born in Morrisville, Madison county, New York, on December 27, 1815, and was the descendant of an English family that came to New England in the early days. His father, Judge Nathan Mixer, was a man of mark in his day, serving for a term or so in the New York assembly, and having as one of his colleagues Millard Fillmore, who afterwards became President of the United States. The son received a liberal education, and graduated from the medical department of Yale college in 1841. In a few months thereafter he established himself

in Buffalo in the practice of his profession, and continued steadily therein to the close of his life. His success was marked from the first, and was continuous to the close. In 1847 he received the degree of M. D. from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1852 he was elected president of the Buffalo Medical society, and was for years one of the leading members of the Erie County Medical society. He belonged to the American Medical association. From 1858 to 1874, he was one of the attending physicians of the Buffalo General hospital, and from the date last named until his death, was a member of its consulting board.

The many opportunities that opened before Dr. Mixer by which he might have won distinction in public life, were all declined that he might give himself to the profession he loved so well. He lived in it and for it, and many are the tributes that have been recorded in honor of his usefulness therein. As a prominent Buffalo journal has well said, "A citizen so well known and so highly respected as Dr. Mixer might easily have taken a conspicuous part in public affairs, but he had no ambition outside of his profession, which yielded him a handsome income and enabled him to accumulate for the loved ones left a comfortable competency. He was an earnest Republican, but naturally a thorough reformer, and habitually took a lively interest in all political and other movements having the public good in view." "Take him all in all," adds one appreciative writer, "he was an excellent type of the ideal American citizen

—a man of simple goodness, but so modest and unassuming withal, that his biography could not have much eulogy in it without doing violence to his own wishes, as known to those who knew him best, and they are those who loved him best."

It is but proper to add that the public estimate of his character and ability was of no higher form than that held by his brethren in the profession. It has been truthfully said that there never was a member who lived more closely to the ethics of his calling. It was always regarded safe for a younger man to call upon him in consultation, and his advice when given being universally taken as the best authority that could be had, he was very often called upon in the most delicate and dangerous branches of practice. He kept his reading up to the last, and was fully acquainted with the medical and surgical advance of the world. It has ever been a source of regret to the profession that he never placed any of his own experiences or observations in print, as there were lost thereby many valuable and remarkable things. Perhaps no more competent, just and concise estimate of Dr. Mixer's character as a man, and standing as a physician, can be discovered than that found in the resolutions adopted by the physicians of Buffalo, in which they said:

This society feels that in the death of Dr. Mixer it has lost one of the best, truest, and most respected members; that we desire to testify our appreciation of his many noble qualities of mind and heart, his integrity in the profession as well as non-professional, his uniform kindness, sympathy and courtesy—always regardful of the rights and

feelings of others; one of whom it may be said in truth that he was just and faithful in all the relations of life—to his profession, his country and his God.

Personally Dr. Mixer was of fine presence, tall, handsome, and a conversationalist of rare quality. He was married on February 23, 1853, to Miss Mary Elizabeth Knowlton, daughter of Perrin Knowlton of Cincinnati. Their life together was a happy one, as Dr. Mixer loved his home with a rare affection, and found therein a refuge and a rest from the toils and exactions of the outside world. Four children were born to them, one dying in infancy, and two sons still living. A beloved daughter was called out of the brightness and promise of her youth by the awful railroad wreck at Ashtabula that sent over one hundred to a sudden death and filled the land with gloom. The blow to Dr. Mixer was one of especial severity, and from which he never fully recovered.

Dr. Mixer experienced his first severe illness in 1862. He never regained his full strength thereafter, but was able to fulfill the usual round of his duties until the winter before his death, when he gave up work and went to California for the benefit of his health. Little good resulted, and he returned to Buffalo in June. He sank gradually, and needed no one to tell him that the end was near. He had watched the approach of the destroying angel in so many homes, that he knew the sound of the footfall as it came down the highway of his own life—but he had no fear. He had lived a pure and useful life; he had long since committed his heart to

the keeping of One higher than the greatest of earth, and his home had long since been set in order. On Sunday morning, September 16, 1883, he sank, in perfect peace, to the eternal sleep. There were very many, not only in Buffalo but in places far from there, who mourned his loss in deep sincerity of soul, and felt that indeed a good man had been called to his reward. He had been an honored and useful member of Trinity Episcopal church, and his funeral was held therein on the Tuesday following his death. These words, spoken on that occasion, fittingly describes his closing hours—"He had no fear of death—no anxious thoughts. He knew that his course was run, and with calmness he moved on toward the prize of his high calling in Christ Jesus."

The stricken wife and family were given such solace as can come from sympathy that carries the evidence of its own sincerity. Letters came from all parts of the country that those who had admired Dr. Mixer as a physician had also loved him as a friend. And he was worthy of it. Said one in writing of his character:

His benevolence was marked in all his professional dealings, numerous instances being recalled in which he had gone out on winter nights to attend patients so poor in purse that it was certain he would never be paid for his trouble. He had no enemies. He could be trusted at all times and in all places with the professional reputation of his associates. He had a righteous scorn of all trickery, and was in all respects a true, high-minded, Christian gentleman.

No words in higher praise can be spoken of any man; and of no man could they be more truthfully said. A

rounded and complete life like that of which we have written carries its own force and lesson during the years through which it runs, and then lives long after in the fragrant example of a blessed memory.

PROFESSOR JAMES PLATT WHITE, M. D.

DR. JAMES PLATT WHITE, who for years filled a conspicuous place among the professional men of Buffalo, departed from this life on the evening of September 28, 1881. That he stood at the head of his profession was understood not only by the public, but was conceded by his fellow physicians, who delighted to do him honor, and took pride in his fame. There was much in his life and record that could be profitably commented on at length, but only a reference to the salient points of his character and record is possible here.* As has been said by one of the leading journals of Buffalo, "an ample sketch of his life would be a history of the medical profession in Buffalo for the last half century—nay, almost a history of the city itself, for there have been but few important public questions or enterprises, since the corporation was established, in which he did not become more or less interested." Dr. White's lineage was Puritan, his ancestry in this country extending to Peregrine White,

the first male child born in the Plymouth colony. He was born in Austerlitz, Columbia county, New York, March 14, 1811. At the time of his death he was, therefore, in his seventy-first year. His grandfather was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and his father, David Pierson White, in the war of 1812. His parents were types of the families which constitute the bone and sinew of this country. They removed to East Hamburg, in the county of Erie, in western New York, in 1816. This removal at that time was an emigration to the far west. They lived to see their oldest son attain to eminence. At the time of the removal of his father's family to Erie county, he was five years of age. His thirst for knowledge and his application to studies enabled him, with the opportunities within his reach, to acquire a good English, and a fair classical education. He at first commenced the study of law, but in a short time decided to enter the profession of medicine. He was enabled to carry this purpose into effect partly through the help of his father and partly from means earned by himself in school teaching. He attended a course of medical lectures at Fairfield, New York,

* Free use has been made herein of an address delivered in memory of Dr. White, by Austin Flint, M. D., before the Medical society of the state of New York, in 1882. The acquaintance between Dr. White and Dr. Flint was of an intimate and cordial character.



Yours Truly
James P. White

then the seat of a flourishing medical school, and afterwards a course at the Jefferson Medical college, taking from the latter his degree. He was led from the circumstances of his situation to enter upon the practice of medicine before graduation. Buffalo and its vicinity suffered severely from the cholera visitation of 1832, and Black Rock especially suffered from the lack of medical aid. The young and active student was asked to go there as a representative of his two preceptors, who were the leading medical men of Buffalo. He accepted the dangerous and important trust, and acquitted himself not only to the satisfaction of those who had sent him, but also to that of those he had gone to serve. This experience had probably not a small influence in preparing him for his subsequent rapid advance and great success as a practitioner. It did not, however, prevent him from continuing his studies for two years longer, and acquiring his diploma from an institution that ranked among the first in the country. He established himself as a practitioner in Buffalo in 1853, and in the year following was married to Mary Elizabeth, the only surviving daughter of the late Henry F. Penfield of the town of Penfield, New York. Their union was in all respects a happy one. Soon after his marriage he met with an accident that left its mark upon him through all his after life. In traveling in a stage coach over a rough road his head was jolted upward against the top of the coach with such force as to fracture the atlas. By some good fortune there was no dis-

placement of the fractured portion of the bone. He was, however, obliged to keep his bed for a long time, and eventually an entire segment of the atlas was expectorated. He recovered with permanent loss of the power of rotation of the head upon the neck.

It has been the general rule that speedy progress at the beginning of the practice of medicine is premature and not likely to lead to permanent success. Dr. White's career as a practitioner was an exception to this rule. His success in acquiring practice became speedily great. In a very few years he had in this respect outstripped not only his competitors of equal age, but his seniors. For more than forty years his practice was only limited by his power of endurance and his willingness to work. His physical capability for work was remarkable, and this altogether with energy, promptness, self-confidence, added to real ability as a practitioner, secured and maintained a degree of success to which but few attain. He resolved at the outset to succeed, and with him to resolve was to persevere and spare no efforts requisite to success.

He soon began to leave his impress upon the life around him. The establishment of the medical school at Buffalo was very largely due to his exertions. It was necessary to overcome opposition from some of the older and the most influential members of the medical profession in Buffalo. At that time the school at Geneva, New York, had large classes and an able faculty. Most of the members of this faculty were led to accept

appointments in the Buffalo school, in view of its geographical and clinical advantages. Public interest was aroused sufficiently to obtain the funds needed for a substantial building. The continued prosperity of the school has not only been a source of proper pride to the city in which it is located, but the institution has become a grand monument to the memory of the men who created it. Dr. White was the professor of obstetrics and gynecology, in which relation he continued until his death. As a teacher he was direct, forcible and practical. He did not aim at rhetorical or oratorical display, but he kept in mind a purpose of sound teaching, and sent forth that which could be put to practical use in the exigencies of the profession. An illustrative incident, showing his character as a teacher and his generosity as a man, may be quoted here :

In 1870 the late Professor George T. Elliot was stricken with paralysis. The late Dr. Foster Swift was appointed by the faculty of the Bellevue Hospital Medical college to give his course of lectures on obstetrics. At the beginning of the lecture session, Dr. Swift was compelled to seek a more genial climate for the restoration of his health. The college was placed in an embarrassing situation. Dr. White was applied to in the emergency. He at once consented to give the course, declining even the request that his expenses be borne by the college, and relinquishing the income to his afflicted friend, the incumbent of the chair. The lectures were in the highest degree satisfactory, both to the students and the faculty.

Dr. White held many positions of trust in his profession. In recognition of his eminent position as a practitioner and teacher, he was elected vice-president of the New York State Medical association in 1868, and in 1870 made its presi-

dent. At the meeting of the American Medical association in 1872 he was named by the delegate from New York as a candidate for the presidency, and in 1878 became one of the vice-presidents of the association. He was made a corresponding and afterwards an honorary fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the medical congress that assembled in Philadelphia in 1876. Dr. White, while very active in his profession, never gave up a course of deep and thorough study, and he contributed important improvements in practice. During the last twenty years of his life he devoted much attention to ovariectomy, performing this operation in more than one hundred cases; and his reputation in this direction was such that he was called to various parts of the country. He also found time in the midst of his many other cares and duties to write for the medical press, and the Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal, the American Journal of the Medical Sciences, the transactions of the American Medical association, of the American Gynecological society, of the International Medical Congress of 1876 at Philadelphia, and of the Medical Society of the State of New York, contain valuable papers contributed by him. He was the author of the articles on "Pregnancy" in Beck's Medical Jurisprudence, edited by the late Professor Gilman; and of the life of Bard, in the Lives of 'Distinguished American Physicians and Surgeons,' edited by Professor Gross. As a speaker and debater he was ready, cogent and courteous. He

participated largely in oral discussions at the meetings of the different associations with which he was connected. What he said was always to the point, and always commanded respectful consideration. His opinions on scientific questions and those of polity, well formed and well maintained, never failed to have much influence upon the minds of others.

Dr. White coöperated actively in the establishment of the Buffalo Hospital of the Sisters of Charity, the Maternity and Foundling hospitals, and the Providence Asylum for the Insane. He was also largely instrumental in the creation of the State Lunatic asylum, and its location at Buffalo. He was one of its managers from the first, and was its president until his health, towards the close of his life, compelled him to relinquish that position. He was also ever ready to do all in his power for the general good. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, and was active in all the charities and reform movements connected therewith. He was one of the founders of the Young Men's association, of the Academy of Fine Arts, and of the Historical society. He worked in many ways, favoring all movements that would aid the city in a physical or moral sense, that would add to its healthfulness, or that would make it more beautiful. He coöperated actively in the efforts which secured for Buffalo its magnificent public park; and in the erection of the finest business block in the city, he at once attested his public spirit and business sagacity, and also left an enduring monument to his

own name. He was generous and hospitable, and his qualities endeared him to the hearts of those who knew him, as his professional skill was sought by those in physical danger or pain. In relation to his personality, the writer from whom free quotations have been already made, has said:

The salient points of his character show superior intellectual endowments and attainments, united with fixedness of purpose, perseverance, good judgment, tact, unusual executive ability and rectitude—mental qualities which ensure success and usefulness in this world. These qualities of the mind, to which were added vigorous health and physical endurance, could not fail to secure success in medical practice, as regards not only obtaining and retaining patients, but in the management of cases of disease. In this latter sense of the term, I can speak of his success from ample personal knowledge. He investigated cases carefully, but reached conclusions with promptness and decision. He had no confidence in an intuitive ability to judge of diseases. In his therapeutics he was prompt and decided without being rash or unduly bold. In the management of cases he was not unduly affected by unfavorable possibilities or probabilities. His attention was more directed to those which were favorable. He was always hopeful for the best, and as long as there was any ground for hope, he never relaxed his efforts. He acted under a deep sense of responsibility to his patients. No one ever accused him of indifference or neglect. These professional traits secured the fullest confidence on the part of the patients. Extraneous methods to possess their confidence were to him not needed. These he held in contempt. In his bearing toward his patients he was independent. He was not a suppliant for confidence. He demanded it as a condition for assuming the responsibilities connected with the management of cases of disease. As an operator, he was conservative yet bold, and with a fertility of resource which enabled him to readily meet emergencies as they arose.

In all his social and domestic relations, Dr. White was the true man and the Christian gentleman. He lived to a good old age, and when the summons came, it found him ready. His power

of mind and body were remarkably well preserved. His final illness was brief and unattended with much suffering. His mind was unclouded to the last, and when the end came, he met it as befits a true man, who has a useful life behind him, and looks forward to a sure hope of a higher, nobler life in the world to come.

DR. C. C. F. GAY.

THERE died in Buffalo on March 27, 1886, one who united to eminence as a physician the most admirable qualities as a man, and who for years filled a round of usefulness, and earned and held the respect of everybody in the city that he had adopted for his home. Reference is made to Charles Curtis Fenn Gay, M. D., of whom it has been well said, by those who knew him best, that he will be missed "in the medical society and in the lecture hall, where he was listened to with attention and profit; in the social circle, where his genial and pleasant face was always welcome; in the sick room, where his dignified bearing, wise counsel and abundant sympathy were of themselves restorative; in the church, of which he was a consistent member, and where he was always ready to proclaim that faith in the supreme and overruling Providence; but, more of all, he will be missed in the family circle, for he was a kind and loving husband and father."

Dr. Gay was born in Pittsfield, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on January 7, 1821. His father, William Gay, jr., was a native of the same state, and traced his lineage directly back to John Gay of England, who came to this

country in the ship *Mary and John*, on May 30, 1630, and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, but afterwards removed to Dedham, in the same state. Many prominent men have been discovered among those who trace their descent to this hardy pioneer. Among them may be mentioned three doctors of divinity; while Edwin M. Stanton, the great war secretary, was a distant cousin of the mother of Dr. Gay, who is yet living in vigorous bodily and mental health. During Dr. Gay's early boyhood, his parents removed to Lebanon Springs, Columbia county, New York, where he received a thorough preparatory education in the schools of that neighborhood. In 1843 he attended the Collegiate institute at Brockport, New York, and one year later began the study of medicine in the office of Dr. Joseph Bates of Lebanon Springs. He soon afterwards went to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he studied under Dr. H. H. Childs, who had previously been lieutenant-governor of that state. He also attended a course of instruction at the Berkshire Medical college, and one at the medical school in Woodstock, Vermont. A third course was taken by him at the former institution, from



Charles C. F. Gay, M.D.

which, in the fall of 1846, he received his medical degree. After his graduation he went to Philadelphia, then the centre of medical instruction of the highest order, where he attended the winter course of lectures in the Jefferson Medical college and clinics of the Pennsylvania hospital.

Thus admirably equipped, and with a natural aptitude for medicine as a foundation for this thorough education, Dr. Gay commenced the practice of his profession with a reasonable expectation of the success he afterwards achieved. In 1847 he began practice in Bennington, Vermont, from whence he removed in a few years to Byron, Genesee county, New York; and after several years of success in that location, decided on the larger and more promising field of Buffalo, where the remainder of his life was spent. His advance in his profession in this broader field was marked, and his success was of a permanent character. He not only advanced in the personal practice of his profession, but was soon drafted into public use in many public ways. On the organization of the Buffalo General hospital in 1855, he was chosen consulting surgeon, and three years subsequently was appointed attending surgeon, a position he held until 1884. He was not only an efficient worker for the good of that institution, in his official capacity, but was one of the active means by which it came into being. Many meetings in favor of the project and for the devising of means by which it could be advanced, were held in his office, and one

appreciative account of his life fitly says that "through him his father-in-law, the late George W. Tift, and other friends, were interested in this movement; and Buffalo owes to no one more than to Dr. Gay in the foundation of this great public charity." In 1861 Dr. Gay was appointed by the Union Defense committee of Buffalo, surgeon-in-charge of Fort Porter, and while at that point examined and had charge of the Forty-ninth regiment New York volunteers. Among his other public labors, it is but proper to state that he was one of the founders of the Society of Natural Sciences of Buffalo, and served on the original board of directors; and was also curator of botany in the institution at an early period in its history. On the organization of the Buffalo Surgical infirmary, in 1876, he was chosen surgeon-in-chief. Always an advocate of higher him, and watched the progress of events the authorities of Niagara university upon the establishment of the medical department to the chair of clinical surgery, and held that position until ill health compelled his resignation, when he was appointed emeritus professor. He was a permanent member of the State Medical society from 1861 to the time of his death; a member of the Erie County Medical society, and at one time its president; and on several occasions was delegate to the American Medical association, and made several verbal reports on operations before that eminent body. He went to Europe in 1885 as a delegate to the British Medical society, leaving America in June

and returning in September, during which absence he made a tour of England, France, Germany and Switzerland, and formed the acquaintance of many eminent members of his profession.

In addition to these labors and responsibilities, Dr. Gay found time to write many valuable and able papers for the medical journals, on matters that had come under his observation, and to which he had given deep study and investigation. These contributions extended over a period of twenty-five years, and a number of his papers attracted wide attention from the medical profession. While doing what he could for the help of those about him and the advancement of the public good, it was to medicine and surgery that Dr. Gay gave his whole life, and he would allow nothing to come between it and his heart and best service. He won not only success but fame, and long before his death he was looked upon as one of the leading members of his profession in western New York. Aside from that reputation he was popular in social life, and had a large circle of friends and acquaintances. He was a prominent member of the Central Presbyterian church of Buffalo, and took a deep interest in all that related to the moral and educational advancement of the city he had chosen for his home. In January, 1854, he was united to Miss Sarah A. Tift, daughter of the late George W. Tift, one of the oldest and most respected among the citizens of Buffalo. Their married life was of a happy character, the wife and adopted

son still surviving. Of the closing years of his life and his death, the Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal, in a most appreciative memorial article, says :

Of late years he has devoted his attention more especially to surgery, and was engaged in preparing a work on that branch of medical science. For over a year the doctor has been ailing, owing to a sickness contracted while in the discharge of his duty at the General hospital. For several months he was quite ill at home. Being advised to take a trip to Europe, he did so, returning in the fall comparatively well. On his return he was given a reception and banquet at the Genesee house by the faculty of the Niagara Medical school. The doctor then seemed fully restored to health, but it was not long before he became again seriously ill. He and his physicians realized from the state of affairs at the outset, that he could not recover. After a painful illness of several weeks, he died March 27, 1886. He maintained throughout a cheerful mood, and frequently proclaimed his faith in God and his adherence to the Christian principles which had been his guide for many years.

The loss was not alone one that fell on his family and friends, but on the profession and city as well. Many and earnest were the expressions of grief, and the tributes to his worth as a citizen, a physician, and a man. "Once more we are called upon," said one journal, "to mourn the loss of a distinguished member of our profession, and the physicians of Buffalo, without exception, are deeply grieved at the death of one who was so dearly beloved. Kindness and Christian charity were the marked characteristics of Dr. Gay, and through all his dealings with his fellow-practitioners and patients, these shone as a bright light illuminating his path. In the defense of right, the doctor has struck many a powerful blow. Not a few unscrupulous persons in this city can testify to the weight of that



Yours Truly
D. M. Ferry.

strong right arm of his when wielded to defend the right and to uphold a true principle. His charity and power of forgiving were not less than his strength in the defense of right."

Formal expressions of sorrow were adopted by the various societies to which he belonged. "Individually," said one of these memorials, "we deeply feel the loss of an associate, tried and not found wanting, whom we have learned to regard not only with esteem, but with feelings of affection, and whose gentleness, strength, and other elements of high character, will long be held by us in deserved remembrance." Perhaps this brief and inadequate sketch of one of whom so much might be said, can be concluded in no more appropriate way than the reproduction of the following clear and just estimate of Dr. Gay's medical life and personal character, as voiced in a memorial prepared by the Erie County Medical society, and entered on the records of that body:

Dr. Gay was not of the ordinary stamp of medical men. He had far more than the average culture of those aspiring to the honors of the profession, and

far higher ideas of the mission of medicine to mankind than is common with us. The ideal for which he earnestly strove was to achieve all that is possible as to the knowledge of disease and injuries, and then to bring to bear the best resources already known or possible to be known for their abatement or amelioration; this being the ultimate end of the healing art, so far as suffering humanity is concerned.

Our deceased friend could abide a severer test—the only test and adequate estimate and test of the medical man, viz: that of his fellows and associates in the same field, and with whom he came in daily contact in professional work. Weighed in this balance—the only one which commanded his respect, or for which he cared—our departed friend was not found wanting. His exceptional ability as a surgeon was recognized far and near by his co-laborers, who could appreciate his merits. His delicate sense of honor toward his professional associates; his scrupulous regard for the feelings and interests of those who, in the vicissitudes and anxieties of professional life, came in contact with him, in consultation and otherwise, won their perpetual regard and esteem.

We have yet to hear, after an association with him extending over a third of a century, of the first lisp of dissent to this professional universal acclaim in his behalf.

Your committee can but consider this as the only crucial test of the practitioner of medicine or surgery. Our deceased brother grandly stood this test, and upon this rock his fame rests secure. No roots nor seeds of bitterness or of unpleasantness can ever find place in our memories for him. We unfeignedly deplore his loss as a brother beloved and gone before to the reward of the just.

DEXTER M. FERRY.

MICHIGAN is little less than a newer New England. Examine the list of its citizens, its successful men in political, professional or business life, and in a very large proportion of cases it will be found that their ancestry strikes that early and ascetic civilization of which

the foundations were laid upon the inhospitable coasts of his majesty's colony of Massachusetts Bay. The removal from New England to Michigan was not always direct. In very many cases it was intermittent and broken by a sojourn—sometimes of a few years, some-

times of a generation—in the state of New York, before the final settlement between the lakes, and it is safe to assert that Michigan has no class of citizens more useful and successful than those whose westward journey was thus interrupted. The stern Puritanism of New England had its invaluable uses, and had its day. It injected into the moral fibre of the best American strain, a strong and permanent power of self-resistance and self-assertion; a sturdy independence and exact standard of action in affairs. It was, however, essentially narrow and concentrated, a growth of the day of small things and of stern struggles for small results—a reflex of the sterile soil and the daily dangers with which its founders were in combat.

For the larger life and broader effort of the west, the Puritan spirit needed liberalizing, and this the environment of the state of New York effected. The persons who halted in the Empire state lost nothing that was valuable of the New England spirit, and gained just what was needed to set them down face to face with the great difficulties and greater opportunities of the new northwest, fully equipped for instant and successful work.

Dexter Mason Ferry belonged to one of the families which added the influence of New York to the traditions of New England. The name marks the family as originally French, but the removal to America was made from England, and probably after generations of English residence. The first of the family in New England seems to have been Charles Ferry, who swore allegi-

ance at Springfield, Massachusetts, in the year 1678. His son, Charles Ferry, married a descendant of Richard Montague, whose family is justly proud of an undoubted descent, through noble channels, from royal sources. Dexter Mason, maternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch, represented for several terms the ultra-conservative district of Berkshire in the Massachusetts legislature, and was a cousin of the late Governor George N. Briggs of that state.

The paternal grandparents of Dexter M. Ferry removed from Massachusetts to Lowville, Lewis county, New York, where his father, Joseph N. Ferry, was born and reared. The latter married Lucy D. Mason of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, and lived at Lowville, pursuing his trade as a wagon-maker, until his death. It was at that place, on the eight day of August, 1833, that D. M. Ferry was born.

In 1836 his father died, and shortly after the family removed to the beautiful township of Penfield, in the garden of the Genesee, some eight miles from Rochester. There D. M. Ferry passed his boyhood, attended the country schools, and in 1849, at the age of sixteen years, permanently assumed his own independence, engaging to work for a neighboring farmer at the very moderate wages of ten dollars a month. This arrangement he continued during two summers, attending the district schools in winter, and then, having advanced as far in his education as the teachers of his neighborhood could lead him, entered the service of a gen-

tleman who resided near Rochester, his object being to secure the benefit of the higher schools of that city.

In 1852, having taken full advantage of his opportunities, he obtained, through the influence of his Rochester employer, a position in the wholesale and retail book and stationery house of S. D. Elwood & Co. in Detroit, where he was first errand boy, then salesman, and at last bookkeeper.

Mr. Ferry was content to be an employe only until he had gained experience and accumulated capital sufficient to warrant an independent venture. In 1856 he deemed himself justified in making the experiment, and was one of the organizers and junior partner of the firm of M. T. Gardner & Co. seedsmen. The partnership so formed continued only until 1865, when Mr. Gardner's interest in the business was purchased, and it was continued with Mr. Ferry at its head. The style of the firm, after several minor changes, became, in 1867, D. M. Ferry & Co., and has so continued. Mr. Ferry from the day of Mr. Gardner's retirement assumed direction and control of the business, placed it upon a sound financial basis, and is to-day the only person connected with it who had such connection in its earliest days of struggle and doubt.

The firm of D. M. Ferry & Co. was originally composed of D. M. Ferry, H. K. White, C. C. Bowen and A. E. F. White. From that time to this, through the existence of the establishment under the control of a firm and its later experience as a corporation, these gentlemen have been constantly associ-

ated with its management, and side by side with Mr. Ferry have worked for its success. Under the incorporation every one of them has been constantly connected with the company as an executive officer and as director.

In 1879 the business had reached such dimensions that it was thought wise to incorporate it under the laws of the state, and a charter for thirty years was therefore obtained, under the official style of D. M. Ferry & Company, with a paid up capital of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The Detroit Seed company, a young concern, was then absorbed, and its principal owners have since been upon the directory of the company. From the time of the incorporation, as before, Mr. Ferry retained a principal interest, and has been the president and manager of the company.

This is the merest outline of the history of one of the largest and most successful seed establishments in the world, but it gives no hint of the immense labor of mind and hand required to build so splendid a structure from the small beginnings of 1856; no hint of the ceaseless watchfulness, the tireless energy and the consummate business generalship, which has enabled one person in the thirty years from boyhood to maturity, to win and hold a place of unquestioned leadership in a field closely contested by so many able men.

Mr. Ferry's early experience as a worker on a farm, and the familiarity which he has constantly maintained with the details of the business, are among the secrets of his success. Another im-

portant factor, and one which has vitally contributed to the welfare of the corporation in its recent trying emergency, is his judgment in the selection of assistants and associates, his skill in attaching them permanently to his service, and the tact with which he excites in every one an emulous interest in the welfare of the business.

The firm of M. T. Gardner & Company, began business on a very small scale in a Monroe avenue store. Its entire sales for the first year were about six thousand dollars. Its market, too, was confined mainly to the western states. The struggle for recognition and success was a hard one, and one in which Mr. Ferry took a daily part. By way of contrast, it may be said that the sales of D. M. Ferry & Co., in a single year, have exceeded one million, five hundred thousand dollars. Their importations are among the heaviest in Michigan, including dealings amounting to tens of thousands of dollars annually with English, French, Dutch, German and other European concerns. During the past winter the firm supplied more than eighty thousand merchants with complete assortments of seeds for retailing, besides heavy sales to jobbers and dealers in bulk. More than two hundred thousand boxes of different sizes, some of elaborate design, have been used in filling these orders, and these boxes, when empty, represent an outlay of over one hundred thousand dollars. Upon an average, more than three car loads of seeds pass through the doors of their warehouses every day in the year. The company uses almost as

much paper for various purposes as would a first-class daily journal, its issue of publications alone, during the last year, having reached a total of seven hundred and fifty thousand copies.

The great establishment is organized and officered like an army. On the first day of January, 1886, fire broke out in the immense four story brick warehouse expressly erected for the accommodation of D. M. Ferry & Co. The building occupied the easterly half of the large block bounded by Brush, Crogan, Lafayette and Randolph streets, and had five acres of floor space. Within a few hours this splendid building was in ruins, as was every structure in the block save one; the immense stock of seeds and all the appliances for packing and shipping were gone, and at the very outset of the busy season a blow had fallen, which, to the looker-on, seemed certain to cost the corporation a large portion of its year's business, with a corresponding gain to competing firms. The direct money loss by the fire was the most severe ever suffered in Detroit, and of this the Ferry company's share reached the sum of nearly one million dollars.

The recuperation from this stunning blow was something amazing, and is to be credited to the presence of mind and unlimited resources of Mr. Ferry and his corps of trained assistants. The machinery of reorganization was set in motion without the loss of an hour. From every source of supply seeds were gathered and hurried to Detroit. The company had heavy reserve stocks in store in the city, and

a surplus in its Canadian establishment at Windsor, Ontario. These were, however, far from meeting the emergency, either in quantity or variety, and every possible agency was used to gather in the visible supply of stock from all sources. Incidentally a competing seed house in Detroit was bought out, and its stock and business equipment utilized. A large concern in Rochester, New York, was also absorbed.

At the same time, the city of Detroit was searched for suitable premises in which to carry on the business, and within a few days, several large buildings were leased, the various departments of the company were organized and work was going on with an increased force of almost one thousand employés and, in spite of all disadvantages, with almost its normal efficiency. Scarcely one of D. M. Ferry & Company's great army of customers; not one of the greater army of consumers behind them, will know, by any delay, failure or defect of quality, that, on the first of January of this year, the working machinery of the company was almost swept out of existence. This splendid accomplishment of organization and management is worthy to bear comparison with any of the prodigious feats which have made the recuperative powers of American business the wonder of the world. Plans are now preparing for a new six story warehouse, finer and more complete than the old, which will probably be erected on the site of the one destroyed. In the township of Greenfield, near Detroit, D. M. Ferry personally owns and the firm con-

ducts a seed farm nearly a mile square, and, in the outskirts of the city of Detroit, within sight of Woodland avenue, the firm owns a tract of land, which is operated as an experimental garden in making tests of new seeds and new processes of culture. Though the quantity of seeds of their own raising is large, it is trifling when compared with the immense demands of their business, aggregating as it does, about one thousand car loads of stock annually. The great proportion of their stock is raised and cared for them, under contract, by seed farmers in many of the United States and in various sections of Europe, who make a large and certain profit by the operation. These farmers must be men of especial skill, with the command of favorable conditions as to soil and climate. When this conjunction exists, with proper care and attention, seed raising is one of the most profitable branches of agriculture.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Ferry's contribution to the prosperity of his fellows is not confined to his own neighborhood, or to his army of direct employés. The company carries comfort and assured prosperity to many farmers in many places, reaching its influence and scattering its money as widely as does any establishment in the west. In its sales the company reaches almost every township in the United States, covers Canada with equal thoroughness, and has a large foreign connection and correspondence. In all its management, from the beginning until to-day, Mr. Ferry has had a decisive influence, and his energy, tact,

integrity and rare talent for organization and administration have made it what it is.

Mr. Ferry has invested a considerable part of his large fortune in real estate of the best class, and in various financial and manufacturing enterprises in the city. His most prominent real estate investment is the magnificent five-story iron building on Woodward avenue, which he erected in 1879, and which is occupied by the firm of Newcomb, Endicott & Co. This building is considered to be worth \$250,000, and is architecturally a model. He owns a controlling interest in the National Pin company, which he established in 1875, and has been its president from the first. His principal object in founding this company was to introduce and develop a new industry in the west. The result has justified his faith.

Mr. Ferry is a director and vice-president of the First National Bank of Detroit; was one of the organizers and from the outset has been a trustee of the Wayne County Savings bank, and of the Safe Deposit company. He aided in organizing the Standard Life and Accident Insurance company of Detroit, of which he is president. He is also president of the Gale Sulky Harrow Manufacturing company, vice-president of the Michigan Fire and Marine Insurance company, and director of the Detroit Copper Rolling Mill company, the Fort Wayne & Elmwood Railroad company, and of several other corporations.

His money and his personal countenance and aid are freely given to every

project, business, social or charitable, that promises to be of public benefit, and his private charities are large, discriminating and entirely lacking in ostentation. Charles Lamb once said that he knew no higher happiness than to do a good deed by stealth and have it discovered by accident. Mr. Ferry adopts the plan of stealthy giving, and takes no thought of even accidental finding out.

In 1868 Mr. Ferry succeeded Buckminster Wight as trustee of Harper hospital, and is still connected with its management. He is also a trustee of Olivet college. He has manifested much interest in the growing art movement in Detroit, and was one of the original contributors to the building fund, by which has been insured to the city a permanent museum of art.

Mr. Ferry was reared a Baptist, and early united with that church. In later years, however, he became connected with the Congregational church, and is now a trustee of the Second Congregational Church of Detroit. He is very much averse to extreme denomination-ism.

His own tastes, as well as the engrossing demands of a great business, have prevented Mr. Ferry from entering the field of active politics. He is a strong and steadfast Republican, but has rarely been a candidate for an elective office, and has held public place only when it came to him without effort or solicitation on his part. He was thus made a member of the Detroit board of estimates in 1877-8, and declined a renomination. In 1884, upon the resignation of Mr. James McMillan from

the board of park commissioners, Mr. Ferry was appointed to the vacancy by Mayor Stephen B. Grummond. Under ordinary circumstances, this service might be dismissed with a mere mention, but the conditions of Mr. Ferry's incumbency and retirement are so peculiar and so honorable to him, that they demand an explanation in these pages.

The centre of interest in Detroit municipal circles and among the people at large, has been for some time the beautiful Belle Isle park, purchased by the city of Detroit in the year 1879, and which has since been gradually and extensively improved. The fundamental object of this park is, of course, to furnish a resort for health and recreation to the people of the city, men, women and children, rich and poor. It had, however, no sooner been purchased, than the beer drinking and beer selling element of the city demanded that permission should be given and distinct provision made for the sale of beer within its boundaries. This demand was opposed by the best public opinion of the city, and the issue thus made formed the subject of a hot contest, which reached a climax during Mr. Ferry's official service upon the park commission.

The opposition made to the sale of beer in the park had no connection with temperance, total abstinence or prohibition. It had and has a far simpler and more unquestioned justification in the obvious facts that the park being purchased with public money, for public use, it is the right of the people that it shall be so maintained,

as, with but slight police protection, to be a safe and proper resort for the thousands of women and children of Detroit, who, far more than the men, need and enjoy it, and that the sale of beer or other intoxicants within its precincts must inevitably defeat this end.

This proposition, which seems too clear to require argument, called to its support people of all classes—including many who had no scruples against drinking, and who themselves drink; many more who would not vote for any measure looking to a restraint upon the liberty of the citizen to eat and drink what he chooses. It was simply the protest of common sense and common decency against debauching the people's park and destroying its usefulness. The men who, in the much abused name of popular freedom, demanded that such sale be permitted, were largely such as would gladly see the park so debauched, and have it reserved at public cost as a safe ground for their own excesses. The city legislature, in 1884-5, included enough persons in sympathy with the lower element of the community to control its action, and to cripple the park commission by refusing appropriations unless the sale of beer were permitted.

Mr. Ferry from the first vigorously advanced the cause of decency and put forth every effort to prevent the intrusion of beer into the park. In this he, with the assistance of Mr. William A. Moore, one of his colleagues, was successful, but the city council retaliated by throttling and starving the park at every point. In October, 1885, Mr. Ferry's term expired and he was renomi-

nated by Mayor Grummond. His conscientious and praiseworthy action, which earned him the gratitude of the respectable element in the community, had excited the enmity of the small politicians who sat in the council, and of the class which controls their acts, hence his nomination was defeated, on the ninth day of October, 1885.

The Detroit *Free Press*, which though politically opposed to Mr. Ferry, has always been on the right side of the park question and is habitually fair, in its next issue said, editorially :

The rejection of Mr. Ferry by the board of councilmen is not creditable to that body. Although unaccompanied by explanation, the reason is understood. It is because Mr. Ferry acted in accordance with his honest convictions in the matter of permitting the sale of beer on Belle island. The ostracism of an official on such a ground, in a time when official honesty and fidelity to conviction is by no means universal, is a mistake.

The *Free Press* of Sunday, October 11, contained this forcible card, which well illustrates the esteem in which Mr. Ferry's official acts were held by respectable persons of all parties :

To the editor of the Free Press :

As a Democrat, I wish to enter an emphatic protest against the action of the board of councilmen last evening in rejecting the name of D. M. Ferry for park commissioner. You said, in your issue of this morning, that this action is not creditable to the councilmen. Without danger of exposing yourself to the charge of extravagance in the choice of words, you could have gone much further in the way of denunciation. It is humiliating to right-minded citizens, irrespective of politics, to witness such transactions on the part of men supposed to be selected for their fairness, candor and judgment, when evidently they are competing with those who hold the balance of power in the lower house for the championship in the tricks of contemptible demagogues. D. M. Ferry is a man above reproach. He is an intelligent, public-spirited citizen. He is a man whose prudence

and honorable business methods have made for him a fortune out of meagre beginnings, and who has contributed largely to the industrial prosperity of the city. He is one of the men that Detroit has use for, and of whom she or any other city may well be proud. If the gentlemen composing this board suppose they are meeting the wishes of anything like a majority of the citizens of Detroit, or of the Democratic party, in rejecting Mr. Ferry, because he has stood manfully for holding the island park as a place where ladies and children may safely go, and has sought to avoid making it a place which can be held to common decency only by the presence of a large police force, they have mistaken the clamor of the city hall and caucus hangers-on for the voice of the people. *The News*, with its editor posing as a moral reformer, and as a lover of high art, may still diminish its waning influence by catering to such a taste. I am a Democrat, as before said, and, as such, have no sympathy with men who in any way abridge personal liberty ; no man shall be dictated to as to what he should eat or drink by my vote, but the question at issue is of a different nature, and must be settled upon an entirely different basis. I would have Mr. Ferry know that there are Democrats who respect him for his wise and manly course, and that they have no sympathy with the demagogues who, through the forbearance of an inscrutable providence, have crawled their way into positions that ought to be but are not guaranties of integrity and good citizenship.

CIVIS.

The retirement of Mr. Ferry and Mr. W. A. Moore so changed the complexion of the park commissioners that a surrender to the beer propaganda followed, and the city has even made provision for the erection of a handsome building for the sale of the beverage. This action, however, taken clearly in opposition to the will of the majority of the owners of the park, has aroused the utmost indignation, and there is little doubt that the council nominations for the next election will be affected by this consideration. Mr. Ferry has good reason to hope that before many months are past he will see his work bear fruit,

and Bell Isle park emancipated and forever dedicated to its real and only legitimate use, as a safe and innocent pleasure-ground for the people.

During the month of April, 1886, a large mass meeting was held in Detroit to express the sentiments of the people upon this important question. It included persons of every race, religion and political affiliation, and after taking strong ground against the attitude of the city council and the park commission, passed a resolution thanking Messrs. Ferry and Moore for their Spartan service upon that commission.

He married, on the first of October, 1867, Addie E. Miller, of Unadilla, Otsego county, New York. Mr. and Mrs. Ferry have four children.

Mr. Ferry is a man to whom the most envious can scarcely grudge success, so well has he earned it, so well does he use it, so entirely does he lack pride of purse. He is kind, unaffected, approachable, unspoiled. Every comer has a claim upon his courteous attention, and the irascibility so common

among busy men is entirely foreign to his character. His history, like that of thousands of others who have begun life poor, and by industry, energy and economy, risen to places of trust and honor, proves conclusively how false is the view now advanced by so many "agitators" and demagogues, that there is a natural and impassible barrier between labor and capital. It would be difficult for any one to say at just what stage in their progress such men cease to be laborers and become capitalists.

Mr. Ferry's business associates give him unlimited confidence and respect. His employes are devoted to him, and he is their friend—a thoroughly kind, though a very acute and firm employer. In his social circle his genial and unaffected kindness makes him beloved, and in every public relation he is well described in the quotation above—"a man above reproach; an intelligent, public-spirited citizen, one of whom Detroit may well be proud."

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

Patria cara, cariar libertas.

THE family from which was descended Zachariah Chandler, for many years United States senator, from Michigan, and the political leader of that state, was English. The first of the name came to the colony of Massachusetts Bay during the days of the Puritan exodus and settled at Roxbury about

the year 1736. When in 1732 and 1733 "The Great and General Court of Massachusetts" set apart certain lands in the province for apportionment "among the soldiers who had served in King Philip's or the Narragansett war, and their surviving heirs at law," Zachariah Chandler, of Roxbury—claiming, by right of his wife's

father, Thomas Bishop—was one of the eight hundred and forty persons who shared in the distribution. The lands appropriated for the purpose, consisted of seven townships, among which was that then described as Sauhegan-East, in the province of Massachusetts, now the town of Bedford, New Hampshire.

Of the persons benefited by this distribution, nearly all transferred their claims, and Zachariah Chandler was one of the few original patentees who took up land under the grant, and retained the title. His son, Thomas Chandler, took possession of and settled upon the new farm on the Merri-mac, and his descendants, living in Bedford, are believed to be the only representatives of the original owners now holding the portion of the Narragansett lands situated in that town.

The Thomas Chandler, who first settled at Bedford, was the great-grandfather of Zachariah Chandler, the subject of this sketch, and he was one of the few persons of English blood who made actual settlement in the township. The purchasers from the original grantees were very generally representatives of the sturdy Scotch race, which made an early emigration to Ireland, and thence to the American colonies. There were also some Irish families, and, as has been said, a few English, but the genius of the place was essentially Scotch—the Scotch Presbyterian church was the religious center, and Scotch caninness, honesty, independence and frugality were marked characteristics of its people.

Thomas Chandler and his descendants took to themselves wives from the vicinage. Thomas married Hanna, daughter of Colonel John Goff, by whom he had four children—three daughters and a son, Zachariah. The latter married Sarah Patten, the second daughter of Captain Samuel Patten; and his second son, Samuel, born on the twenty-eighth day of May, 1744, married Margaret Orr, the eldest daughter of Colonel John Orr, General Stark's most trusted officer. Zachariah Chandler, the subject of this sketch, was one of the seven children of this marriage. Of these, two died before reaching maturity; one, Annis, married Franklin Moore and became a resident of Detroit; and two, Samuel Chandler, jr., and John Orr Chandler, died in early manhood, victims of a constitutional pulmonary weakness. Both of these men were liberally educated, one having taken the course at Dartmouth and Union colleges, and the other, after receiving his degree from Dartmouth, having followed the theological course at Andover for one year. The father died at Bedford, January 11, 1870, at the great age of ninety-five years, and the mother in 1855, at the age of eighty-one. Zachariah Chandler of Michigan was the only one of Samuel Chandler's sons who escaped the tendency to consumption, and the only one who lived to do his life-work. He stood in marked contrast with his brothers; in his gigantic frame, great muscular strength, and abundant vitality and endurance, he seems to have been given the power

which, justly distributed, would have made them all men of average constitution and average longevity.

These successive infusions of the Scotch-Irish blood, and several generations passed in a community so strongly colored by the influence of the Scotch spirit, made Zachariah Chandler far less an Englishman in race and tradition than in name, but still more than English, Scotch or Irish, was he an American. The title to the lands of Bedford rested upon the military service of his ancestor in the bloody Narragansett war; the French war drew many of the town inhabitants into the ranks, and, when came the Revolution, almost every person capable of bearing arms was in the colonial ranks, while the old men, the women, and the boys, too young to fight, saw to it that Toryism should find no shelter in the place. The only man in Bedford who refused to subscribe the patriotic declaration of its people, was the Rev. John Houston, minister of the church, and he was ousted for his Tory leanings. Such an act meant much in a community of which the church was the paramount interest—the centre of social and intellectual, as well as of religious life.

In the patriotic spirit and the military service of the Bedford people, the members of the Chandler family had a prominent share, as they did in the public affairs of the town and province, the later state and, to a similar degree, in the councils of the nation. The records of Bedford are full of evidence proving that they were always people of mark and consequence. The part

taken in the revolutionary war by the ancestors of Zachariah Chandler was especially distinguished, and the spirit of the homes in which Samuel Chandler and his distinguished son were reared, and of the social atmosphere in which they lived was well calculated to develop unselfish love of country and a high devotion to that country's service. The value of such an environment cannot be exactly estimated, but there is slight danger that it will be overrated. With it even mediocrity may be aroused to heroic service, and without it the greatest natural capacity and the highest natural instincts rust, ineffective, and unused.

Did space permit it would be interesting to give exhaustive examination to the family antecedents of the great man of whom this sketch is written, to relate more particularly the records of others of his name and blood, and to analyze more closely the social conditions which made possible his career, but the mere outline given must suffice, and with treatment almost as brief the story of his own earlier years must be dismissed.

Zachariah Chandler* was born in the ample farm house, built by his father in the year 1800, on the tenth day of December, 1813. His father was a man of comfortable, even liberal means, intelligent, energetic and influential in church and municipal affairs. He was a man of moderate height and spare

* The entry of Mr. Chandler's birth, made in the family Bible, gives his Christian name as Zacharias. In his manhood the archaic spelling was dropped and the more modern form adopted.

figure, as was his father, Zachariah. Margaret Orr, the wife of Samuel Chandler, was a woman of large frame, strong physique and decided character. Her son resembled her in face and figure, and gained from her many of his most conspicuous mental traits. Decided, outspoken, fearless, and endowed with reliable and practical common sense, she exercised a decisive influence over all about her, and those who knew her and knew her son discovered in him many suggestions not only of the mother but of the distinguished John Orr, her father, whose place of leadership in New Hampshire during the Revolutionary days is undisputed.

As a boy, Zachariah Chandler was healthy, strong, quick-tempered and plucky. He was foremost in sports of every kind, an invincible wrestler among those of his own age, and whenever occasion demanded, a dangerous antagonist in more serious encounters. From his pinafore days until about his fifteenth year, he attended the country school held in the small brick building which still stands in Bedford, scarcely changed since the day when he mastered the cardinal trinity of R's within its walls. During these school years he showed good ability, and applied himself sufficiently to maintain a creditable standing, emerging from his primary course with what the scholars of to-day, with all their pretension and elaborate methods, so often fail to give—a thorough grounding in the rudiments of education. During his fifteenth and sixteenth years, he attended the academies at Pembroke and Derry, with his

brother, who was fitting for college, and, later, supplemented his studies by the valuable training which so generally formed a part of the experience of the youth of rural New England in those days, in teaching the school of the Piscataquog district during one winter term. In this service he found it necessary to make a physical conquest of the unruly "big boys" before he could begin his mental training, and there are still living in the "Squog District," men who have a tingling memory of his conscientious thoroughness as teacher militant. While thus engaged, Mr. Chandler became acquainted with a young Dartmouth sophomore, who was winning his way through college by teaching, and had charge of the Bedford school. This was James F. Joy, now of Detroit, and the acquaintance and friendship then formed were decisive in attracting Mr. Chandler to Michigan.

During the later years of his residence in Bedford, young Chandler worked on his father's farm during the summer months, and, for a time, had its entire management. He was recognized as the equal of any "farm hand" in the town, and often engaged in contests of endurance and skill, in which he was usually the victor. Like Abraham Lincoln, he was the best wrestler of his neighborhood, and stood ready to meet all comers in vindication of his position.

In the year 1833, Mr. Chandler turned his back upon the school-house and farm, and entered the employment of Kendricks & Foster, merchants of Nashua, New Hampshire. Remaining with them only until September of the

same year, he joined his brother-in-law, Franklin Moore, and the two removed to Detroit, Michigan, which was ever afterward Mr. Chandler's home, save when he was called away by the duties of office.

It is said that Zachariah had been offered by his father, the choice between receiving the sum of one thousand dollars or a collegiate education, and that the money was chosen. Be this as it may, he was certainly aided by his father at the outset of his business life, and, later, Samuel Chandler bought a store for his use. The sums so advanced were, however, speedily repaid, and the young man received no other or different assistance in his venture.

Upon reaching Detroit, the brothers-in-law formed a copartnership and began business as general merchants, under the name of Moore & Chandler. The beginning was a small one, but it was made upon a safe basis, and from the outset the management of the store was a happy combination of the conservatism which possesses and extends credit, and the considerate boldness which leaves no safe and promising experiment untried. In 1834 came the terrible visitation of Asiatic cholera, which transformed Detroit into a hospital and compelled an almost complete suspension of business. Mr. Chandler was one of the brave men who remained to face the enemy, and many of his waking hours were spent at the bedsides of the sick, and in paying the last offices to the appalling numbers of the dead. His splendid constitution carried him through the exposure and fatigue

of this time in safety, and it is probable that the gratitude he so well earned from the strangers among whom he had cast his lot, had no slight influence in his business future.

During the month of August, 1836, Mr. Moore retired from the business and Mr. Chandler continued it in his own name. His success and advancement were steady and substantial from the beginning. A good buyer, an excellent judge of the needs and tastes of the community in which he lived, skillful in selling, in the judgment of credits; and as a collector, he was at once energetic fearless and prudent—the first to find a new market and to push for its control, yet absolutely free from the speculative greed which so often scatters what business thrift has accumulated.

He won friends by the two-fold influences of strict business integrity and of personal kindness, retaining every friend he made, an unsolicited agent in the making of others. He avoided society, gave himself scarcely any recreation, lived upon three hundred dollars a year and slept in his store. Only to his association with the Presbyterian church did he surrender an hour of time which might forward the business of his life. It required but little time for him to secure an established trade among the residents of Detroit and the surrounding farmers, to whom the city was a market and a trading point. Then, as the interior of the state opened before the wonderful tide of immigration, he added a jobbing department and followed the ever widening market to its frontiers, leaving no honest and

legitimate means of increasing his connection untried.

Mr. Chandler's was the first business establishment in Detroit or in Michigan to reach a total of fifty thousand dollars in its annual sales, and this, an important event in the business of the state, was attained within ten years of his arrival in the city. During the second decade of his business life he gave up his retail trade, and from that day to his retirement his course was one of uninterrupted and yearly enlarged prosperity. It is neither desirable nor possible to minutely relate his business history in these pages. Between 1850 and 1855 he began to surrender a portion of the management of his affairs to others; as his political interests grew he still further relied upon his associates, and in 1857, just before taking his seat in the senate, his name was withdrawn from the firm, though he retained a considerable special interest. From that day his active share in its management ceased. In 1869 his capital was withdrawn and the present firm of Allan, Sheldon & Company assumed full ownership.

Mr. Chandler's less than twenty-five years of active business brought him a large fortune, which were investments increased to great wealth. They made him, also, a thoroughly practical man, gave him capacity for organization and administration of the highest order, and earned him a very large circle of personal acquaintances who, however they might differ with him in opinion, knew him too well to doubt his motives or to distrust his ability. His wonderful cleansing and reorganization of the

department of the interior, were accomplished by the application to the public business of the same simple methods which made his business a success; and, on the other hand, it was his sagacity and success in private affairs which laid the foundations of the influence that made it possible for him to lift his bewildered constituents out of the mire, by main strength, as he did during the inflation insanity of 1878. He often put his influence to heroic tests, but it never failed.

Mr. Chandler came to Michigan with strong feelings upon public questions, but with no thought of making for himself a political future or of taking any greater share in political affairs than his duty as a citizen demanded. His father had been first a Federalist and then a Whig, and he himself gave his adherence to the latter party, though his opinions relating to slavery and to the various devices by which the ravenous slave power was from time to time appeased, were in advance of the Whigs, and he never formed an alliance by which they could be made effective, until the organization of the Republican party.

During the earlier years of his residence in Detroit, his business forbade more than the slightest share in political work. Between the years 1837 and 1848 he was frequently among the officers of Whig meetings, and at the polls he used his powers of persuasion to win voters to the Whig cause, and his power of body to protect them in casting their ballots. This latter was no light duty, as the arguments of the Democratic

missionaries were very apt to be physical.

It may be stated, as a general proposition, that the Michigan Whigs were in a minority from the erection of the state until they gave way to the new Republican party. This is not literally true of every year, and the control of every office, but it expresses the general partisan relations of the state. General Cass was justly respected and held in grateful honor for his services to Michigan, and he exercised his talents for leadership to the utmost, only surrendering his control when the southward drifting of his party had carried him too far from the position of the controlling New England element in his state. The Democratic control of office and reward in Michigan attracted many bright and ambitious young men, not entirely in sympathy with its doctrines, and there is no question that it was more efficiently organized and better officered than was the opposition.

Among Mr. Chandler's earliest practical services to the cause of freedom, was his liberal support of the "Underground Railroad," of which Detroit was one of the most important termini. He gave large sums of money toward its operating expenses, and was active in sustaining the defense of the many actions brought and stubbornly prosecuted against the harborers of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Chandler's early training as an orator and debater was obtained in the Young Men's Society of Detroit, an organization which aided in developing the talents of many men later promi-

ent in public life. Among his associates in this society were Jacob M. Howard, Anson Burlingame, Henry P. Baldwin, James V. Campbell and G. V. N. Lothrop, all of whom attained eminence in public affairs. In 1848 he made his first appearance before a miscellaneous audience, making several campaign speeches in behalf of General Taylor. These speeches are spoken of as being logical, practical and convincing, foreshadowing the strength of later years, though, of course, somewhat rugged and crude. In 1850 he was one of the Wayne county delegation to the state convention of the Whig party.

These were Mr. Chandler's principal services in public affairs up to the year 1851, when he was destined to take a more active and personal part. At the Whig city convention, held in February of that year, to select candidates for the charter election of the following month, he was unanimously nominated for mayor of the city after one informal ballot. His opponent was General John R. Williams, senior officer of the state militia, president of the constitutional convention of 1835, and who had held the office of mayor of the city for six terms, having been, in 1824, the first incumbent of that position. He was universally liked and respected, had the advantage of a large fortune, and was a very difficult man to defeat. A delegation of the Whig convention waited upon Mr. Chandler and asked him if he would run against General Williams. His answer was prompt and characteristic: "I will, and I will beat him, too." He proceeded to carry out his promise by

a thorough organization and a searching personal canvass that resembles in miniature his later work in a broader field. It is a coincidence that some of the strongest arguments made in his favor were based upon his known advocacy of a thorough system of "internal improvements" for the city. As a result of his canvass he was elected by a majority of three hundred and thirty-four, running nearly four hundred ahead of his associates upon the ticket. His administration justified the promises made by his friends, and upon his retirement he was complimented by a laudatory resolution passed by the unanimous vote of the common council. This was Mr. Chandler's first office and the beginning of his long and successful connection with practical politics.

On the first day of July, 1852, the Whig convention of the state of Michigan met at Marshall, and before its organization it became apparent that Mr. Chandler was the choice of a majority of the delegates for the gubernatorial nomination. An informal ballot gave him a strength of 76 votes against 13 for all other candidates, and upon the first formal ballot he received 95 of the 99 votes cast. Approached upon the subject, before the convention, he had expressed a preference for a place in the party ranks, and had encouraged the movement in his favor only by saying that should he be the choice of the convention he would not refuse the place.

Indeed, the position at the head of the Whig state ticket was not an inviting one. Since the erection of the state of Michigan there had been but one instance in which the dreary monotony of Democratic success had been broken by the election of a Whig governor—that in which William Woodbridge was elected in revenge for the financial disasters of the later thirties. The Democratic party had a clear majority over any possible combination that could be brought against it, and, from the close of the term for which Woodbridge was chosen, had elected six governors in succession, with an average majority of five thousand four hundred and sixteen.

In 1852, when Mr. Chandler was nominated, the situation was especially difficult. The national convention of the Whig party had nominated Scott F. Graham and had "baited with whales to catch sprats," by condemning the anti-slavery sentiment and expression within the party. The politicians of the day were so accustomed to surrendering to the south, that such suicide as that involved in this resolution did not seem too high a price to pay for the patronizing approval of that section. Of course the Whigs of New England, and still more the Whigs of the west, were alienated by this utterance—for they had, really, as a party, no *raison d'être* save such as lay in opposition to the growing encroachments of slavery.

[To be Continued.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

OF AMERICAN bibliographers, Henry Stevens, who died in London, on the last day of February, was the most eminent. He went to that city from Vermont, his native State, in 1845, and there he remained until his death. He was soon employed to furnish the British Museum library with North American and South American books of all kinds. As a consequence, we find there the largest and most valuable depository in existence of "Americana"—that is, of American works of history.

THE American Historical society was in session three days and evenings during the last week in April, in Washington. George Bancroft, historian, was chosen president, and delivered an eloquent address of welcome to the delegates. Many of America's most distinguished writers, professors, and other learned gentlemen, were present. The late Von Ranke, the German historian, was an honorary member of the Association. Interesting papers were read as follows: On Columbus; The Landfall of John Cabot in 1497; Graphic Methods of Illustrating History; The Neglect and Destruction of Historical Material in this Country; New Views of Early Virginia History; The Part Taken by Virginia Under the Leadership of Patrick Henry in Establishing Religious Liberty; A New England Aristocracy in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century; The Development of Municipal Government in Massachusetts; The March of the Spaniards Across Illinois; The Settlement of the Lower St. Lawrence; The Early Protective Movement and the Tariff of 1828; The Attack on Washington City in 1814; Confederate and Federal Strategy in the Pope Campaign Before Washington in 1862; The Value of Topographical Knowledge in Battles and Campaigns; The Origin of

States Rights; The Reconstruction of History; The Foundation of the Dutch and West India Companies; and Franklin and France.

WHO has not heard of Andrew Carnegie, the rich iron manufacturer of Pittsburgh? He was born about fifty years ago in Dunfermline, Scotland. He came to this country with his parents, when a boy, and secured employment as a messenger at the weekly pay of two dollars and fifty cents. He now controls four of the largest iron and steel works in the country! He is, in many respects, a remarkable man. He has written two or three books—the latest is entitled, 'Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty years March of the Republic.' This work is, perhaps, the most eulogistic of the United States of any ever written. The great and underlying principles of this government, he is anxious that the people of Great Britain shall fully understand; and, to that end, he has formed a syndicate, which has purchased a number of daily and weekly newspapers in that country, all of which are in a flourishing condition. In these as well as in his book, he seeks "to show to the plain, common folk, the democracy of Britain, the progress, prosperity and happiness of their child, the Republic, that they may still more deeply love it, and learn that the government of the people through the Republican form, and not the government of a class through the monarchical form is the great foundation of individual growth and of national greatness."

THE lexicographers of the United States are hard at work. A complete revision of 'Webster's Dictionary' is now in progress. President Noah Porter is the editor-in-chief and has entire charge of the work, aided by a large corps

of eminent literary authorities, mainly Yale professors, though some of them are from other colleges. In addition there are a number of assistants, a majority of whom are recent Yale graduates. Altogether nearly one hundred persons are employed in one way or another in this enterprise. The cost of the revision is met by the publishers, Messrs. Merriam & Co., Springfield, Mass. The general plan of the last revision will be followed. It is important to know that a definition to the word "dude" will be given, while the same honor will be given to that word so much used just now—"boycott." . . . Professor W. D. Whitney is the editor-in-chief of a new dictionary which is being prepared for the Century Publishing Company of New York. Sixty associate editors and assistants are employed on this work and it will cost a quarter of a million dollars. Professor Whitney will make some radical changes in the spelling of words, and in many instances will adhere to the phonetic system. The work will not be completed until September, 1889.

It is always well enough to have a fair amount of pride of opinion, in writing history; at the same time, it must be confessed, that there is, frequently, too much acrimony in historical criticism. "I care nothing," says M. Margry, "for attacks from which search after truth is excluded and which are little else than passion." It is not every one, however, who has reached this high plane. The test should be, in all controversies concerning historical matters—does what is said tend only to the interest and dissemination of historical truth?

THE publication of "Catholic Researches," by Rev. A. A. Lambing, in Pittsburgh, is, from an historical standpoint, certainly to be commended. Although specially devoted to the collection and preservation of Catholic historical documents and Catholic incidents in the Pittsburgh region, it is valuable to all interested in the early history of western Pennsylvania. Mr. Lambing is laborious, painstaking in his researches, and reliable in his state-

ments. He insists in the April number, that Chiningue, visited by Céloron de Bienville, in 1749, at the command of Count de la Galissonière, then governor of Canada, was the Indian village known to the English as Logstown, about eighteen miles down the Ohio, from what is now the city of Pittsburgh. In this he is correct; and he would have been equally correct had he said that the village was then situated on the right (north) side of that river.

WHETHER the compilation of Champlain's 'Voyages' (*Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France*) of 1632, was the work of Champlain's own hand, has, by some, been doubted. And this doubt has been made to include the map which accompanies the work—the first map to delineate any portion of the Northwest. It is true that, upon the title-page of the publication of 1632, it is not expressly stated that the "Voyages" were compiled under Champlain's personal supervision; but, upon the map is the inscription, "*par le Sieur de Champlain.*" It would be improbable that the publisher should state expressly that the map was the work of Champlain had not such been the fact. And again, from the circumstance that the compilation of 1632 was simply the bringing together of his 'Voyages' which had been separately published at different periods before that date, any reference in the text to the map which had not previously made its appearance, would have been, of course, an absurdity; it is, however, referred to on the title-page, the only place where the publisher could properly make mention of it, as the book has no preface. Admitting the index to the map to have been made by another (which is by no means certain)—this does not militate against the map itself being, as it professes to be, "by the Sieur de Champlain." Remote parts are noted upon it; lakes, rivers and mines indicated; Indian tribes located; to which there are no references whatever in the 'Voyages,' but all of which are evidently given upon information derived from the savages, of whom inquiry had been made by Champlain himself; for no other

person, at that early day, had the facilities for acquiring so much knowledge of the wilderness beyond the limits of French exploration.

PROFESSOR F. W. PUTNAM, curator of the Peabody Museum, at Cambridge, Mass., lectured not long ago upon the "Archæology of the Ohio Valley," before the Providence Art club. In calling the attention of his audience to the subject, he said he meant by the "Ohio Valley," the entire region tributary to the Ohio River. In that valley had been discovered the successive occupations of man, as the early man was known by a few stone implements, and discoveries had settled the fact of man's living there at the same time in early ages as on the Atlantic slope. The migrations of the different people were well established. Finally there came upon the scene a class like the New England Indians, and coming from the northwest, originally from Asia, was a people who followed the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic coast. The New England race came in contact in the Ohio Valley with a short-headed race coming from the south, and there are many fortifications and other evidences in the region of a long series of contests. The professor first called attention to the diagram of a cemetery of seven acres in extent, discovered on a point of land in the Little Miami river, in Ohio, near which was an ancient village site, the latter being marked by earth circles about forty feet in diameter, showing where the abodes of the people stood. In the examination of the cemetery, fifteen hundred skeletons had been taken up. With these bodies had been buried different implements and vessels, generally at the head. The vessel bore the imprint of figures made by the cords holding the clay in shape as the vessels were made. Under the bodies were deep holes, generally found to contain a mass of broken articles, bones and things evidently of the household. At the bottom of the pit would be a layer of stones, then burned corn, husks, ashes and then fresh-water clam shells, arrow heads, bones of birds and animals, and the pit filled in with clay. The fortifications

were of great interest. The largest is known as Fort Ancient, and is situated near a station of that name on the Pennsylvania railroad. The works extend four or five miles, and in form are something like a dumb bell, the lines being very irregular, giving those within a clear view of any part of the outside. The walls were from eight to twenty feet high and from twenty to forty feet thick, showing the immense amount of labor expended. Fort Hill, on the north branch of Brush Creek, a branch of the Scioto, inclosed forty acres with a stone wall twelve feet high, the wall being so old it is almost impossible to tell where the wall leaves off and the hill begins. On the top was an oak stump nine feet by seven feet in diameter, more than twenty-two feet in circumference, the largest oak he knew in America. The tree had grown and gone to decay since the wall of the fort was built. There was no place in the country where one was so impressed with the antiquity of his surroundings as in the Ohio valley. Professor Putnam then gave many interesting details of mounds investigated at Newton, Marietta and Chillicothe, Ohio. The Serpent Mound of Adams county, Ohio, is supposed to have something to do with the religious rites of the people of the time, the serpent in various ways being prominent in these archæological discoveries from Ohio to Peru, South America. In the Cumberland valley are the traces of the stone-grave people, and the lecturer gave interesting accounts of mounds in which these stone-graves were found near Nashville and New Lebanon, Tennessee. The adults were buried in these huge mounds, and the children's graves were found beneath what must have been the family hearthstones. In these children's graves were found specimens of pottery of great interest, and photographs of the same were shown. A group of mines on the Little Miami, fifteen miles from Cincinnati, had proved rich in discovery, showing evidence of religious rites in the sacrifice of burnt offerings. The Turner group of mounds in Anderson township, Hamilton county, Ohio, revealed the burning of wood and soft coal. There were evidences

in plenty of the handiwork of these ancient people in the use of copper, gold, silver meteoric iron and mica in making ornaments, such as bracelets, earrings, etc., a pattern of earring requiring a slit in the ear that the ornament could be buttoned on as a sleeve button is now.

AT LENGTH we are to have in Washington a Congressional library building. The plan adopted is that of Mr. Smithmeyer, and the estimated cost is \$2,323,600, inclusive of site. The bill calls for the purchase, or taking by condemnation through the courts, of a site just beyond the east front of the Capitol. Not more than \$550,000 is to be paid for the land. The building is to be 450 by 300 feet. It is intended to ask at the next session for \$1,000,000 to continue the work, and \$823,000, in the session after to complete it. The new building will be detached, thoroughly incombustible, well ventilated, well lighted, and convenient of access to members of both houses of Congress. With an expenditure of \$2,323,000 the structure will be so far completed that it will accommodate 1,000,000 volumes, besides affording room for the suitable arrangement and display of the rich art and cartographic treasures of the library. It is expected the building will be ready for occupancy in three years from the time work is commenced.

JOHN DODGE was a native of Connecticut, and, at the commencement of the Revolution was an Indian trader at Sandusky. Being in sympathy with the patriots, he was taken prisoner, carried to Detroit, and after a long and cruel captivity, was sent in irons to Quebec, whence he escaped in the fall of 1778 to Boston. A son of John Dodge was Israel Dodge, born in Connecticut in 1760. He joined the Revolutionary army. His father had been made Indian agent for Virginia, and as such had migrated to the Illinois towns after their conquest by Colonel George Rogers Clark and his own flight from Quebec. Israel was married to a Miss Hunter, the twain following the husband's father to the west. In the fall of

1782, Mrs. Israel Dodge, while journeying from Kaskaskia to her parents, then living in Kentucky, stopped over at Vincennes. Here her son Henry was born—the first white child of American parents known to history as having been born in what is now the state of Indiana. The boy (Henry Dodge) grew to manhood, and was, subsequently, Governor of Wisconsin Territory, and represented the state in the United States senate, from 1848 to 1857.

"THE Rev. Joseph Cook," says the Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, for October, 1885, "is one of those men who astonishes his audiences with the wild vastness of his information. In a lecture he delivered at Troy, he told how, when Napoleon had invested Warsaw with his armies and reduced it to extremities, he telegraphed to Paris a despatch couched in the memorable words—'*Order reigns at Warsaw*!'"

A VALUABLE contribution to American genealogy, is an edition of 520 copies of the 'Records of the Descendants of Nathaniel Ely, the Emigrant, who settled first in Newtown, now Cambridge, Massachusetts; was one of the first settlers of Hartford, also Norwalk, Connecticut, and a resident of Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1659 until his death in 1675.' It is the work of Hon. Heman Ely of Elyria, Ohio.

AT THE annual meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical society, held on the sixth of January, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder said that that was the nineteenth time the Society had called him to its presidency. "Most gratefully," said he, "do I appreciate the honor so repeatedly conferred, and only regret that I have not more strength and ability to discharge acceptably the duties incumbent upon me. But whether in the chair or out, I shall most cheerfully bring into service such as I may possess, while my life continues. Men die! One generation passeth away and another cometh, but institutions live, and those who survive must carry on their work. Thus it hath been, thus it shall be."

IN THE last number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, we gave a letter written by Gen. Hull, immediately after his arrival at Detroit. The two following were written by him on his march, before reaching that place:

I.

GENERAL WILLIAM HULL TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

CAMP NECESSITY, NEAR BLANCHARD'S CREEK,

June 24, 1812.

SIR: The army is now preparing to march and will arrive at the foot of the rapids by the first day of July, unless prevented by a continuation of the rains. There is now established on this road five strong block-houses garrisoned principally by the invalids of the army. I have stated to you in my former letters the importance of this communication. Considering the fatigue to which the army has been subjected, both officers and soldiers are in good health and continue to be animated by a laudable spirit.

General Brock, the governor of Upper Canada, arrived at Malden on the 14th inst., with one hundred British troops. On the seventeenth he sailed for Fort Erie in the *Queen Charlotte*, and it is said she will return with a reinforcement immediately. Large numbers of Indians from all the northern nations are collecting at Amherstburg and at Brownstown, opposite the British fort, and likewise on the River Huron of Lake Erie, three miles below Brownstown. They now have a constant communication with the British garrison, and are supplied with provisions and other things necessary for them.

In the event of hostilities, I feel a confidence that the force under my command will be superior to any which can be opposed to it. It now exceeds two thousand rank and file. I cannot by this conveyance send an accurate return. It is unnecessary for me to detail the difficulties I have to encounter in marching the army through this wilderness; it is only for me to surmount them.

I am, very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
W. HULL.

II.

GENERAL HULL TO MAJOR J. JESSUP.

Camp at Fort Findlay, on Blanchard's Fork, thirty-five miles from the foot of the rapids of the Miami [Maumee,]

June 26, 1812.

Sir: I have with me a considerable number of friendly chiefs and head men of the different nations. The Indians, as we progress, appear to be friendly. I hope in three days to be at the foot of the rapids. The army is in high spirits and animated by a laudable zeal; there exists a perfect harmony. McArthur's block-house stands on the Scioto, and the river is navigable for boats to that station. Thence to Fort Findlay, the distance is about twenty-seven miles; and from this place there is a boat navigation, by the Miami [Maumee] to Detroit. It is my intention to build another block-house on the Carrying river, about half the distance between this and the foot of the rapids.

The friendly Indians are now making canoes and will carry a part of the baggage of the army from this to the foot of the rapids. Inclosed is the most correct return that can be made of the army under present circumstances.

I am, respectfully, sir, your most ob't serv't,
W. HULL.

[RETURN.]

Return of the brigade composed of the Ohio volunteers and militia and United States infantry, commanded by Brigadier-General Hull of the United States army "

Fourth Regiment of Infantry,	483 men
Col. Findlay's Reg't of Volunteers and Militia,	509 "
Col. Cass' Reg't of Volunteers and Militia,	483 "
Col. McArthur's Reg't of Volunteers and Militia,	552 "
Capt. Sloan's Troop of Cincinnati Light Dragoons,	48 "
	Total 2,075

FORT FINDLAY, June 27th, 1812.

AT a meeting of the executive committee of the Virginia Historical society, held at Richmond, Virginia, on the twenty-third of January, a long list of donations of books, relics and manuscripts was reported. At another meeting of the twenty-seventh of February, gifts of books, relics and manuscripts were also reported. Mr. Brock, the corresponding secretary, said that the next volume of the society's collections, relating to the Huguenot emigration to America, had been committed to the printer.

THE first newspaper ever issued in what is now the State of California was called *The Californian*. It was printed with what was nearly the worn-out material of the old Spanish war presses, principally long primer type, with an old Ramage press, which had been used by the governors for the purpose of printing their edicts and public papers. Volume I, No. 1, appeared in the fall of 1846. It was the work of Messrs. Colton and R. Semple. The publishers got along the best way they could by using double v's for w's. The paper did not flourish very well. In May, 1847, it was removed from Monterey, where it started, to San Francisco; and Vol. II., No. 1, came out on the first day of June of that year. Its second volume continued from that time to April, 1848, during which period it changed hands several times, and had a number of different editors. In the month last men-

tioned it was suspended on account of the desertion of the printers for the mines, but was commenced again in the latter part of June. At this time, its third volume was begun. It appeared, however, very irregular, sometimes only once a month until August, when it recommenced its weekly issues under the auspices of H. L. Sheldon, editor. Meanwhile, another paper had been started—*The Star*, and the two were united temporarily under the name of *The Star and Californian*. It continued to be published until the close of the year, when it was discontinued. Thus was ended the brief career of the first California newspaper.

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky, is older by some months, evidently, than historians have hitherto stated. It was in May, 1780, that Virginia passed "an act for establishing the town of Louisville at the falls of the Ohio;" but the town had received its name in the latter part of the summer of 1779. Now, as "sundry inhabitants of the county of Kentucky" had "at great expense and hazard," before the passage of the before-mentioned act, "settled themselves upon certain lands at the falls of Ohio, said to be the property of John Connolly," and had "laid off a considerable part thereof into

half-acre lots for a town; and, having settled thereon" had "preferred petitions" to the "general assembly to establish the said town"—it must be presumed that all this had taken place—all this had been performed when the town was named; so that the beginning of "Louisville" was not later than the early part of the fall of 1779, instead of in the spring of 1780, as generally stated.

GAME in great abundance was seen in the country round about where Defiance, Ohio, now stands, when first visited by civilized man; and some of it was of a very different character from what later appeared. The entrance to the Maumee, says an account written in 1718, "from Lake Erie is very wide, and its banks on both sides, for the distance of ten [French] leagues up, are nothing but continual swamps, abounding at all times, especially in the fall and spring, with game without end—swans, geese, ducks, cranes, which drive sleep away by the noise of their cries. This river is sixty [French] leagues in length, very embarrassing in summer in consequence of the lowness of the water. Thirty [French] leagues up the river is a place called La Glaise [now Defiance and its vicinity] where buffaloes are always to be found—they eat the clay and wallow in it."

CORRESPONDENCE.

ILLINOIS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

In pursuance of the enabling act a convention was called to draft the first constitution of the state of Illinois, which assembled at Kaskaskia, in July, 1818, and completed its labors by signing the constitution on the twenty-sixth of August following. The Davidson and Stuve 'History of Illinois,' page 297, gives the names of the delegates as follows, and the counties which they represented, in the order of their organization :

St. Clair county—Jesse B. Thomas, John Messinger, James Seman, jr.

Randolph—George Fisher, Elias Kent Kane.

Madison—Benjamin Stephenson, Joseph Borough Abraham Pickett.

Gallatin—Michael Jones, Leonard White, Adolphus Frederick Hubbard.

Johnson—Hezekiah West, Wm. McFatridge.

Edwards—Seth Gard, Levi Compton.

White—Willis Hargrave, Wm. McHenry.

Monroe—Caldwell Carns, Enoch Monroe.

Pope—Samuel O'Melveny, Hamlet Ferguson.

Jackson—Conrad Will, James Hall, jr.

Crawford—Joseph Kitchell, Edward N. Cullom.

Bond—Thomas Kilpatrick, Samuel G. Morse.

Union—William Echols, John Whitaker.

Washington—Andrew Bankson. (His colleague died during the session of the convention.)

Franklin—Isham Harrison, Thomas Roberts.

Jesse B. Thomas was chosen president, and William C. Greenup secretary of the convention.

S.

MARIETTA, OHIO, May 12, 1886.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

The following letter may be of interest to your readers. General William Hull was one of the signers of the officers' petition to congress, dated June 16, 1783, which was the incipient step in that

important movement which resulted in the permanent settlement of the southwest under the auspices of the Ohio company—in connection with which the ordinance of July 13, 1787, was enacted. He was an active promoter of the Ohio company. It is due to the truth of history that posterity should have the other side—even when nearly a century of reproach has been fixed upon the character of a public servant. Perhaps Putnam's open letter to General Hampton could be brought to light. James Freeman Clarke, in the April number, 1885, of your magazine, has offered a defense of General Hull that ought to receive the attention of all candid enquirers for the truth.

Respectfully,

W. P. CUTLER.

From General Hull to General Rufus Putnam, Marietta, Ohio.

BOSTON, February 8, 1813.

SIR : I am accused by the government of treason against the United States, and cowardice during the time I commanded the northwestern army.

For these high crimes I am to be tried by a court-martial, of which Brigadier-general Wade Hampton is president, which will convene at Philadelphia on the twenty-fifth inst.

I will thank you to address an open letter to the president of the court, and inclose the same to me at Philadelphia, stating on honor what you know respecting my military conduct during the Revolutionary war, the battles I was engaged in, and my general character with regard to bravery and courage.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient,

W. HULL.

General Rufus Putnam, Marietta, Ohio.

From General Rufus Putnam to General W. Hull.

MARIETTA, March 2, 1813.

SIR : Your letter of the eighth ultimo was received by the last Thursday's mail, and, agreeable to your request, I now enclose an address to General Hampton, containing what I can recollect of your military character during the Revolutionary war. There are doubtless many other circumstances than those I have mentioned, which, had there been an opportunity for you to refresh my memory with, might have been proper to have been introduced ; however, I presume General Brooks will be able to supply wherein I come short, respecting the actions of the nineteenth of September and seventh of October, 1777.

But, my friend, what signifies your former good character as an officer, if clear proof is made of your cowardice in your late conduct? For myself, I do not in the least suspect you either of cowardice or treason, but I mention it to put you on your guard, because, from what I have heard, witnesses are summoned to appear against you whose prejudices are wrought up to the highest pitch, and who will testify at least as much as they know, if not more; who would wish others to believe as facts what they through prejudice and ignorance of unexplained circumstances have made up an opinion are true. Persons under such circumstances are extremely apt to stretch the truth in order to support the opinion they have made up. They wish others to judge as they believe, and are therefore under great temptation to wrong the truth. Besides, the character of mankind is very much changed within thirty years; at that day men *generally* in giving testimony felt themselves bound to tell the truth, as they should answer it at the judgment bar of God; but, alas, since the French revolution, since the French convention decreed that death is an eternal sleep, since Tom Paine's 'Age of Reason' has spread through the country, and since the end sanctifies the means, alas, how many open professed deists and infidels have appeared, and how many more are secretly practicing on these principles God only knows.

You may be surprised at such kind of language, but I must inform you, as a serious truth, that there are several in this town who for several years have been traveling through the country and propagating the doctrine that death is an eternal sleep and that there is no hell but the grave. What reliance can be placed on the oaths of such men? I answer none.

I do not say that any such characters will appear against you as witnesses, but one thing is certain, that some of them have devoted your character to destruction as guilty of cowardice or treason, therefore I recommend the greatest scrutiny be attended to in the examination of witnesses, that if possible the truth may be drawn from them.

I thank you for your letter left for me at Mr. McFarland's when you passed; should have been very happy to have received a personal visit from you.

Wishing you a fair trial by the court-martial, and the approbation of your Judge hereafter,

I am with due respect,
Sir, &c.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

Mr. Silas Farmer feels aggrieved that certain dates and matter from his 'History of Detroit' were used without credit, in a paper from my pen, published in the April number of your magazine entitled "The Bench and Bar of Detroit." I would not knowingly be guilty of a discourtesy, and cheerfully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Farmer. The credit did not seem to me strictly called for, as, aside from names and dates, the matter taken from his book was derived from earlier sources, to which I referred, and quoted by him. His industrious research, however, deserves recognition.

WALTER BUELL.

Detroit, May 25.



Anson Stager

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No. 3

GENERAL ANSON STAGER.

NO ADEQUATE memorial of Anson Stager has yet been written, and none can be until many of the useful enterprises he set on foot have completed their full measure of good in the world; until the science he did so much to develop and promote shall have grown to its limits of power; and until his personal influence and example have ceased their fruitage in the lives of those who were about him when he was yet an actor in the busy places of the world. Yet there is much concerning him that can with profit be set down here, as an illustration of what can be done if a man with a clear brain and willing hands but sets himself seriously to the real labors and responsibilities of life.

General Stager found his origin in a strong and hardy native stock, fitted for the furnishing of such elements as are needed to command success and produce results in the growing country in which his lot was cast, when the lines of

life and grooves of labor were not so clearly set as they are at present. His grandfather, the representative of a good old Holland family, came to this country near the beginning of the present century, and entering into the spirit of his adopted land, served as a soldier on the American side, in the war of 1812. His father, was a manufacturer of edge-tools in Rochester, New York, where he continued in that business until his death, in 1843. The son Anson, who was born in Ontario county, New York, on April 20, 1825, was a stirring and robust lad, and after receiving a fair educational start, set out at the age of sixteen to be of some practical use in the world. He had filled in a part of his time for a year past as carrier boy on the Rochester *Advertiser*, and on January 1, 1841, entered that office for the purpose of learning the printer's trade. He ended his apprenticeship in 1846, having for a portion of that time been

employed on the *Daily American*. His departure from the business he had taken so long to learn, and his adoption of the one in which he won such fame and was of such grand benefit to his country, so well illustrate the grasp of his mind and the method of his thought, that I cannot refrain from relating the story in detail. The New York papers had reached Rochester, and hasty clippings had been made from them, to appear a few hours later in the local sheet as the latest news from the great outside world. One of these was given young Stager to place in type, but his eye had no sooner fallen upon it, than it took a strong hold upon his attention, and made his hands that usually were so prompt, go with such slowness that the foreman again and again called to him to make haste. He replied that the clippings were of no immediate importance; words ensued, and the result was that the young typo put on his coat and hat, and left the office for good. The little scrap of paper that had fallen into his hands was a brief description of the electric telegraph which was then becoming known to the world. What he had read had taken such hold on his mind and so dominated his thought, that when he left the office of the *Daily American*, he went straight to that of the newly-established telegraph and made arrangements to learn the trade of operator. He worked under Henry O'Reilley, and in a short time thereafter had so mastered the business that on the opening of the first line between Philadelphia and Harrisburgh, he was

given charge of the office at Lancaster, in the fall of 1846.

From that time forward his course was held steadily onward and upward. To give a full history of his connection with the great science and commercial force during the first thirty years of its development and growth, would be to relate that of the electric telegraph itself. He touched it at almost every point, he gave it his whole time and best thought, he adapted it to the varying requirements of the conditions about it, he gave it his most loyal belief, and by his earnestness made others believe in it. Only an outline of his services therein must suffice. His skill, and the conduct of his office at Lancaster, were of such high character that he was soon promoted to Pittsburgh, and his success there was such that he was soon moved still higher up, and found himself at the office in Cincinnati. While there, the New York & Mississippi Valley company's lines, connecting Buffalo, New York, with Louisville, Kentucky, were projected, and Mr. Stager was made the first general superintendent thereof, which prominent position he had attained within six years after his entrance on the telegraph business. In July of 1852, through the absorption of the New York State Printing Telegraph company's lines by the Mississippi Valley Printing Telegraph company, his supervision was extended over New York state. While in this position he was one of the active spirits in the movement which resulted in the consolidation of a number of small and

struggling lines into the great organization, which, under the name of the Western Union Telegraph company, has become famous the world over. Before that arrangement, by which ruin was averted from many of the smaller companies and a grand success and triumph for the telegraph achieved, there had been some days of great darkness. As a picture of those times, I quote the following from Mr. James D. Reid's able and elaborate book entitled 'The Telegraph in America:'

Among other incidents which prefaced the morning, which after a time came flushed with the rosy light of a brighter day, was one significant enough to remember. One stormy night J. H. Wade and Anson Stager met by accident at an eating counter in Shelby, Ohio. Neither of them was in the condition of ordering a square meal. Hunger drew them together and made them communicative. Wade acknowledged over his pork and beans that he was making nothing, and told Stager to stop whistling and confess. Stager, thus appealed to, rested a moment from his corn-beef hash and acknowledged that the balances were on the wrong side. This led to a comparison of notes, and to a pretty clear evidence that the business was enough for one but starvation for two. Duplicate and triplicate rents and double force were eating up the entire income. It became a question with Wade whether to join the O'Reilly or the printing lines. It resulted in Wade's going to Rochester, a union of interests, an issue of \$100,000 of bonds at seventy for a fresh effort, a general closing up of all duplicate expenses—and success.

On the creation of the Western Union, and the placing of its general management in the hands of Mr. Wade, Mr. Stager was made general superintendent, and of his capacity and labors in that position, the history above quoted says:

Mr. Wade found a valuable coadjutor in Anson Stager, whom the company selected in 1851 as its general superintendent, and who prior to that period

had been the able and skilful manager of the operating department of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & Louisville Telegraph company, at Cincinnati, Ohio. A happier choice could not have been made. In the work now before him, in the rearrangement of the lines, in the strengthening of the outside structure, and especially in bringing the great railroad interests into intelligent sympathy with the operations of the company, making them perceive how deeply their own interests were connected with the use of telegraph, Mr. Stager was Mr. Wade's right-hand man. Acting with Mr. Sibley, who now accepted the presidency of the company, the sagacity, push, wisdom, practical knowledge and discretion of these men, had much to do with the overwhelming influence which the Western Union Telegraph company so soon after exerted in telegraphic affairs.

It was indeed a life of labor and responsibility upon which Mr. Stager had entered, and he found himself equal to it, and prepared to faithfully fulfill any trust laid upon him. "The wonderful growth of the Western Union," says one, "from its insignificant beginning with a single wire from Buffalo to Louisville to its full and perfect stature, was a time of untiring labor to Anson Stager. As general superintendent of the Western Union he located at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1856, and applied himself with zeal to the restoration of the impaired lines, and to the negotiation of contract rights with various railroad companies, whereby their interests were greatly subserved, and his own company enabled to overcome opposition, and become indissolubly connected with the commercial and other interests of the nation."

The importance to the telegraph, as well as the railroad, of the arrangement for mutual benefit that was then made is hardly understood by the public, and may be referred to here. The ad-

vantages to be secured in the management of the road were so long ago known that they need not be enumerated, and suffice it to say that there is not a railroad in the country, that would attempt to operate for a day without the telegraph line that is strung beside it. The value to the telegraph company was the securing of protected routes for its through lines, an exclusive right to operate along the railroad's right of way, and the diminishing of office expenses by the employment of station agents everywhere, instead of maintaining distinct offices as would otherwise have been necessary. Superintendent Stager took hold of this problem and aided very materially in working it out, giving to it all his wonderful energy and skill. He had become familiar with most of the railroad men of the country, and being very popular with them could conduct negotiations in the favor of his company that could not have been possible with a stranger. He gave his time to meetings with railroad officials, to whom he explained the use of the telegraph in the running of trains, and gradually contract after contract was made, and the Western Union was set on foundations from which it has never been shaken. In this and in the other responsible labors of his position, Mr. Stager worked steadily, until time brought him into a grand field of patriotic usefulness on the breaking out of the war.

On April 12, 1861, when the rebel guns opened fire on Fort Sumter, William Dennison, governor of Ohio, among his first movements in the bringing of

Ohio loyally up to the line of her duty, telegraphed Mr. Stager at his Cleveland home, asking him to go immediately to Columbus. The call was promptly answered, when the governor asked him to take charge of all the telegraph lines in southern Ohio, and to assist Captain George B. McClellan, who was to command the military department to which Ohio belonged. The governor also asked him to prepare a telegraphic cipher by which the chief executives of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois could safely communicate with each other. He promptly complied with this request, and much of the early correspondence by which these great states arranged for a mutual defense of the Union was conducted therein. At a later date he prepared another cipher alphabet, used by Allen Pinkerton in Kentucky, and by Generals McClellan, Anderson and Fremont in their campaigns in West Virginia, Kentucky and the west.

On May 27, 1861, McClellan appointed Mr. Stager superintendent for military purposes of all telegraphic lines within the department of the Ohio. He went to work with his accustomed zeal, and made all possible arrangements by which the lines of the states bordering on the Ohio river, could be made an effective and reliable weapon in the hands of the north. Between the battle of Philippi and July 10, he was actively engaged in concentrating supplies, and in the organization of parties of men who were to be set at the novel task of following an army with a telegraph line, building it as they moved; and when McClellan, in July, advanced

from Clarksburgh, the first field telegraph ever used by an army was carried forward with him. Mr. Stager worked in this position with such ability, and produced such practical results, that his reputation soon reached the ears of the high officials at Washington, and on October 16 he received a dispatch from Thomas A. Scott, assistant secretary of war, asking him to go to Washington, where his views were needed on important telegraphic matters. On reaching there, he was asked to prepare a plan for the organization of a telegraph department for government service. He did so, and his suggestions were promptly accepted. He was asked to put them into proper execution, and on agreeing to do so was appointed brigade quartermaster, with the rank of captain, and detailed as general superintendent of government telegraphs in all the departments. On February 26, 1862, Captain Stager was commissioned colonel, and attached as aide-de-camp to Mr. Stanton, the secretary of war. His work was of a most serious and exacting character, and while it was not of a nature to be heralded by proclamations or announced by bulletins, or to demand a daily page in the stirring history of war events, it was none the less important, and had a valuable part in the subduing of the rebellion. Success depended on immediate and definite knowledge, and it was a part of his great task to see that every movement of every army, east or west, was known in Washington on the moment it occurred. This was no easy task, over states filled with hostile armies and a hostile people, with chaos

everywhere, and with much of the information needed, to be obtained at points miles away from any fixed station. But each exigency of the day was met by fertile invention, and the whole task was carried forward by an executive ability the like of which few men possess. During the first years of the war Colonel Stager was almost constantly at Washington, and always at work. The long strain and the heavy burden soon told on him, and his health gave way to such a degree that in April, 1863, he was allowed to locate his permanent headquarters at Cleveland, so that he could receive the comfort and rest of his home. The whole system was yet closely held in his hand, and when occasion required he gave personal attention to matters, making a number of visits to various points in the field. He was on intimate personal terms with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, and was often consulted with by them touching matters within his province. He was a master of every detail pertaining to his position and its requirements, and his operations extended from New York to Florida. As an executive officer he had few equals, and when he set a line of policy in operation, he made it his business to see that it was carried out, even to the most trivial detail. The cryptography used in the government telegraphic correspondence was his, and it was so ingeniously planned that it baffled the most persistent efforts of the rebel telegraphers, and none of them were able to decipher such messages as fell into their hands, or were stolen from the wires. He re-

mained in the service until the close of the war, retiring to private life in September, 1865, and receiving the brevet title of brigadier-general, for valuable and meritorious services. Touching the extent and value of his services in the army, the New York *Tribune* of a recent date has the following :

The story of the telegraph department is inseparably interwoven with that of the national army itself, and cannot be related here ; but it may be stated that the fifteen thousand miles of line and their operation from May 1, 1860, to June 30, 1865, cost the government only two million six hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred dollars. Probably six million five hundred thousand messages were transmitted in that time, making an average cost of forty cents each. While it is remembered that many of these were long, many were sent great distances, and many were the means of winning battles and campaigns, it is seen that in this department the government got more for its money, probably, than in any other ; and the history of that department is a splendid monument to the memory of Anson Stager, whose death is just announced.

On his return to a life of peace, with a national fame and enlarged experience, General Stager once more turned his attention to the Western Union Telegraph company, and gave it the full benefit of his services. Soon after the close of the war, the consolidation of the Southwestern and American Telegraph companies with the Western Union, necessitated a reorganization of the latter, and the general superintendency of the consolidated company was offered to General Stager, which he declined. The result was the creation of three grand divisions, the Central, Eastern and Southern, and General Stager accepted control of the first named, as it left him in charge of his old territory, with his headquarters at

Cleveland, where his home was located. Here he remained for four years, busy in many ways, residing in a beautiful home near that of his fellow-worker of the early days and life-long friend, Mr. J. H. Wade, with his family growing about him, and loved and honored by the entire community. But the exigencies of his position did not long allow him to remain here. The growth of business in the Mississippi valley, and the filling in of the western states during the few years following the war, demanded that his headquarters should be at a place farther west, and Chicago was the point decided upon. In 1869 the transfer was made, and Cleveland lost one of her foremost citizens, and a man of whose fame and character she well had reason to be proud. He abided by the Western Union faithfully until its control passed into hands that represented the new speculative era, and he chose to sever the connection he had so long held. In October, 1881, he retired from the company, after a service of the most able and useful character, and carried with him the knowledge that he had been one of the chief instruments through which commercial and scientific telegraphy has become what it is to-day. His influence had been felt in many practical ways of which the world was not aware. To him is due the credit of first economizing batteries by charging many wires at the same time from the same source. He also connected long lines, and so saved time and the risks that arise by the repetition of messages. He was in the early days one of the best practical

operators to be found the country over. His ingenuity was wonderful. The story of his adventure in ordering a locomotive on the Fort Wayne road has been told many times, but as illustrative of the above statement can be briefly repeated here. He was traveling on business in company with General T. T. Eckert when the train for some cause became disabled and could not proceed. After waiting for some time General Stager, who could not brook delay, asked the conductor if he would order another engine from the station if he would cut the wire and send the order. The reply being in the affirmative, General Stager ordered the wire cut, and by taking one end thereof in his hand and tapping on a short wire, inserted in the ground, sent the message and received the answer by placing the wire on his tongue and noting the pulsations thereof. The engine was sent, and the passengers, who had looked on with amused amazement, were soon hurried away upon their journey.

Whether or not General Stager was the first to read telegraphic messages by sound, and thus opened the way to a vast improvement in the operating room, it remains a fact that he discovered the method independent of anyone else, and set it in operation at a very early date, and the burden of testimony is in his favor as the original discoverer. On that point he has left an interesting reminiscence, given by him to a Chicago reporter some years before his death, and from that interview I extract the following:

"I was," said the general, "one of the original

Morse operators. Formerly we had registers and narrow strips of paper, like tapes, wound around them. As the weights pulled the tape down past the instrument, the key marks of the Morse alphabet would be indented, and from these indentations the operators read the messages on the tape. I was the telegraph operator in Pittsburgh. It was early in 1843; the wires there were the first stretched across the Alleghanies. But we did little business in those days. In fact, half the work of the office was showing strangers how the instruments worked. I think that I was about the first to read messages by sound. Certainly I had to read them before I knew of anyone else doing it. Erastus Brooks, just about that time, came to Pittsburgh and bought out the *Gazette*. It was a responsible duty to collect the telegraphic dispatches, and the chief editor used to come himself to my office for that purpose. The markets were sent in cipher. One day my register broke down while Brooks was waiting for the report. A steamer had just landed in New York, and the news was important. But the register was in such a state that patching would not do. Brooks was in despair. Of course, in those days, as now, our office calls were recognizable to the ear. It was with this in mind that I said to Brooks: 'Wait a little while and I will try another plan.' I explained matters to the operator at the other end, asked him to go slow, and between my knowledge of the cipher and the good-natured repetition of each link of it by my down east friend, I managed to get the whole of the market report. Brooks left a delighted man. I make no claims, but I tell you my own experience." The reporter asked General Stager: "Did the new improvement take?" "On the contrary," responded the general, "the officers fought against it. Every commercial message, they said, must be read from the tapes. They insisted that they wanted something for a record. We used to bundle up the tapes and keep them for reference to compare with errors, and find out whether the sender or the receiver was to blame. It was a long time before the officers discovered that such errors could be detected just as well from taking a letter-press copy of the message."

General Stager's heart was ever open in sympathy toward the men under him, and although he exacted faithfulness, industry and a strict obedience, he was very anxious that the services of the

operators while in the field should be recognized, and he did everything in his power to bring about such a result. A characteristic incident arose from his connection with the Telegrapher's Mutual Benefit association. He was a member of that organization, and as such his heirs were entitled to receive one thousand dollars on his death. When his executors came to look over his papers, they found among them his certificate of membership, and upon it the following endorsement :

To be presented to the association at my death.
April 20, 1880.

ANSON STAGER.

It is needless to say that the direction was complied with and that the association was enriched that much through his thoughtful generosity.

While the telegraph was the chief business of General Stager's life, it by no means was the only avenue through which he made his talents and capital of use in the world. During the latter years of his life, he was quite busy in other directions. While residing in Cleveland he was a member of the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, and a director in the Citizen's Saving and Loan association. He was the founder of the Western Electrical Manufacturing company, whose works were first located in this city but afterwards removed to Chicago, and which grew to be one of the largest establishments of the kind in the world. He held its presidency up to the first of January, 1885, and was the mainspring that set it in motion and kept it going. After its removal to Chicago he became to a certain extent the representative of the Vanderbilt in-

terests in the west. He was largely interested in railroads, holding positions in the directories of the Michigan Central, the New York, Chicago & St. Louis, and the Chicago & Northwestern. He was a director in the Northwestern National Bank of Chicago; was actively engaged in the Babcock Manufacturing company, and several other smaller enterprises; was a director in the Cantilver Bridge company for several seasons; was also in the Allen Paper Car Wheel company in the same capacity; a member of the board of trustees of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and an earnest and valuable aid in many ways to them all. But lines of business that touched the electric spark in any form, and that harnessed it down and made it do some of the work and bear some of the burden of the world, were the nearest his heart, and found in him a champion and a friend. He was prominently identified with the development of the telephone business of Chicago and the northwest, and had an abiding faith in the instrument from the start. He was president of all the telephone companies in Chicago from their start, and brought about the consolidation by which their interests were made as one. He was a prominent factor in the introduction of the electric light into Chicago, and was the president of the Western Edison Electric Light company from the day of its foundation to that of his death. He was of efficient aid to the authorities of Chicago in promoting the usefulness of the fire-alarm telegraph system, and in making it an important servant to the public. He was inter-

ested in organizations not connected with business affairs, being a Mason, and holding his membership in Oriental Commandery Knights Templar, of Cleveland, until the time of his death. He was founder of the Commercial Club of Chicago, and one of its most energetic and generous supporters. He was among the founders of the Calumet club and its first president. He was for years prominently identified with the Episcopal church, worshiping in Trinity, of which he was vestryman for many years.

It was out of this busy and beneficent life that Anson Stager was called, on Thursday, March 26, 1885. The robust constitution and immense vitality of his early years had responded to many calls upon them, and toward the end began to show signs of the heavy drain. Early in the year he gave evidence of physical failing, although his mind was as clear and bright and his cheerfulness as marked as ever. Bright's disease, complicated with other troubles, had taken a hold upon him, and no skill of the best physicians of the country could stay the advance of the destroyer or save him to the friends and family who loved him so well. On the Sunday before his death he was told that he had only a few more hours upon earth. The message found him prepared to meet it with resignation and faith, and no sign of fear or wavering doubt seemed to lie in the path he must travel for a little season longer. A life clear and complete in simple honor and truth, and with no stains to mar it or make him afraid, arose up before him, and he peacefully accepted the decision, and felt that God

had been good to give him the years he had enjoyed and the success he had won. For his family he would have lived a little longer; for himself he was content. He called his dear ones to his bedside, and asked that there should be no sorrowful faces about him, but that each should take hold upon the patient trust on which he was stayed. To each he gave some little souvenir, and asked that it should be treasured in memory of him. Then he quietly arranged his business affairs and calmly turned his face toward the end.

It came quietly, and in peace. The inroads of the disease had told upon him, and for the last two or three days no vitality remained, and the last great change was hourly expected. Toward the close he was still sufficiently conscious to recognize those who came about him, but that was all. At three o'clock on Thursday morning, as the new day was falling softly upon the earth, his spirit winged its flight to the regions of eternal life.

The wife who had walked so many years beside him had gone before him on the long journey. When starting out in life, on November 14, 1847, he married Miss Rebecca Sprague of Buffalo, who died on November 22, 1883. Of the children who had been born to them, only three remained to mourn his loss—Mrs. F. S. Gorton of Chicago, Mrs. Ralph W. Hickox of Cleveland, and Miss Ellen Sprague Stager of Chicago.

When the announcement of his death was made to the city of his chosen home and to the country he had so

worthily served, the expressions of grief were universal, sincere and profound. By personal calls, by letter and by wire the sorrowing friends were made to feel that their loss was that of the people everywhere, and that the lesson of a worthy life had been heeded on all sides and become the seed of admiration and respect as deep as it was universal. The highest officials of the land, as well as the most humble operator or message boy who had served under him, felt that in Anson Stager they had lost a friend. The corporations, societies and associations of which he had been a part voiced their grief and spoke their admiration in resolutions that uttered no empty praise. The public press, not only of the great cities but in all directions, declared that his loss was that of the people, and paid eloquent and extended tribute to his worth. A leading journal of Chicago struck the keynote of public feeling over his loss when it said :

Chicago has lost many prominent citizens during the last year or two, but not one who will be more missed than Anson Stager, or one who has made a nobler record as a public-spirited citizen. His remarkable executive ability qualified him for the holding of responsible public positions, and he administered them with rare skill and fidelity. . . . General Stager's services to the government during the war constitute the most distinguished feature of his long and useful career. In this direction his friends may claim the highest distinction for his memory. . . . For this duty he was specially qualified, not alone by his executive ability, but by his practical and scientific knowledge of the business. It is doubtful whether any other man in the country, at that time, could have accomplished so much with it as he, or could have rendered such important assistance in perfecting the communication between the government and its armies. . . . Death has cut down the busy worker, and his long and honorable career is closed, leaving behind a record of which

his family and friends have the right to be proud, and which they will cherish after time has mitigated present griefs.

General Stager's friendship to Cleveland had always been deep-seated and warm, and here he had decided that he would rest when the labors of life should end. He had secured a beautiful lot in Lake View cemetery, and there his beloved wife had been laid to await his coming. His funeral was held in Chicago, at the family residence on Michigan avenue. A large gathering of friends paid the final marks of affection and respect. The remains reposed in a heavily draped casket, which was surrounded by a wealth of floral offerings from the Commercial club, the Western Union offices, and other organizations with which he had been connected. The services were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Osborne, rector of Trinity, who delivered a brief but affecting address, in which he referred to the sterling worth and many good qualities of the departed, which had endeared him to his fellowmen, and would keep his memory green. At the conclusion of the services the body was reverently conveyed to a special train in waiting at the Lake Shore depot, and taken to Cleveland. A number of Chicago's prominent citizens accompanied the family on their sad journey, and the pall-bearers comprised the following gentlemen: Marshall Field, J. Russell Jones, A. F. Seeberger, George Sturgis, Robert T. Lincoln, A. A. Sprague, N. K. Fairbanks, Martin Ryerson, Norman Williams, J. W. Doane and Charles Fargo.

Cleveland was reached at an early hour on the following morning, where a large number of General Stager's friends were in waiting. The remains were conveyed to the residence of Mr. Charles Hickox on Euclid avenue, where at a later hour a prayer was read by Dr. Osborne, and then the last stage of the sad journey was entered upon. When Lake View was reached, Dr. Osborne read the solemn and beautiful service of the Episcopal Church, and the mortal part of Anson Stager was given back to the earth from which it came.

Some idea of the personal characteristics, native strength and genuine manhood of Anson Stager can be gained from the above, and yet no pen picture can present the man as he was, and call him back in the full proportions held in the memories of those who knew him best. An executive ability of the most commanding character has been justly ascribed to him, and all the results possible to any given means were brought about in any duty committed to his hands. This was clearly demonstrated in the many positions he held, where men without that talent could have done nothing. He possessed an inventive ability of a high order, as was shown by the various improvements he made in the practical line of telegraphic operation. He followed no blind precedents, but created them as the occasion demanded, and wherever he could make the new way improve upon the old. He was broad and clear in his intellectual grasp, quick in decision, and wise and just in administration. Through

every movement of his business and private life there shone a rigid and unflinching integrity which never yielded to any stress of circumstances, and was never misled by any plausible considerations of policy. In his public career and private life he was recognized by all as an upright, honest man. He was generous beyond the measure of most men, and it was a pleasure to him that his friends should share in any venture in which his clear vision had seen the certainty of success. He was quick and sure in his judgment of character, trusting fearlessly when he had once given his confidence, and thus enlisting the loyal and sympathetic support of those who labored with him. As one of the tributes laid upon his bier declared, "He turned aside with manly and unwavering detestation from the devious paths into which the managers of great business enterprises are often tempted, and has passed away from earth, not only without a stain on his business record, but conspicuous among all who knew him for his unbending integrity." He was, in the highest sense, loyal in all his relations of life, and when his word was once given it could be depended on to the end. Though very quiet and unostentatious in his manner, he had a heartiness of disposition, a genuine love of humor and pleasure, and a social side which led him to seek and take delight in human association, as it is found in social gatherings, in clubs, in healthful outdoor sports; and above all, in his own home, where his good qualities were best known and where it was his delight to be.

If any one knew Anson Stager it was Mr. J. H. Wade, who was in close social and business companionship with him for many years, and between the two there ran a strong personal bond of friendship and respect that held unto the last. They knew and honored each other as rivals, they next worked together in the long and heavy labor of years, and after wealth and fame came to them both they lived for a long time side by side as neighbors and the closest friends. Whenever General Stager would return to his old home after his removal to Chicago, the first man he would seek out would be Mr. Wade. When Mr. Wade was in Chicago his first impulse was to find his old friend. Knowing him thus, Mr. Wade finds it within his knowledge to declare that General Stager was beyond question one of the men among whom should be divided the honor of making the science of telegraphy what it is. His tribute is paid earnestly and without hesitation. He endorses the highest eulogies that have been spoken in honor of his old companion in arms, and says that no words are too strong to be used in describing General Stager's part in the building up of this great line of commerce, or his services to his country in the war.

I will quote, in closing this sketch, the testimony of one who for over twenty years knew General Stager in the smaller details of office life:

He was clear-headed and shrewd to a wonderful degree. He possessed a large share of personal

magnetism; knew how to obtain the best men, and to tie them to him afterwards. He was capable of an endless amount of work, and was never afraid to do it. Whenever he saw any one in distress, he could not rest until some means of relief had been taken. He was good to his men, and they knew that in him they had a friend. When any one approached him with a suggestion that ran counter to his idea, it was well to be prepared to maintain it at all points, for if there was a weakness anywhere in it, the general's quick eye would detect it and make that the point of attack. He would often seem set in his own way, and argue with great vehemence in support thereof, only to bring out the full strength of his opponent, and then suddenly surprise the latter by deciding in his favor, in case his way of thinking was the best. He never held to an idea or forced a measure against the public good, or that did not hold for its object the good of the interests that had been reposed in his hands.

His fund of good nature and humor never ran low, and many good stories might be related in illustration of the fun-loving side of his nature. He gave a joke as he took one, but no touch of malice or littleness ever actuated him therein.

Standing under the light of a life and character like this, and viewing the ground in which they had germ and the influences under which they grew, one cannot but feel that the best types of manhood are created and developed on this American soil, and that what one has done worthily, another may do as well. Viewed thus, the work of Anson Stager is not yet done; but out of the past his memory arises in grand proportions, and stands as an example and incentive to the youth of the generations that are to come.

J. H. KENNEDY.

WADE, THE SENATOR 1851-1853.

VII.

WASHINGTON had been the capital since the year 1800. At the time thus taken possession of by the government, save the little incorporation of Georgetown, the Maryland side of the Potomac was an unpeopled region. It was soon occupied by folk who were drawn thither to become the tavern and boarding-house keepers, livery and hackmen, the servants and boot-blacks, market-men and small shopkeepers, of the office-holders and employés of the government, the waiters, servants and the lackeys of senators and members of the house, and the visitors of the home and residence of what made the state the visible government of the great Republic. In any estimate of the city, this origin of its population is not wholly to be lost sight of even now. At the time it became the senatorial residence of Mr. Wade, the city had a population of forty thousand. Of this, fifteen thousand were colored, including about three thousand slaves, reckoning every human being supposed to have a tincture of servile blood. On Seventh street, at the margin of the malaria-breathing canal, was the slave-pen and persuasive whipping-post, in full sight of the capital. This found its counterpart in the city prison, on the northeast corner of Judiciary square. The Maryland slave code was in force, and just a

more unlovely and unwholesome town did not exist in the civilized world than the city which straggled up and down the left bank of the river and calling itself Washington. The capitol was the older structure with its ancient dome. The foundations of the house-wing were laid in 1850, the senate chamber was the present supreme court room. The then hall of the house, is now given over to the stone presentiments of the great men of the states, two and two, as the present generation may elect. Congressional and social life at the capital were not then what they now are. It was then much more to be a member of congress. It cost much less money and more brains. American colossal fortunes did not then exist. Journalism, railroad-ing, telegraphy, were in their infancy. The capital had no attractions save to politicians, few visitors, and no sojourners of the wealthy, who sought it as a social centre. A very few senators, and rarely a member of the house, had their families with them at Washington. They formed "messes," lived in boarding-houses, in the kind of *he* way that men will, severed from the ties, influences, and it may be added, restraints of home and home life. A more dreary, unattractive life, for a cultured man of social instincts and habits, no where was endured, than that of the average congressman of the

time of Mr. Wade's adventure at Washington. He suffered less by it than did many—most of the men of his time.

Members of congress then received eight dollars per day, counting all the days of the week, and a liberal mileage by any roundabout route. They provided also for perquisites, in the way of stationery and cutlery, and enjoyed the franking privilege—so long the target of Horace Greeley's assaults.

Mr. Wade fixed himself in Mrs. Hyatt's boarding house, on the south side of Pennsylvania avenue, between Sixth and Seventh streets, west of the capitol, where I found him in 1861.*

The Thirty-second congress convened December 1, 1851, when Frank Wade entered upon, became a part of, that public life of which he had before, with the mass of men, only read and heard. Of the three greatest American senators, Calhoun died the year before, at sixty-eight; Webster, of the same age, born in 1782, left the senate the year Calhoun died, to become secretary of state; Clay, in many ways the greatest of the three, born in 1777, was still in the senate. Can any one explain the law by which great men come in groups?

Wade's old foe of the forum in the collision trial was now President of the United States, stepping to the place by the death of Zachary Taylor. He favored the compromise measures, opposed Taylor's administration, and placed Webster at the head of his cabinet, with Corwin secretary of treas-

ury—of all men not a financier, and to that time a pronounced anti-slavery Whig, as had been Fillmore. In 1848 he was a possible President. Upon the passage of the fugitive slave act the President referred it perfunctorily, one must think, to his attorney-general, John Jordon Crittenden (a year younger than Webster), a born slaveholder, who found it to be entirely constitutional, and he signed it—a measure decisive of his political fate as of that of his financial minister and many more.

At the opening of the senate Mr. Chase presented the credentials of Mr. Wade, and he was sworn. He was then fifty-one years old, as will be remembered. Mr. Chase was forty-three at that time.

The old senate chamber is a semicircle. The straight side its eastern wall, at the centre of which was the vice-presidential chair, then filled by William R. King. The senators' seats were arranged in four arcs of the circle. The Whig side was the left of the President, the south of the chamber. Mr. Wade took one of the innermost, the second from the left. Mr. Seward, as will be remembered, entered the senate the congress before. He was a year younger than Mr. Wade. He introduced his colleague, Hamilton Fish, born the same year with Chase, 1808. Charles Sumner entered the senate the same day. He, as will be remembered, was elected by a coalition of the Freesoilers and Democrats, after a long and exciting contest. He was then forty years old, and was introduced by General Cass, and took his seat on

* East, west, north, south and their intermediates, in Washington directories, mean the given direction from the capitol.

the Democratic side. No American of his time had been so favorably received in England as he, unless we except N. P. Willis. He was always English in his air, and his presence produced a solitude. Cass was then sixty-nine. Mr. Wade now saw the senators together, had seen many of them before. In glancing around the not spacious chamber, Clay, old, worn, and feeble, like a dying lion still kingly, sat in the outer circle, almost behind him, with Seward at his left. Following that circle round to the seat next the broad corridor, leading from the front entrance, his eye fell on the compact, squat, jug-like form of Stephen A. Douglas, with his large head and short legs.*

The Virginia Mason, captured by Commodore Wilkes, with Slidell, a few years later, sat conspicuous on the Democratic side—outer circle. There was also his chief, Jefferson Davis, with Henry S. Foote for colleague. Next Mason sat Chase, beyond Chase, Hannibal Hamlin. John Bell of Tennessee was there. James A. Pearce of Maryland sat in that senate a Whig. There, too, was Rhett and "Duke" Gwin, now from California, with Ohio's John B. Weller, whom Ford beat for governor, for colleague. John P. Hale had a seat on that side also. Sam Houston, gigantic, rosy and handsome, was there, as were Hunter, Berrien and honest John Davis, Sumner's colleague; of course

there was a Bayard from Delaware, Pierre Soule was there, as was Jesse D. Bright; so was Mangum, with Berrien from Georgia. It was an exceptionally able body, even for the American senate, and an abler man than Frank Wade would be slow to gain recognition and make position for himself in it—which no man did in one congress if we except Seward, Chase and Sumner. A full senate numbered sixty-two. Dividing on old party issues, now disappearing, there was a decided Democratic majority.

There were then but five senators certain under all conditions to oppose slavery. John P. Hale, the hero of the New Hampshire revolution of '45-6, and elected to the senate in 1847, at the age of forty-one; Seward, Chase, Sumner and Wade. Of these, Seward and Wade were also pronounced Whigs. Hale had been a Democrat, as was Chase, though he supported Harrison in 1840. Sumner, by education and instinct, was a Whig. It must have cost the Democrats an awful strain to vote for him, as it certainly did their brethren of Ohio to vote for Chase.†

It was supposed that congress now convened in a period of universal calm, under serene skies, on ground never again to be agitated. The incipient struggle of the forces was hushed to perpetual silence. Slavery triumphant, the energies of freedom and justice were tied down

* "No, sir; no, sir! He can never be President," declared positive Colonel Benton; "his—(not the skirts of his coat, as has been reported)—is too near the ground, sir!" Benton had been defeated for that senate by Henry S. Geyer. He died in 1858, at the age of seventy-four.

† "Here, Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do,"

was the pious exclamatory quotation of devoted Luther Montfort, Democratic representative of Darke county, when he cast his ballot for Chase in my hearing. Darke would not stand it.

with the spinnings of the grim congressional spiders beyond recovery.

If the senate was exceptionally able, selecting out fifteen or twenty names, the house was a commonplace crowd. There were Stevens and Toombs from Georgia, Orr of South Carolina, Humphrey Marshall and Breckinridge of Kentucky, Giddings, Carter and Townsend from Ohio, Clingman from North Carolina, Andrew Johnson from Tennessee, Thaddeus Stevens from Pennsylvania, Preston King from New York, Cleveland from Connecticut, Hibbard from New Hampshire, Robert Rantoul and Horace Mann from Massachusetts. The caucuses began by quarreling over the compromise measures, but the members elected Lynn Boyd speaker, on the first ballot. Thaddeus Stevens received sixteen votes, about the radical anti-slavery strength of that body.

The two houses exchanged messages and congress advised the President of its readiness to receive executive communications, and he responded with his second annual message.

Mr. Seward had supplanted Mr. Fillmore in the leadership of the New York Whigs. A virtuous, upright man, the handsomest of the Presidents, he was not without ambition; was desirous of succeeding himself. He was aware that a northern man must do more for the south than she would exact from one of her own sons, to secure her favor. It is probable, had General Taylor lived, the compromise measures would have been defeated. Mr. Fillmore began by opposing his administration. He favored and approved these meas-

ures, and his first annual message declared them a final settlement. Still the north was restive; the new slave rendition act was resisted, and this gave him a coveted opportunity to remind the south of its obligations to him. The message dealt, with calm, level ability, in the hum-drum style of state papers, with the topics of the time, and, recurring to the violations of the fugitive act, the President requoted the constitution, and went over the dreary corpse-strewn way of the vain argument of constitutional obligation and duty, in the track of which his own remains were soon to rest and be reviled. He again declared these measures "a final settlement."

On the conclusion of his papers' reading, Mr. Foote of Mississippi introduced a resolution enumerating these measures, declaring that they were the final adjustment of the several matters and things involved in or lying under them severally. There never was such a restless, unsettled, unsettling settlement.

In the assignment to committees—a work of the senators—it is curious now to note the disposition made of the anti-slavery men by the Democratic majority. Mr. Seward was last on that of commerce, Mr. Chase second on revolutionary claims, Mr. Hale at the end of private land claims, Mr. Sumner was the tail-piece of Revolutionary claims, as of roads and canals; Mr. Wade was also appended to two—agriculture and claims. One recognizes the fitness of placing both Chase and Sumner on revolutions. One does not now care, save historically, what posts were as-

signed to the slavery leaders. Mason had the foreign relations, Douglas the second on foreign relations, and was chairman of territories—a sadly over-estimated man by his fellows. Intrepid, audacious, unscrupulous, he will be remembered as the breaker of the Missouri wall against slavery, when through the breach thus made rushed the border ruffians and all that followed. Soule had agriculture, Shields the army and District of Columbia—*paddy* that he was; Gwin the navy, Atchinson the Indians, Butler of South Carolina the judiciary, Bright the roads and canals, Houston looked after the militia, and the others had second places. The rule is, the majority take the first and larger share of the places. Mr. Chase was a pronounced Democrat, as was Mr. Hale. The violence against decent usage in their cases marks the estimate of them as anti-slavery men. The judiciary is a leading committee of the senate, next in importance to the foreign relations. The senate was then strong in able lawyers; the Whig Berrien of Georgia was the only good lawyer on it—whatever may be said of Butler, the hero of Sumner's famous Phillipic later.

Considering the treatment of his colleagues and friends, Mr. Wade had no cause of complaint. He was in his seat, had his place, would quietly and silently study his fellows, correct his impressions, let men find him out as they might, and bide his days of usefulness—not of display, this self-reticent descendant of the Bradstreets, Dudleys, Wigglesworths, this son of Mary Up-

ham, born in the bosom of the Feeding Hills of the Puritans.

He and Seward had met before. Seward was fairly the coming man. Then slim, with marked head and face, suave, a philosopher rather than a man of action, he had a large personal following. The two senators at once became fast friends; each did full justice to the fine, strong qualities of the other.

The coalition by which Chase entered the senate lost him the confidence of Wade, as of all the older Whigs of Ohio. It lost him the one chance he might have had for the Presidency. For Wade there was a suspicion of arrogance, a flavor of sham, in the grand assumption of the splendid Sumner. He, too, came in by a Democratic coalition. Neither he or Chase ever had had a personal following. Each was surrounded by worshiping young men and old sycophants, to whom condescension was grateful. Neither had many intimates of their own age and rank. Chase had fine social qualities; could inspire warm attachments. Sumner seemed to care for neither. Most men at each interview with him had to tell him who and what they were. Some grew weary of that. Each had great personal advantages, and were the most striking of the still youthful figures of the senate chamber.

Wade already knew Hale, who had all the qualities of good-fellowship—a handsome personable figure, rosy cheeked, with fancy and dash then at his best, he lacked the patient, persistent industry to realize the possibilities, the promise and prophecy, which attended his foot-

steps. He and our senator became well attached friends, remained such after the decline of Hale's popularity and efforts to sustain himself, and Wade one of the most prominent senators.

Congress is about the last body which should ever deal with claims. It is in no sense, by function or temper, judicial; is without the means of verifying facts. Under the care, skill and industry of Elisha Whittlesey, chairman of the house claims committee, dealing with them was reduced to something like system, and his methods were respected in the senate. Succeeding to his seat, Mr. Giddings succeeded him at the head of the committee, and carried forward the business on his lines until formally deposed by his pro-slavery enemies. Mr. Wade, the partner of the last and pupil of the first, with his legal and judicial ability, though last of his committee, in labor, skill and usefulness, became in a single session quite the first. It was a post where a man can do more work, render more real service, and gain less reputation, perhaps, than in any other senatorial position.

There was one case coming from the house not referred to him, characteristic of the times and the dominant party, growing out of the old Seminole war. It seems that certain Creek warriors, serving in the Georgia contingent, captured certain runaway slaves—maroons—and claimed them as spoil. To save them for their owners, really, General James C. Watson, a Georgia general, advanced fourteen thousand dollars and more to buy them of the Creeks, and it was to pay

to his heirs this advance and interest on it that this bill, in spite of Giddings' war in the house upon it, was pending in the senate. Chase thoroughly understood it, and when Dawson of Georgia called it up, he declared his purpose of debating it. It was laid over and should have come up on Friday—private bill day. In his absence it was called up. Wade made an earnest effort to have it take the usual course, seconded by Sumner, so that his colleague could be present. This was refused, and the bill taken up and passed without discussion.

His only set speech of the first session was in opposition to the Collins subsidy for carrying the United States mails between New York and Liverpool. He evidently thoroughly understood the subject, and dealt with it in his direct western way. General Cass, still sore from his defeat by General Taylor, had made a speech in its favor, was especially worried by his reference to his "noise and confusion" speech at Cleveland, moved thereto by an injudicious remark of Judge Reuben Wood, and insisted on an explanation, to which Wade, good-naturedly yielded. It availed him nothing. He and his party were taunted with fifteen years of utter neglect of the lakes and rivers, and interposed again. He finally promised to vote for a properly framed bill for these improvements, knowing full well, as Wade told him, that, under his party management, no bill for such a purpose would ever be seen or heard of. The speech was a compact, vigorous statement of the whole question,

from a western senator, sore under the chronic neglect of his section, rapidly growing to strength and power to care for itself. It was not only impressive upon the question, but made a good impression in the new senator's favor. Reticent, always seen in his seat, not before heard save for a terse statement or sententious explanation.

The provision passed, authorizing twenty-six trips per year, at \$33,000 per trip, approved August 25, 1852. That session ended six days later. It was comparatively an unimportant session. Its perfected labors fill four thousand and forty-seven pages of the thribble-columned *Globe*. It produced three large volumes of that tumid work. There were notable debates of the finished, completed, settled work of the last congress, in which leading men took part in both houses. In the senate, Cass, Chase, Foote, Hale, Mason, Rhett, and others. Mr. Sumner occupies much space in the *Globe* of that year. The compromise measures early, the fugitive slave act later. Mr. Seward remained silent upon the great and greatly settled slavery issues. That was the year of Kossuth's advent. Foote introduced a resolution the first day of the session to provide a fitting welcome, on which all the group of five, save Wade, were heard.

The great Clay died the twenty-ninth of June, and though the new issues had brought his just fame under eclipse for the day, the Republic will cherish his memory as one of its most valued possessions.

The first session of a congress is always long. The constitution limits the sec-

ond. Usually much real legislative work is accomplished by the second. The perfected laws in the second were larger in bulk than the first, the most of which were largely the work of the earlier session. It is to be remembered that while the senate is in a way a continuing body, congress is not, and that all unfinished business falls at the end of the final session, not to be resumed by the succeeding congress, unless introduced by new bills. Congress has never invented a method of bridging the intervening chasm and save itself much real and perfunctory labor and the Republic much expense.

The second session was a quiet period. It mourned the death of the great Webster and the respectable Upham. Mr. Wade had a notable contest over a private claim, carrying it through against Mr. Broadhead, his chairman. Nobody debated the compromise measures at that session. The Whigs, meantime, had been beaten in the Presidential election. Their party was about to disappear. They were sober and subdued; the victorious Democrats forbearing and silent. Meantime the Galphin and Gardner claims had made their way, and Mr. Corwin was to be investigated, and with the addition of a rather swollen *Globe* and a supplement, that commonplace congress quietly subsided.*

* Most of the speaking men of both houses revise their speeches as they run through the *Globe* presses. This was the habit of all our senators. Such as are retained for more leisurely revision are collected and presented in the supplement. This volume of the *Globe* for the Thirty-second congress contains none of the labors of our group.

Something is to be said of this Presidential election of 1852, of great historical significance, and in the canvass receiving after the adjournment, the entire time and best efforts of Mr. Wade, whose seat in the senate gave him added influence. The struggle between the great parties was for the support of the south.

Reunited and confident, the Democracy met in convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. Cass, though seventy, was a candidate, as was Buchanan. Douglas, not yet forty, was also brought forward, as was Marcy. A fear of the old dissensions of his state, was fatal to the best man then prominent in the party. "Manifest destiny," supposed to be a doctrine of Douglas, was injurious to him. Buchanan never had personal popularity. Cass was old, had been unfortunate. Neither could command two-thirds of the votes under the inflexible rule. This condition of things had been anticipated and provided for, and the way carefully prepared for a purely spontaneous upheaval for the youthful Pierce. Caleb Cushing and B. F. Butler had the credit of manipulating this movement, and it succeeded. William R. King was nominated for vice-president.

The platform was eminently Democratic, none ever more so. It fittingly denounced the Abolitionists and all anti-slavery men, lauded the compromise measures and gave the fugitive slave act "honorable mention" by name. "The Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question

under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," was its unanimous and emphatic declaration.

Mr. Pierce was forty-six years old, handsome, accomplished, plausible, and not without talent in a small way; had served in the house and in the senate, was one of Polk's political generals. That was before the invention of favorite sons. He was one in fact.*

The action of the convention was everywhere, north and south, hailed with Democratic acclaim. The sage of Lindenwold—what a state New York is for Democratic sages! Mr. Van Buren was taken to the Tammany wigwam, threw himself with abandon into the embraces of his whilom foes—forgiven and forgiving. His representatives, who secured his nomination at Buffalo four years before, were some of them in the Baltimore convention, and he and they placed unshod rejoicing feet on its platform.

Two weeks after the nomination of General Pierce, the Whigs met at the same city to select their candidates and declare their sentiments and policy. In view of the catastrophe awaiting them, to look back at now, it seems as if their assembly must have been the saddest body of politicians ever convened. Not without strength, courage and high

* His friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, wrote a campaign life of him, and had the Liverpool consulate—certainly the best thing flowing from his elevation. Mr. Howells performed the like service for his friend, and received the Venetian consulship. I always thought his much the better work, but it is to be remembered that he had more and better material to go on. His hero certainly never fainted in presence of the enemy. Both works were fortunate incidentally for American letters—safe precedents to follow.

hope, did they meet. Apparently the party was strong and firm at the south. This canvas was to demonstrate that there was a stronger common bond uniting that south than any binding its people to any party.

The convention sat continuously five days. Mr. Webster, Mr. Fillmore and General Scott were the candidates. Of course the President and his secretary of state represented exactly the same idea and issue. Why some arrangement was not had before the convention sat, is a mystery. From the tenacity of the parties in the convention, this was perhaps found impossible.

General Scott was the candidate of the anti-slavery Whigs, unpromising as he was. On the first ballot Mr. Webster received twenty-nine votes—the largest number he ever received. Mr. Fillmore, one hundred and thirty-one; and General Scott one hundred and thirty-three; showing an apparent ease for the administration to control the nomination. Certainly no administration ever occupied such a position before a convention of its own party.

Mr. Clay was then dying in Washington; as will be remembered, did die a few days later. A letter from him was circulated, urging the nomination of Mr. Fillmore. The friends of Mr. Webster were a good deal embittered by this action on his part, and when Mr. W.'s warm, earnest, steady support of Mr. Clay, in 1884, is remembered, this seems little in accordance with his known character. He had never forgiven Mr. Webster for adhering to John Tyler, and in a way shielding him from his fierce assaults

nine and ten years before. Unquestionably, his controlling motive was this vindication of his own course in the last congress. To have nominated any one but the President, would not have been a vindication, so dear to him in extremis.

The anti-slavery Whigs, under Seward's lead, could not be won to support the President, who had no votes from his own great state. Her delegation was solid against him. That alone would be fatal. The marvel-working Choat was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation, and exhausted his power of eloquence and persuasion to secure a complimentary vote, *one pro forma*, from the southern states, for the great expounder who laid down his life—all his lives for it. The charm was powerless. Not a man responded. A crime never atoned.

So the struggle went on until the fifty-third ballot, when Scott was nominated with William A. Graham of North Carolina for second.

The platform in substance was a counterpart of the Democratic. It could not be less. It specifically declared the compromise measures were a settlement, in substance and principle, of the great controversey, including the fugitive slave act by name, and as such accepted by the Whig party. That its acquiescence was essential to its existence as a national party, and the integrity of the Union.

There was a wide and general admiration of General Scott; his nomination produced some enthusiasm, and for the few first weeks the Whigs were not with-

out much hope and confidence. The platform everywhere north was received with derision and execration. Horace Greeley deliberately spat upon it. Indeed, spitting on their platform by the Whigs became an amusing but not a healthy exercise for them, though many of them did little else. I am certain Frank Wade did a fair share of that, and he was a worker. It was fatal to them at the south; an attempt to run the candidate north and the platform south, was never so purposely attempted before. It did not work. Neither run well anywhere. General Scott carried Kentucky and Tennessee, south, and Massachusetts and Vermont north. Pierce carried all the rest, with two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes, to forty-two for his opponent. So far from giving the Whig candidate any, the least, support, the Whig administration, in some instances, openly opposed in others more numerous, secretly betrayed him.

Mr. Clay died without the coveted approval of his party, followed by his greatest rival in October. Mr. Webster was profoundly mortified at the result of the convention, and it was very generally supposed that the melancholy which darkened his closing days was due to this as a cause and helped to lessen their number.*

There remains an important part of the Presidential election to be mentioned. The Freesoil party of 1848 and

the Liberty party of 1840, now merged, had tried to take the name of the Free or Independent Democracy. They put in nomination John P. Hale for President and George W. Julian for Vice-President. They made a vigorous, enthusiastic campaign, and gave 156,000 votes for them. Of these Ohio cast 31,682; Massachusetts, 28,023; New York, 25,329; Illinois, 9,966; Wisconsin, 8,814; Vermont, 8,621; Pennsylvania, 8,525; Michigan, 7,237; Indiana, 6,929; Connecticut, 3,160; Iowa, 1,604; Rhode Island, 644; New Jersey, 350; Kentucky, 265; California, 100; Delaware, 62, and Maryland, 54. These figures were significant, not more in their sum total than in their wide diffusion, sufficient in themselves to secure the defeat of Scott in Ohio, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Maine, Iowa and Connecticut, although including many of Democrats. Seemingly never was Democratic power so firmly established, and seemingly on such secure foundations. Pierce's total was 1,601,478; Scott's, 1,386,578; majority over Scott was 214,896, over Scott and Hale 58,747. An examination of his majorities in the southern states compared with them in the great northern, in the presence of Hale's vote, will show how deceptive that was, and the awful significance of the vote for Hale, as also the effect of a united south in solidifying a confronting north. Mr. Pierce placed Mr. Marcy at the head of his cabinet; Mr. Guthrie had the treasury, Robert McClelland the interior, and Cushing, who had been a Whig—a John Tyler

* Whoever cares to see an elaborate brilliant parallel and contrast of these great men, will do well to read Mr. Blaine's striking passages 'Twenty Years, etc.,' Vol. I, beginning at page 106.

man and now a Democrat*—was attorney general.

One may fancy the meeting of Seward and Wade at the capitol for the closing session of the current congress. Seward had lost New York only by 1,872 votes, while Hale had received 25,329, mostly Whig. Wade had seen Ohio go for Pierce, on whom he had been bitterly sarcastic, by 16,695, and cast her 31,682 for Hale. They had much in common, and there was great suggestiveness in these figures for them. Mr. Seward, politician and a statesman, was also a philosopher, an inveterate smoker, and found solace in an extra cigar. Wade was a moderate smoker, and clothed himself in pungent and sarcastic sayings, as with a garment, for the benefit of the successful Democracy. Sumner could have found small comfort in Massachusetts' eight thousand for Scott over Pierce, though much hope in her twenty-eight thousand for Hale. Chase had made a vain effort to evangelize the Democracy, and though his state cast her electoral vote for his nominal candidate, upon the promulgation of the Democratic platform he wrote a strong letter to his friend and coadjutor at the Buffalo convention—the B. F. Butler of New York—repudiating the convention and its doings, and declared his purpose of adhering to the principles there set forth. This severed his nominal connection with the Democracy. Of our five, Mr. Hale certainly had most cause for self-congratulation.†

* He became a Republican ultimately, and died a Democrat.

† Mr. Hale and Mr. Giddings met some of the

Three important accessions were made to the senate meantime, John M. Clayton of Delaware, ranking with Cass, Silas Wright and Marcy; Robert Toombs of Georgia, swaggering, assuming and able—both Whigs—and Judah Peter Benjamin of Louisiana, able, artful, treacherous; later, Mr. Davis' secretary of state, still later a subject of Queen Victoria, and a leader of the English bar.‡ Later came Edward Everett and William Pitt Fessenden. He came to remain. Everett's time would be limited. Thomas Hart Benton reappeared in this congress as a representative in the house.

Prince Charming sent his first annual message to congress on its second day. Full of gay promise, he declared that no prominence should be given to any subject set at rest by the compromise acts. The past should only be recurred to for admonition and wisdom. "That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, younger of us at Cleveland immediately after our state election of that year, at which we elected Edward Wade—the "Ned" of my opening papers—our representative in the thirty-third congress. Mr. Giddings had also been re-elected, and a great dinner in the open air was tendered him by that corner of Ohio, at Painesville, immediately after the election. I drove Mr. Hale, Mr. Giddings and Mr. Edward Wade, in the morning of the day, from Cleveland over the ridge road to Painesville. I had a splendid pair, a light carriage, the road hard and smooth, the country beautiful, the morning one out of Paradise. I was still young and knew horses. It was a drive, a ride, a day never to be forgotten.

‡ At the English bar he not only became famous and wealthy, but he contributed a learned and valuable book to the profession, a standard work on sales; a Jew of the Jews, as his name, qualities and push indicated; he was a native of San Domingo, and then forty-one years old.

those who placed me here may be assured."

This was December 6. January 4, Mr. Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill "and all our woes." Mr. Pierce's supporters had large majorities in both houses! What did he mean?

The bill did not in terms repeal the Missouri compromise of 1820, that Mr. Douglas said, in his accompanying report, would disturb the late settlement—nice casuist! He did, however, report a section declaratory of the meaning of his bill. First, all questions of slavery in the territories and states to be settled by the inhabitants; second, all questions involving slavery to be adjudged by the local courts, with right of appeal to the supreme court of the United States; third, the fugitive slave act should be extended to the territories. On the sixteenth of January, Dixon, Whig senator of Kentucky, gave notice that he would move an amendment repealing the Missouri compromise directly. Of course, Mr. Pierce was not responsible for him.

Mr. Douglas was not inventive, but quick to avail himself of a suggestion. Some one advanced the idea that the compromise of 1850 suspended that of 1820. Mr. Douglas seized upon this, brought in a new amendment and report, based on this "new and useful" discovery. In his amendment occurs the famous declaration—"this does not legislate slavery into the territory or out of it," etc.—which Colonel Benton described as "a section with a stump speech in its belly." The amendment

divided the territory into Nebraska and Kansas.

The American world took alarm. The Freesoilers were the first to take effective action. They promptly issued one of the ablest addresses—terse, compact, vigorous—ever issued by representatives to a constituency. It contains internal evidence of being largely the work of Mr. Chase, written with the aid of a paper prepared by Mr. Giddings, whose hand is very apparent in it. It was signed by Giddings, Chase, Sumner, Edward Wade and Gerret Smith, then in the house, and DeWitt of Massachusetts. It was printed in every leading paper of the north, and fixed public opinion unalterably against the bill. This publication appeared January 23 and 24.*

Mr. Pierce's organ, the *Union*, replied that the Democracy were resolved, and the President would provide for all the senators and representatives who perished in this cause.

On the thirtieth of January, the day named to take up the bill, Mr. Douglas, in stormy wrath, fell abusively upon Chase as responsible for the address. With flashing face the Ohio senator confronted and threw his imputation of misconduct back. Douglas retorted that he had made false statements. The president called him to order. Chase said he should be answered. Later, Wade interrupted him and he answered civilly. His speech was an arraignment of the address and its authors.

* Mr. Hale had lost his seat and was in New York city practicing law.

Mr. Chase arose fully wrought up, and his reply was most effective and happy. It appeared that originally the address was intended for Ohio only, and in its then form was signed by Mr. Wade. Before issued, its originators changed the form and put it forth as from the Independent Democrats, when they omitted Mr Wade's name. Mr. Wade arose and confirmed this, and emphatically indorsed every word of it. Mr. Sumner got a moment to acknowledge his signature, and declared his purpose at an early day to establish its entire verity. Mr. Seward moved the adjournment that day. There was spirited and angry exchange of personalities between the Ohio and Illinois senators the next day, in which both were called to order. Whatever may have been their relations, this was an end of amity. Mr. Chase finally had great deliverance on the fourth of February—speaking two and a half hours. Ohio had given the largest direct vote against slavery. She had taken decided lead against the Nebraska bill. Her leading senator, as longer in the service, spoke on the third. On the sixth he was followed by her second champion, who declared that his colleague had left not even a dust of Douglas.

It is to be remembered that the region then vaguely called Nebraska, was what was left of the Louisiana purchase, north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, extending to the dividing line with England, and from the west line of the states to the comb of the Rocky mountains.

"Here is a territory as large as an

empire," said Mr. Wade—"as large as all the free states—pure as nature, and beautiful as the garden of God." The area equalled all the free states, with Virginia added. He began with modest self-deprecation, quite common in really diffident men, but of doubtful taste, and launched upon his theme. Evidently the whole subject lay closely within his mental grasp, and well arranged. He reminded the southern Whigs what it cost their northern friends, under the pressure of a growing public opinion, to maintain the integrity of their common party, to which was mainly due the prosperity of the country, and upon which its dependence to arrest misrule entirely rested. He then turned to the authors of the new measure, received everywhere with indignant surprise, terror and horror. He demanded to know what visitation they had enjoyed; what new light had reached them hidden from the world, as to the effect of the compromise of 1850 upon that of 1820? He went over with the later, showed its constant reference to the older as subsisting, and which its framers with studious care did their best to respect, but which it was now found they had entirely abrogated, in spite of themselves. A hard, well-considered, fixed enactment of congress, solemnly passed, recognized by the nation and world, had been repealed by an *abstract principle*, recently discovered in other legislation. This he unsparingly ridiculed. Douglas explained and restated. Wade reiterated with scorn and contempt.

It was said that in adjusting bound-

aries, New Mexico, a territory, under the protection of the act of 1820, had been slightly cut into, and thereupon it is now proclaimed that the act was repealed as to the whole, notwithstanding the declaration of the New Mexican act that it did no such thing. Two owners of adjoining land re-run their line. It is found that A has by this received an inconsiderable slip of B's domain, and thereupon A claims that both parties have recognized a principle which has abrogated, repealed, B's title to the whole, and all A has to do is to take possession of the whole of it. He showed the effect upon the northern immigration of the presence of slavery in any region. No northern man, no foreign born, migrated to a slave state. A freeman would not make his home in the tainted region of slave quarters. No freeman would labor by the side of one degraded by being the mere chattel of another. The work of a slave was servile, because done by a slave. No free man would share in it.

He was severe on Dixon, a pupil and the successor of the great Clay, whose last work he was impiously rending. While going on, Dixon and Butler of South Carolina were noisily talking, after the fashion of the south. Butler said Wade believed in the declaration of July 4, which made the slave his equal, and why should not equals work side by side? Wade caught it up with a flash. Dixon wished to know if he might ask him a question. He replied that he would cheerfully permit him and his associate (Butler) to ask him any question. Dixon wanted to know if he be-

lieved the slave was the equal of a free man. Wade told him he believed he was the born equal of any man. "By the law of God Almighty your slave is your equal, and so you will find out at the day of judgment, though probably not before, at your rate of progress," was his reply.

This brought up slavery directly, and he rapidly sketched its effects on a people and country, which he illustrated by a graphic drawing of Virginia, and it was proposed to thus Africanize the whole of the new great territory, after the Virginian pattern. He warned all parties north and south, that this would never be submitted to. He thought all compromises were mistakes; wiser men thought differently, and made them. He acquiesced in them. With this instance of *punic faith*, there never would be another, there never should be another. This ruthless disregard of the compromise of 1820 left that of 1850 open to assault. Let the slave holders beware.

He began without formal opening and finished with no prepared phrases. He was strong, brave, impressive, and listened to with profound attention.

The speech, as a whole, was one of the best specimens of the strong, plain, direct, vigorous putting of things by the clear, hard-headed, honest intellect of the New England type, to be found in the records of congress, and did much to strengthen Mr. Wade in the senate and through the country. It admonished men to beware of a close, hard struggle, where fibrous pluck, hard muscle and manhood would tell.

The debate ran on, all the senators took a voice in it, and on the morning of fourth of March, as the gray outer light mingled with the lights of the senate chamber, the vote was taken. Houston of Texas closed the debate with a strong speech against the bill. It passed—thirty-seven for to fourteen against it, and salvos of cannon, as on the passage of the ten million Texas bill in the house, advertised the still sleeping city of the deed. Pierce of Maryland, even Clayton, who had voted for the Wilmot proviso, voted for it. John Bell stood with Houston against it. It was carried through the corridors across the rotunda to the house, where after nearly three months of stormy debates, the cannon again announced its passage. One hundred and fourteen voted for, and one hundred against it. Forty-four northern Democrats voted against it; no northern Whig voted for it. Seven southern Whigs voted against it, and three southern Democrats, Houston, Thomas Hart Benton,* and John S. Millson of Virginia.†

George E. Badger of North Carolina was an able man, a facile speaker, and, like many such men, took much oral exercise standing. In the Nebraska debate he made a pathetic, moving appeal to the opponents of the bill—personal really. He described himself as wishing to emigrate to the new territory,

and to carry his old colored *mamma* with him—the woman who had nursed him in infancy and childhood, and whom he loved as a real mother—and he could not take her. The enemies of this benevolent measure forbade him. “We are willing you should take the old lady there—” interrupted Wade, “we are afraid you’ll sell her when you get her there.” It settled the tender senator, followed as it was by a universal roar of laughter. He made an ineffective effort to recover, and closed most abruptly. It was one of those stinging things that reduce an issue to a killing point, that preclude reply, escape or farther argument.‡

The session ran on till August 7, when the misrulers returned to meet their still amazed and indignant constituencies.

I have now with much breadth traced my Feeding Hills boy to a prominent, soon to be a leading, position in the senate, where his history is part of the history of his time. I have also rapidly sketched the rise and progress of the great struggles against slavery, to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, when its history becomes the history of the country. My theme must now be subjected to a more rapid treatment, a more condensed grouping of events and men.

I trust one more chapter will carry us to the war; and two, at the most three, will carry us through the rebellion to the end of our labors.

A. G. RIDDLE.

* Colonel Benton passed from public life with that congress. He devoted his remaining years to his work—‘Thirty Years in the Senate,’ and died at Washington, April 10, 1858, at seventy-six.

† John S. Millson was re-elected to the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-six congresses, was steadily devoted to the Union, and died at Norfolk, his native city, February 26, 1873.

‡ The late Judge Jerry Black always spoke of this as the most effective single blow ever dealt a man, a cause or an argument, in the history of congress. It was rare, he said, that the conditions for such a reply could exist, and rarer still that a man was present equal to making it. To fully appreciate it requires a study of the whole field and an apprehension of all the factors involved.

ART AND ARTISTS IN OHIO.

II.

T. BUCHANAN READ, poet and painter, a native of Ohio, born in 1822, commenced his labors in the field of art while yet a boy on a farm. Early in the fifties he went to Italy, and returned to Cincinnati about 1860. His well-known literary ability had given him a prestige that brought his work of the studio into immediate favor and renown. Orders for portraits were many, yet he found time to paint a good number of pictures. Those subjects selected from mythology or ancient story, were to him most pleasing and congenial. His works are full of most pleasing color, exquisite grace and charming sentiment. In 1866 he went again to Rome. On his way back to Cincinnati, he died, in New York a few years ago.

Carl Niehaus was born in Cincinnati the twenty-fourth of January, 1855. Receiving a common school education in his native city, he began as a wood engraver and then as a stone cutter and carver in marble. He studied drawing in the night class of the McMicken School of Design for two years. Desiring further instruction, he left for Munich on the fifth of April, 1877, arriving there in June. He entered the Academy of Fine Arts there, receiving instruction from Prof. Knabal, sculptor, and Gabel, painter. He received the highest prize, a large medal, for the ex-

ecution and original design of a life-size group of four figures on a globe, called "Fleeting Time;" he also received two other competition prizes, one for a design for a fountain and the other for a sketch of David. He left the Academy of Fine Arts in 1880. Traveled through Italy, France and England, and modeled numbers of busts for English gentlemen. He returned to America in 1881, and received the Garfield statue for the Capitol at Washington, and the Garfield for Cincinnati, Ohio (both of which were executed in Rome), the latter to be probably placed in Garfield Place, at the intersection of Race and Eighth streets. He has the contract from the State of Ohio for the statue of Governor Allen, to be placed in the Capitol at Washington.

Miss Marion Foster is an Ohio artist, born in Minerva, Ohio, who has gained undoubted success in New York. By reason of an accident when six or seven years of age, Miss Foster became paralyzed so as to be unable to use her lower limbs. About the same time, her father lost all his property. This crippled, but indomitable girl, has since supported herself and her family by her art. She began to work in crayon at eight. Early taking lessons and painting in Cincinnati, she made friends who enabled her to go to New York for

medical treatment. Dr. Lewis Sayre, the famous specialist, has for seven years treated her without accepting a dollar, although his charges are from one thousand to three thousand dollars for a single case.

Although the wealthiest classes in the city have given Miss Foster their patronage, her success is due to her own talents and her marvellous energy. In black and white she has no superior, although Reichman and others are better known. She has executed admirable portraits of Adelina Patti, Signor Brignoli, Emma Nevada, Mr. Flood of San Francisco, and his daughter; Miss Mary Anderson and many others. Among many valuable gifts Miss Marion Foster has received, is a beautiful gold locket with a more beautiful letter from Adelina Patti. Her portrait of "Chang," the great Chinese giant, was greatly admired, and has been sent to China.

Miss Foster, although a hopeless invalid and great sufferer, is the most cheerful person I have ever known, and is the most remarkable mass of human patience and energy on the continent.

Mr. Henry Mosler, a native of Cincinnati and for three years in the studio of J. H. Beard in Cincinnati, has just returned from Europe, where he has been for about ten years. He has achieved quite a reputation as an artist. Forty of his paintings sold recently in Cincinnati; some were sold as high as four thousand dollars. Mr. Mosler is now about forty years of age. He first painted portraits almost exclusively. His first composition was called "The

Lost Cause," which was a great success, patriotic and loyal in tone, and showing a real genius for art. When a student, Mr. Beard says, "he was industrious, earnest, conscientious and devoted to his art." He has great business tact, and will no doubt be heard from. He is the only American who has a picture in the Luxembourg gallery in Paris, which is considered a great honor.

Mrs. Caroline S. Brooks, a former Cincinnati, has just finished two busts—Thurlow Weed and William H. Macy in New York—which are highly praised by New Yorkers.

Mr. Edward Foot, a young Cincinnati artist, went abroad a few years ago for study, and has just sent to Cincinnati from Europe some of his paintings in water colors, which are highly commended. He is still in Italy.

Mr. Poole, a young artist of Cincinnati, has several works at Barton's of merit.

Kenyon Cox, a son of Governor Cox of Cincinnati, has spent some time in Europe and is now in New York. His friends are quite sanguine of his success. He has already done some splendid work. He is a superior draughtsman, and is instructor in drawing in the Art Students' League and in the Gotham Art Club of New York. He has done some good work for the Century and is an artist of great possibilities.

I suppose Quincy Ward would be classed as the greatest artist Ohio has produced, Powers second, then Cole, the Beards, H. K. Brown, and after these come Whittridge, and some thirty

or forty others who are equal, if not superior, to any equal number in any other state.

The following is an address delivered before the State Archæological society by the author of this article :

ART AND ARTISTS IN COLUMBUS.

Through the exertions of Mrs. John G. Deshler (who remembered art in Columbus so liberally in her will) and a few others, there was an art gallery association incorporated in Columbus in 1877, of which the late Judge J. R. Swan was president. He was much interested in art, and often said that our art school was a great educator of the people. He gave considerable time and attention to formulating a bill to protect art and other associations, and was instrumental in getting it passed by the legislature. His great reputation as a jurist and his distinguished character as a citizen encouraged those who were struggling amid great discouragement to do something for art in Columbus. Such a life is missed when it goes out of the community, and it may well come as a lesson in useful citizenship. The art school of Columbus began its organization January 6, 1879, with Mrs. Alfred Kelley as president. This school has a course as definite and thorough at any higher institution of learning, and a diploma is given in completing the prescribed course, which cannot be done in less than two years. The course of study, comprising three terms annually, embraces a wide range of instruction in free-hand and mechanical drawing, life sketching, oil and water-color painting, wood carving, china decoration, art needle-work, modeling in clay, hammered brass, designing. The school is provided with a competent corps of teachers and a large collection of casts and models ; also an art library of great value, presented by the Ladies Reading club (of which Mrs. James A. Wilcox is president), who supply all works on art needed. These equipments are mainly due to the untiring efforts of the ladies of the art association, of which Mrs. Ezra Bliss has been president for seven years. The art school depends for its support on receipts from regular and honorary memberships, fees, tuition, donations and bequests. Its advantages are open to all who choose to avail themselves of them, and its influence is one of the most refining and beneficial that can permeate our homes, firesides and social circle.

Our city has already produced an enviable amount and quality of art talent. We have a circle of young artists, some of whom have more than a local reputation. The school holds its regular annual exhibition in June, and they cannot fail to develop greatly in popular favor and interest from year to year. The art association was established in October, 1878, and the art school was organized by this association a few months afterward, all due to the persevering efforts of the intelligent ladies of the city. Its doors are open to students of both sexes and all ages. Catalogues and circular of the school are furnished every year, with names of officers and teachers. Original papers of the most interesting and useful description, are given free once a month during the school year. As a proof of the wide influence of the school, the total number of students in the various classes, from the organization of the school in 1896, and these represent forty-three cities and nine states. There are a number of young artists of great promise, who are teachers in the art school. There is an evening school, twice a week, free to all. The school has about one hundred and fifty scholarships.

In July, 1883, a committee was appointed at Saratoga, New York, at the meeting of the art department of the National Educational association, to inquire into the methods of study throughout the country, and report a course of study in drawing for public schools. This committee reported the following year at the meeting at Madison, Wisconsin. Information in answer to questions or printed blanks had been received from sixty-nine cities in twenty different states. Columbus, Ohio, was reported as one of four of these cities that had a fully developed course in all grades ; the other three cities were in Massachusetts, and the course of study adopted at the convention was the same as that practiced in Columbus. Very many former pupils in these schools are now using their knowledge thus gained in earning their livelihood. Several have become artists, many art teachers, numbers are in architects' or engineering offices, some are designers, and others are finding use for their knowledge as mechanics.

The Columbus schools were represented at the New Orleans exposition, and a paper of that city, the *Times-Democrat*, spoke as follows regarding it :

"The drawings from Columbus, Ohio, are conceded to be unsurpassed in the exposition. Their logical arrangement has excited general admiration and merited praise."

Professor Goodnough is the efficient teacher in

this department, to whom great credit is due for its success.

The result of a close study of the pupils themselves in the public art schools, far from interfering with the regular school studies, seems to aid them materially. This is the opinion of the teachers in the grammar schools.

That the pupils in the art schools begin to take a greater interest in reading of all kinds, and that in visiting exhibitions or when seeing art work or tasteful manufactures, they criticise what is before them with more ability than grown persons display, who have not been trained to understand designing and application. That the children all regard the art work of the school as being as attractive as any amusement, and as the drawing is not merely copying but original design, they regard it also as agreeable employment. If the bell did not ring to summon them to cease, the pupils would never leave off designing, modeling and wood carving. I wish our school-rooms could be provided with works of art, and also with plants and flowers. The influence of good pictures upon children is wonderful. It is mentioned in the 'Life of President Garfield,' that the wife of a farmer, far in the country, being astonished that her boys, one after another, developed a passion for going to sea; the explanation was given when some one pointed to the picture of a ship at full sail which hung over the chimney-piece of the room with which they were most familiar. Who of us cannot recall some picture which has exercised at some time or another an intense effect upon himself?

William W. Walcutt was a native of Columbus, and a brother of General Walcutt of this city. I remember him well as an artist of promise when I came to Columbus in 1840. He moved to New York and was considered a man of great artistic ability. He was the sculptor of the Perry statue in Cleveland and of many private citizens of New York. He painted and modeled also. He modeled the bronze statue of the late Dr. S. M. Smith, corner of High and Broad streets. He had a brother (Broderick), who moved to Missouri, who was also an artist of promise. Also a brother Charles, who moved to Kentucky, was an artist. All are now dead. An intimate friend of Mr. Walcutt says of him:

Knowing him to be an artist of talent and reputation, it seemed to be a matter of regret that he should be obliged to spend seven hours a day in the discharge of duties in the custom-house, New York, which, for the most part, had no connection with art. But he needed the two thousand dollars or more

salary which he received annually, and never felt able to give up his place. He had a gentle and lovable character, a most genial disposition, and a singularly guileless nature. His integrity was irreproachable. I never saw enough of his works to judge of him as a sculptor and painter. The statue of Dr. S. M. Smith, I did not like in plaster. He worked upon it at a disadvantage, as it was too dark after office hours to do much. The impression he left upon artists in New York with whom I have talked, is that Walcutt had artistic feeling and the true artist temperament, but did not often succeed in giving expression in marble or on canvas to the noble thoughts and conceptions born in him. Under more favorable conditions he might have been a really great artist.

John Henry Witt was born in Dublin, Wayne county, Indiana, near the Ohio border, in 1840. The beautiful face of a little girl at school awakened a love of beauty in him, and he spent much time in drawing profiles of the object of his admiration on his slate and on paper. These first pictures were frequently bought by the school boys and paid for in pins. When quite young he painted wagons and ornamented buggies. William L. Woods, afterwards secretary for many years of the House committee on public lands, a good amateur artist, taught him the tones and relations of colors. He went to Ohio in his eighteenth year. J. O. Eaton painted the strongest portraits and figure pieces of all that he then came in contact with in Cincinnati, and Witt gained much knowledge of art from Eaton. The latter was born in Ohio, and came to Cincinnati a green, awkward country boy. He flourished from about 1858 to 1865. He excelled in portraits of children. In the fall of 1862 Witt settled in Columbus. He painted many portraits for Columbus people and for sitters from Zanesville, and from all parts of central Ohio. His first ambitious picture was "Rebecca at the Well," which was warmly commended in the *Ohio State Journal*. It was immediately sold for \$500, and now hangs in the new Odd Fellows' hall. This, Witt often refers to as his first encouragement and start. He went to Washington City in 1873, where he painted landscapes or portraits, or both, for the Swayne, Thurman, Sherman and other families. His portrait of Commissary-General Eaton was especially popular. His portraits of Senator Thurman and Justice Swayne were excellent. Mrs. General Sherman said that she would not exchange Mr. Witt's portrait of her mother for any picture in her house. His portrait of Charles Sumner, painted in Sumner's own house, and sold to George Alfred Townsend, is the closest likeness of Sumner existing, but is not especially liked by Sumner's friends be-

cause it does not flatter him. Witt was made a member of the Literary club of Washington, of which Garfield was subsequently a member and president. Witt came to New York in 1878, where he has had a steadily growing success. He has exhibited pictures of undeniable merit in every exhibition of the academy, and has recently been made an associate member of the academy. For some years his genre pictures were all shipped to Chicago and sold there by a single firm. He is now getting from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars for portraits and still larger prices for other pictures. A recent one called "Canoeing," which represents two beautiful ladies in a birch canoe upon a vast and placid expanse of water, is greatly admired by the artists as an example of the best modern art. Witt thinks that the coming artists will excel in technique, that contemporary French artists surpass the Italian masters in technical execution, and so the younger American painters are excelling the older ones in drawing and in all that relates to the manual or technical part of art. "Writing to Santa Claus," and the "Widow's Christmas" are two other recent pictures by Witt that have attracted much attention.

Frank Miller has done strong work, and gives great promise. Phil Clover is full of poetical and artistic conceptions, and at times superior in execution. Silas Martin is persevering, certain, careful and conservative, and is making sure progress toward greater and honorable success. Edward Witt is a strong original figure painter, and promises to become as strong as his brother. All are well known in Columbus as students of Mr. Witt and of his school.

Thomas D. Jones, sculptor, was born in the Welsh hills, near Granville, and died in Columbus. He executed not only the admirable busts of Ewing and Chase, but busts of Clay, Crittenden, Corwin, Taylor, Reverdy Johnson and other men of distinction. He was a genial, courtly gentleman of the old school, who lacked the money-getting instinct. He seemed always in rather straitened circumstances, but his rare familiarity with Shakespeare, and his knowledge of distinguished men, made him socially delightful. He said of all the great men he had intimately known, Tom Corwin was the greatest, and that his genius and incomparable greatness inspired him with awe; that Clay was always on stilts. Ward commends highly Jones' busts of Ewing and Chase.

A friend says: "Tom Jones, sculptor, was among the notables of our art fraternity in the fifties. A

man of positive talent, but showed in his work the lack of early training and art education. He was entirely original, had a great love and admiration for the heroic and classic in art. In looks, dress and action always dramatic. The long hair and piercing eyes, overshadowed by the famous brigand hat, the old Roman toga dramatically thrown over the left shoulder, will ever be kindly remembered by those who had the pleasure and honor of Thomas Jones' acquaintance or friendship. His best works are the busts of Lincoln, Chase and Ewing. He died in Columbus, Ohio, a few years ago."

J. J. Barber was born in Sandusky, and is about forty-two years of age, and as an artist is entirely self-taught. About fifteen years ago he came to Columbus and opened a studio at his home. At first he devoted himself entirely to landscape painting, and his efforts proved quite successful. Some of his pictures of scenes in the Muskingum valley, painted some years ago, are certainly beautiful gems of landscape painting. A few years ago he began to give some attention to cattle painting, and so well has he worked this special line of art that to-day he is recognized as one of the finest and cleverest cattle-painters in America. His cattle pictures have been honored and recognized for their true merit and beauty in nearly all the great art exhibitions of the east, west and south. Mr. Barber is a painstaking artist, and his pictures have been complimented highly by artists and sculptors who have seen them. Considering his opportunities, he certainly deserves great credit. If he only had opportunities of study in some of the art centres of Europe, he would no doubt have a wide reputation as a cattle painter. His circumstances are such that he is obliged to work out his own genius without any aid. He shows great study; his cattle are certainly superb, and the landscapes splendid. We certainly have never seen better cattle pieces by modern artists in any of the galleries of Europe.

Silas Martin is a native of Columbus, and is about forty-four years old. He has devoted his attention to art some twenty years, and has won considerable reputation as a portrait painter. He is very good at fruit painting, and some of his small landscapes are quite clever, but his reputation as an artist rests chiefly as a portrait painter, and as such he stands above any other artist in the city. He is plodding, careful and conservative, and ought to make sure progress toward an honorable success.

Phil Clover was born in this county, and is now about forty years of age. He turned his attention

to art in 1870, and in 1879 he went to Paris and studied under Durand, the noted French painter. In 1882 he returned to this city and since then he has devoted his attention altogether to figure and portrait painting. He is a hard worker, and some of his figure pieces have attracted considerable favorable comment among art critics.

Charles E. Cookman, a former teacher in the art school, is the youngest, and undoubtedly one of the cleverest, of Columbus artists. He is a native of this city, where he resided until a few years ago, when he was called to New York to accept a professor's chair in the Osgood Art institute. Mr. Cookman was displaying considerable skill as a landscape painter, but his fame as an artist is better known by his clever figure-pieces in water colors. He has earned for himself a national reputation, and has the satisfaction of finding a ready sale for his work in the great art centres of the country.

Ellis F. Miller was born in Columbus in 1840 and died in 1884. He was one of the most promising young artists in the state, and if he had lived would have no doubt achieved a high reputation. Mr E. O. Randall of this city, in a highly eulogistic article on Mr. Miller, says: "His pictures have always a quality some one has spoken of as a 'humility before nature.' There is an utter absence of pretension or presumption—never a stroke or shade that betrays 'effect.' His powers are always subordinated humbly and devoutly to the truth. This is one of the charms of his pictures. You realize that they are honestly natural. Mr. Miller was more than a water-colorist. His restless abilities drove his deft hand to every variety of work. Oil, sepia, crayon, charcoal, and in his moods of play and prank—for he had those in the freedom of seclusion—he would deal with the humorous and grotesque. He could have been one of the chiefs of caricature. In his portfolios we have seen penciled imaginings that would be creditable to Craikshank and ideas weird and wild as Dore's. Although his work seemed wrought with such painstaking care, he nevertheless worked with incredible rapidity. Some of his most pleasing pieces were drawn and colored in an afternoon—many minor sketches in portions of an hour. As an etcher he was eminently successful, and was becoming recognized as such in all art centres. In this work he gives us another taste of his quality. The same freedom of feeling, delicacy of touch and clearness of idea mark this department. Mr. Miller was a true and truthful artist. His art has the simplicity and purity of his own unblemished

character. The tenderness and truth of the character of the man was the main secret of the success of the artist. His life, short as it was, taught its lesson and left its impress that shall influence all who shall know the man through the sweet spirit of the artist's works."

Miss Josephine Klippart, daughter of Hon. J. H. Klippart, ex-secretary of the state board of agriculture, is the author of a number of valuable works. She is a native of Columbus. She commenced drawing at six years of age, and water-coloring between ten and twelve years. She spent some time in Europe, and her handling was materially broadened, although she did not adopt the French school. She devotes herself to landscape, flower and figure subjects. Her works have met with ready sale in Philadelphia and Chicago, and at the Cincinnati exposition they received honorable mention. The work by which she will longest be remembered, and on which she spent six years on the first edition, and is now at work with her mother on the second edition, is "The Nests and Eggs of the Birds of Ohio," published and edited by Mrs. N. E. Jones, Circleville, intended to be a companion of "Audubon's Birds of America." The actual nests were collected, probably six, or eight of a kind, and the most characteristic selected as a model. She colors the plates by hand, with Mrs. Jones and another lady, from the original nest. There are three colored plates in each part, and about four parts a year are issued. She has also been engaged in making the drawings on wood for engravings of the fish of Ohio, from the actual fish. The illustrations were first issued in the "Ohio Fish Commissioner's Reports," afterwards the state of Pennsylvania asked the privilege of using the drawings in their reports, and since then many other books have used the cuts. This part of her art work was in the interest of science and will live.

J. H. Mosure came to Columbus in 1864 at the age of ten years, worked with his father frescoing, later in his architectural office, but spent most of his time drawing pictures, and his father placed him under the care of a special artist for one year, and he was quite successful in disposing of his paintings; and under the instruction of J. H. Witt, studied from nature. From here he went to Toledo

and Galveston, Texas, and worked for Harper's and Leslie's illustrated papers. Exhibited regularly in the New York academy with headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia; made there illustrations of the book, 'Uncle Remus' for D. Appleton Company. One of his most meritorious works was a painting 12x20 feet, allegorical, representing the New South welcoming the nations, for the Atlanta cotton exhibition. *Harper's Weekly* say of it: "A fine painting entitled 'The New South,' by Mosure was unveiled and was greeted with warm admiration by the audience." He is a member of the American art union, elected in 1884. He has returned to his old home in Columbus and has a studio here. He has on exhibition some of his negro studies, which certainly excel anything we have ever seen. I bought one called "Uncle Remis," which shows his wonderful power as a delineator of negro character.

When in Rome we went into the studio of C. C. Griswold, and were so delighted with his pictures that we bought one called "Claudes-Tower and the Roman Campagna." The tower is so called because the tower in Claude Loraine's celebrated picture "Il Mulias," in the Doria gallery, is supposed to be painted from it. In the background is Monte Gennaro above Tivoli, with the village of Monticello in the distance. The effect is that of the last moments of sunset as you stand looking towards the east. Mr. E. F. Andrews thinks "it indicates a painstaking artist who studies his works."

Mr. Griswold was a native of Dela-

ware, Ohio, where he was born in 1834. His father, Ezra Griswold, edited a paper at Worthington, one of the first papers published in the state, and edited and published the first newspaper ever printed in Columbus. He has a brother who is editor of the Lancaster, Ohio, *Gazette*. One of the brothers, Victor, was a promising artist, and all his five brothers showed artistic talent. He went to Cincinnati to learn wood engraving. He received all his instruction from his elder artist brother referred to above. He went to New York, and after various vicissitudes and discouragements determined to become a painter. He gathered what knowledge of art he possessed in his own way, by observation and study of nature and of pictures, until he went to Europe to get the best instruction possible. He painted a number of pictures which were considered of decided ability, showing genius and great artistic skill. "Simple, truthful and tender in feeling, the works of this artist have grown in public estimation and artistic promise." He has been in Rome about fifteen years, and we are told that he stands high as a painter and his paintings find ready sale.

CLEVELAND.

There was established in Cleveland the Western Reserve School of Design for women, October 2, 1862, by Mrs. Harriet J. Kester, with but one student, in a small studio of Mrs. S. M. Kimball, the projector of the enterprise. On the thirteenth of November, 1882, the school was incorporated, and the officers took charge of the institution.

Mrs. Mary Scranton Bradford is the president. Means will be provided for women and boys who are not able to meet the expense of a thorough industrial art education, under certain conditions. In October, 1884, there were fifty-five pupils; in February, 1885, fifty-nine names were enrolled. A course of lectures on history and art is provided. The expenses are provided for by subscription.

"The curriculum of the Western Reserve School of Design for Women includes design, ornamentation and its analysis; technical design, as applied to various industrial purposes; mechanical drawing and architecture; botanical analysis; wood-carving and lithography; also etching, wood-engraving, modeling, glass painting, china decoration, art needlework, flowers from nature, and landscape painting from nature. The course of study is divided into eight stages: First, natural and conventional forms of fruits and flowers from the cast; second, ornamentation from the cast; third, vase forms and geometrical solids from the cast; fourth, detail of figure from the cast; fifth, features—ears, eyes, nose and mouth from the cast; sixth, antique busts; seventh, statues; eighth, portraiture."

With the exception of the Women's School of Design, there does not seem to have been anything done by the people in a collective capacity for art. The late Mr. Hurlbut left to his wife, in trust for the city of Cleveland, the house and grounds of the family on Euclid avenue and their private gallery of pictures, in which are some very fine

examples of modern art. This donation will form the nucleus of a public art gallery, to be controlled and managed by a board of trustees, provided the city does certain things which are conditioned precedent; and it is to be hoped that the citizens will feel public-spirited enough to foster it by the purchase, from time to time, of good pictures and statuary. Cleveland has had, and still has, some good artists. Among them, standing, as he did and still does, a pioneer in art, "in times which tried men's souls," was Allen Smith, jr., who came to Cleveland over forty years ago, when about thirty-five years of age, with a reputation which was already fine among the older men of the east. He was an "Academician," which was once a greater honor than it is to-day. His work still holds its own.

Jarvis F. Hanks was well worthy of the time and place in which he lived. James H. Beard first took lessons in painting of Hanks, at fifty cents a lesson. These two men struggled along working out their own genius, without any of the advantages for study such as the aspirant of to-day can command. They accomplished much towards creating a love for and appreciation of art in this, which was then "quite a backwoods settlement." One of his friends says the coming of Allen Smith to Cleveland was a virtual exile; it was simply throwing away his best chances for knowledge, fame and fortune. He has now retired to a quiet spot in Lake county, where, with his family, he enjoys his declining years at the age of seventy-eight or eighty years.

Among the most studious and promising younger artists, who are sure to merit success, may be mentioned, Rufus May Smith, (who paints landscapes and marine pictures—the latter superior to any we have seen in the west), and a Mr. Willard, who were both born in Bedford, Cuyahoga county. Also Mr. Scott Evans, whose reputation is for a peculiar *genre* picture in which the rendering of fine drapery is a great essential. He is a frequent exhibiter at the Academy in New York. Mr. Otis Bacher, now in Paris, was born in Cleveland. Another, Sion Wenbau, who is quite well and favorably known as an etcher. Mr. John Kavanaugh, who has studied abroad, bids fair to make a good figure and portrait painter. Mr. Edward Piexotto, who has spent most of his life in Paris, is said to be a good portrait painter.

One says, "We have in Cleveland first-class material for the development of art feeling, etc., but there never has been any concerted action on the part of the citizens to do with us and by us what other cities of less wealth and smaller have done with their art materials. In a public way we are far behind such cities as Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Columbus, etc. Individually, we are moderately well patronized, but that is all that can be said. Cleveland puts most of its art on the outside of the houses and in horse flesh."

Rufus Wright was born in Cleveland in 1832. He painted portraits of Chief Justice Taney, Secretary Stanton, Seward and others. He turned his atten-

tion, in 1875, to composition pictures. Many of his paintings show thought and high artistic genius. We believe Mr. Wright now resides in Ohio.

Miss Caroline L. Ransom of Cleveland exhibited her portrait of General George H. Thomas, which we saw in the rotunda of the capitol in Washington. General Garfield and others tried to have the government purchase it for ten thousand dollars, but they were not successful. Miss Ransom is an industrious and painstaking artist, and deserves great credit for her perseverance, notwithstanding the criticisms she has received from the artists.

Miss Ransom painted from life a portrait of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, in 1859, which was purchased by congress, and hangs in the room of the old house of representatives. This was the first work of art by a woman purchased by this government. Also a head and bust portrait of Senator B. F. Wade; a portrait of Dr. J. P. Kirtland, owned by his daughter, Mrs. Pease of Cleveland; a portrait of Governor John Brough, in 1863, which was purchased by Mr. Witt of Cleveland and presented to Edwin M. Stanton. Also portraits of Governors, J. D. Cox and Worthington, in the rotunda of the state house at Columbus. Portraits of ex-Lieutenant-governors Lee and Hart, in the senate chamber, Columbus. Portrait of President Garfield, in major-general uniform, for Mrs. Garfield, for which she paid twenty-five hundred dollars. Portraits of Salmon P. Chase, Alexander Hamilton, General John A. Dix, in the treasury building, Washington. Portraits of General Mc-

Pherson and many citizens of Cleveland. She is now engaged on portraits of General Grant, from studies taken in 1876, and of General Garfield, from studies taken in 1864. Miss Ransom may well be called a pioneer artist of Ohio. She was born in Newark, Licking county, Ohio, but is a resident of Cleveland. Washington city is her winter home.

DAYTON.

In 1880 the art-loving ladies of Dayton organized an art society; Mrs. O. M. Gottschall was president. Besides the excellent lady teachers, Miss Rogers and Miss Forer, they secured the services of Professor Browne of New Jersey, a man of rare versatility as a teacher, both as an original artist and critic. They secured an eligible old-fashioned residence with large grounds, and the Decorative Art society provided the necessary appliances and material, and they succeeded most admirably in their work. They had large classes in water colors, oil, in clay modeling, china painting, and other forms of decorative art. Professor Browne, after three years of excellent service, was induced to return east. But the ladies of Dayton were not disheartened, but during the six years of the society's existence, there has always been a well-directed enthusiasm of the president, Miss Carrie Brown. Several of the ladies have private enamel kilns at their houses, and are very successful in firing them. Dayton has had a number of prominent artists, among them were:

Mr. E. Edmonson, born in Dayton of Quaker parentage. He was one of

the most promising artists. Was self-taught and of a very retiring disposition. He first attracted attention by his extremely faithful studies in still life. His first vegetable and game pieces were in such demand as soon to enable him to treble his prices. He painted honestly, not to catch a customer. In later years he turned his attention to portrait painting, and succeeded admirably. One of his best portraits is of Garfield, which hangs in the Odd Fellows' hall in Dayton. He went to California for his health and died there.

Mr. Charles Soule was born in Maine in 1809, and came to Ohio when a child. It was his delight to get a pencil and paper or slate and draw whatever was about him. He came to Dayton when nineteen years of age. He first painted carriages and signs, but was induced to turn his attention to portrait painting, and his success was so great that orders came to him from prominent citizens of Cincinnati and from the west. He went to New York in 1856, and returned to Cleveland, and died in Dayton, March 30, 1869. His portraits will always be admired for their distinguishing excellence. He was widely known in the west and south, and his associates in his profession universally acknowledged his power, amounting to genius.

TOLEDO.

The Toledo Manual Training school was established in 1884, and a large building was erected in 1885. The school owes its existence to a bequest made by the late Jesup W. Scott, for the

promotion of industrial education in connection with the public school system. Its course occupies three years, and comprises free-hand drawing, designing, moulding, wood carving, etc. Professor Adams, an instructor, says the work of this school compels the student, whether bright or dull, to give careful thought to every step he takes. Guess work or hurried work will not make a perfect joint, nor a perfect square, nor will it make the lines of a drawing sustain to one another their proper relation.

The Toledo Art school has a membership of over one hundred. The antique class has thirty members. The life class, which meets every Wednesday evening, has an average attendance of forty. Their exhibitions are held semi-annually at their room, and are well patronized. This association was founded in February, 1885, and is gradually growing and enlarging.

Miss Louise Overmiller, a pupil of Lietzenmyer and Frans Lenbach, studied in Munich and in Paris a number of years, and in Italy. Exhibited in the Paris salon; makes a specialty of composition and figures. Born in Tiffin, Ohio; resides in Toledo.

William Whitlock was born in Ithaca, New York. He studied in Munich in 1865; Antwerp in 1866 to 1871, at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He is located in Toledo.

Mr. Robert Wickenden came to Toledo when twelve years of age; showed a good deal of artistic skill when young, and went to New York in 1881 and entered the Art Student's League; went to Paris in 1883; returned to this coun-

try last fall, and is now located in New York. Exhibited in salon in Paris, and in the Dudley gallery, London, and is now exhibiting in the water-color exhibition in New York.

Mr. L. E. Vangorder of Toledo, graduate of the Academy of Design, New York, ranks well as landscape and *genre* painter. He is now located in New York.

STEUBENVILLE.

Wilson McDonald, the sculptor, was born in Steubenville, Ohio, a few doors from the house in which Edwin M. Stanton was born. The first art he ever saw, was a picture on a silk flag or banner, in the primitive studio of Mr. William Walcutt of Columbus. This was in 1839 or 1840. Mr. McDonald is a very intelligent gentleman, and has studied and lectured upon the pyramids, the mounds of this country, and other interesting subjects. He presented, through the North American Review, a plan for a Grant monument, to cost two millions of dollars. A friend says, "He seems to aim at universal knowledge, and does not concentrate his powers sufficiently on his art." Among his works are a statue of Fitz Green Halleck, in Central Park, and a statue of General Custer at West Point.

We would like to claim Mr. E. F. Andrews as a Columbus artist. He was born in Steubenville, Ohio, in 1838, and was a son of the late Dr. Andrews of Columbus. We heard him highly spoken of by artists in Paris in 1878, as one who was sure to reach a high position in his profession. He resides in Wash-

ington City. We were delighted with his portrait of Martha Washington, which is in the white house, at Washington. The body draperies and accessories are of his own composition, and the whole effect is artistic and shows rare knowledge and refinement. His portraits of Governor Foster and of Governor Hoadly, which hang in the rotunda of the state house, are among the best there which he has just finished. The latter, especially, is an excellent portrait and a work which is much admired by artists. His portraits of Presidents Jefferson and Hayes, and of Mrs. Hayes, in the White House at Washington, are much admired.

SPRINGFIELD.

There were three or four brothers by the name of Frankenstein who lived in Springfield, Ohio, who painted and exhibited a panorama of Niagara Falls, which we remember to have seen in Columbus, which was received with great favor, and many predicted that they would become distinguished artists. "The coloring of Niagara by the Frankensteins was better than Church's, and it was a bolder and stronger picture, though less elaborate and finished.

John Frankenstein was looked upon as a prodigy in piano playing. He drew in pencil, pen and ink, and painted in oil from earliest youth. He used to hire old men with marked heads and faces to sit for him while he painted their portraits.

He began modeling in clay very early. He attended the Ohio Medical college,

Cincinnati, and made himself a thorough anatomist.

Aside from his father's example, John Frankenstein never studied with anyone, being himself the master, and he loaned his studio, his aid and his encouragement to all beginners in art that applied to him.

At about sixteen or eighteen he went to Philadelphia and painted many portraits. There, too, several suffering artists made his studio their refuge; among them Joseph Kyle.

Near the same time he went to New York, and became intimate in the family of Governor William H. Seward, who appointed him aide-de-camp on his staff, with the rank of colonel. He made a bust of Mrs Seward, which is at Auburn.

His teacher, instructor, inspirer, was nature, which he studied with unremitting zeal. When about twenty-five years of age he returned to Cincinnati from the east, and in his twenty-seventh year he painted two Scriptural paintings; the first embracing seven or more figures, with Christ the central one. He called it "Christ Mocked in the Pretorium." Thousands upon thousands of people flocked to his studio in Foote's Row to see it. Charles Anderson, a man who had traveled, and of more than ordinary culture, wrote glowing articles about this work. This was followed by another, which he called "Isaiah and the Infant Saviour," bringing the two youths together. These works were bought by a famous art connoisseur in Canada. Many other por-

traits, busts, figure pieces, landscapes, etc., followed.

About 1854 he modeled the figure of a reclining boy with his head on a pillow. He modeled a head of Judge McClean, in 1856 or 1857. Not far from this time he painted a large picture of Niagara, entitled "Niagara, The Love of the Gods."

Godfrey N. and John Frankenstein established the first academy of fine arts in Cincinnati, in 1835, or 1836 perhaps: They had brought from Europe (for the benefit of the pupils of the academy) casts from the antique, embracing many of the finest works. This was at their own expense, with aid of such subscriptions as they could raise. He was the first man that ever painted any views of Niagara Falls on the spot, sometime in 1839 or 1840, I believe. During his boyhood he painted many portraits, etc., in Canada—Toronto, Montreal, Quebec. At the latter place he sketched the Falls of Montmorency.

He painted portraits of John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Abbott Lawrence, and many other distinguished men. Also several portraits of William Cullen Bryant, probably one of the first ever painted of the poet.

Having already spent ten or twelve years at the Falls of Niagara, and painted many pictures on a small scale, he carried out his long-intended design of putting the views in a panoramic form, and this was done in 1851-2, and on the eighteenth of July, 1853, the exhibition was opened at Hope Chapel,

New York, No. 718 Broadway, (which was then occupied as a Sunday meeting place by Adams' Presbyterian church. He left the finest collection of views of Niagara, in oil, in the world. Jenny Lind spent several weeks at the Falls, the summer following her first concert tour, and bought a number of paintings from him.

Godfrey Frankenstein went to Europe for the first time in 1867, and painted many views of the Alps, Lake Geneva, etc.

Eliza Frankenstein, the sister, is a fine landscape painter; she now lives in Springfield, Ohio. She painted in the White mountains and at Niagara.

Gustavus Frankenstein, in 1866-7, made many studies in oil in the mountains of Wales, the first series of studies of the glowing heather.

Mr. J. W. Bookwalter writes me :

During the existence of Mr. Warder's gallery and my own, there was some art spirit developed in Springfield, and several artistically inclined students were inspired to attempt the study and practice of painting, and went to Europe to complete their education, and have returned here enjoying, I believe, much reputation as painters. The terrific duty on works of foreign art, together with the heavy tax thereafter, makes the collection and holding of a gallery of paintings too expensive a luxury. I have directed that all my paintings be sold, which was done at Chickering Hall, New York, on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of February.

I should like to see some steps taken to give an impetus to art in our country, and that can, in my opinion, be best done by encouraging the accumulation of the best examples of all countries, and thereby familiarizing our people with what is really meritorious. It is this encouragement that has developed art in France, Germany and other continental countries.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA,

THE FIRST OVERLAND TRAVELER OF EUROPEAN DESCENT, AND HIS JOURNEY FROM
FLORIDA TO THE PACIFIC COAST—1528-1536.

A BIOGRAPHY of Cabeza de Vaca is easily condensed into a few paragraphs. I have been unable to find the year of his birth, and equally unsuccessful in tracing the date of his demise. The latter, however, took place after 1565, and possibly at Sevilla in Spain.* The original name of his family was Alhaja, but was changed to Cabeza de Vaca in 1212, A. D. The family belonged to the Andalusian nobility (conferred upon them after the battle of las Navas de Tolosa—twelfth of June, 1212), and lived at Xerez.† He went to the Indies as treasurer and alguazil major of the

expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, of which ill-fated body he, two other Spaniards and a negro were sole survivors. With these associates, he performed the almost incredible feat of crossing from Florida to the state of Sonora in Mexico. After his return to Spain in 1537, he was made governor of Paraguay, or rather Adelantado (commander of an expedition for conquest and settlement), and remained in South America until 1544, when he was arrested and brought to Spain as a prisoner. Thereafter Cabeza de Vaca disappears from history; it is impossible to determine whether his arrest and imprisonment were just or not.

*The date of 1565, A. D., results from his dedication of comentarios to Don Carlos of Spain, in which Alvar Nunez says: "Thirty-seven years have elapsed since that long and perilous expedition to Florida." Reckoning from the year when that expedition was destroyed (1528), this would bring his death to after 1565, and if we depart from 1536, date of his arrival in Sinaloa, it would even carry it beyond 1573.

† For these and all other biographical details concerning Cabeza de Vaca, I refer in order to cut short an otherwise long biographical list, to the following works. *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, by H. Ternaux Compans, Paris, 1837. *Commentaires d'Alvar Núñez de Vaca*. (Preface), pp. 1 to 4).—(Enrique de Vedia *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Vol. I, 1852. Preliminares pp. 18, 21.

That remarkable overland trip, executed on foot and under the most distressing circumstances, forms the subject of this sketch. Cabeza de Vaca is commonly credited with having discovered New Mexico, but this is an error, though a widely circulated one.

The sad tale of Narvaez' disasters has often been told. Misfortunes befell him from the day he left San Lucar de Barrameda in Spain (17-29 June 1527).‡ They culminated in the destruction of his fleet, in his own death, in the gradual extermination of his men, except

‡ This date is so frequently mentioned that it needs no special references.

four, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado of Salamanca, Andrés Dorantes of Béjar, and Estévanico, an Arabian negro of Azamor. These four men, after six years of separation, met on the coast of eastern Texas.* They had been prisoners of various roving tribes, by whom they had been dragged hither and thither, sometimes inland, sometimes along the coast. Their captors rarely showed any consideration; on the contrary, they ill-treated the wretched Spaniards until Cabeza de Vaca, having observed the methods employed by Indians for healing and curing, and urged by the same Indians to become a medicine-man, began to apply his scanty knowledge of medicine and surgery with considerable success. He also became a peddler, penetrating into the interior and along the coast as far as one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles, exchanging shells and shell-beads for skins, red earth, flint flakes and other products of northern countries. He reached the vicinity of Red river, south of Shreveport, but always returned to the coast again in hopes of meeting some companions of misfortune.†

When the four unfortunates at last came together, they were naked like

* The term of five years is established by Cabeza de Vaca 'Naufragios,' Chap. xvi, (in Vedia, I, p. 529). *Fuéron casi seis años el tiempo gueyo estuve en esta tierra solo entre ellos y desnudo.* Oviedo 'Historia general y natural de Indias,' (edition of 1853, Vol. III, Lib. xxxv, Chap. iv. p. 601). *Vino Cabesa de Vaca a se juntar con essotros, que avia cinco años que lo avian dexado atrás.*

† 'Naufragios,' (Vedia I, p. 529.)

their Indian masters, their bodies were emaciated, bruised and torn. But they had acquired a great store of practical knowledge about the country and its inhabitants, and the practice of medicine seemed—for one of them at least—unusual prestige among the natives. Communicating to each other what they had seen and learned, they reached the conclusion that, in order to extricate themselves from their forlorn condition, it was best to improve the hold which success in healing and curing furnished, and thus induce the Indians to gradually lead them where people of their own race might be met with. To the stormy waters of the Gulf, which had swallowed their ships as well as the frail boats and rafts hastily constructed on the coast of Florida, they did not dare to entrust themselves. Besides, the Indians would not have suffered them to escape in that direction. Their only hope, therefore, lay in the west. They knew that expeditions from Mexico reached the Rio Panuco and the Pacific coast. By shifting slowly from one Indian tribe to another, always proceeding in a westerly direction as much as possible, countries might at last be reached into which other Spaniards penetrated, or whose inhabitants had knowledge of Spanish settlements.

In the course of ten months‡ this adventurous plan was carried out, and on the 1-12 of May, 1536, Cabeza de Vaca and associates reached San

‡ Oviedo, "Historia General, etc., (III, p. 604.) "è hicoló Dios tan bien, que lo que no pensaban andar aunque las vida les turara ocho años, la andovieron en diez meses."

Miguel de Culiacan, in Sinaloa.* They had traveled as successful medicine men from tribe to tribe. Their cures were attributed by themselves to miracle, since they accompanied them with prayers, and made the sign of the cross over invalids. Whatever may be thought of this explanation, it is given sincerely by the wanderers. Unacquainted with the art of healing, driven to practice it by urgings, threats, and even violence, of savages who controlled their lives, the Spaniards had consented with fear and trembling, and when, against their own hopes, success attended the first cases, it was but natural to attribute such unexpected results to miraculous intervention of divine power. What sort of treatment they adopted can be inferred from what knowledge they confess to of the practices of medicine-men among Indians, consequently of curative herbs also. To this they added Catholic prayers and empirical facts, such as any person at the age of reason is likely to possess. Armed with the Indian sorcerer's favorite rattle, performing the sign of the cross, and orations in Latin, they represented a grotesque compound of the

medicine-man and of the missionary.† But their success was such that they acquired full ascendancy over the savages, and they improved it, not for purposes of lust and greed, but in order to prevail upon the natives to guide them as swiftly as possible and as directly as possible "toward sunset."

It is not the wanderer's sufferings and woes, neither is it the adventurous cast of the whole journey which attracts our attention here; it is the small cluster of facts, topographical, botanical zoological and ethnographical, gathered, and subsequently recorded, by Cabeza de Vaca and his friends. These data are necessarily meagre, still they enable us to trace the line of march which the travelers must have followed. That line of march led them, not as has commonly been admitted, through any part of New Mexico, but considerably south of it, through southern Texas and central Chihuahua into Sonora; thence south into Sinaloa.

Until now, investigations of the trip of Cabeza de Vaca have been founded upon his book, published at Valladolid in 1555, under the title of '*Naufragios, y Relacion de la Jornada que hizo à la Florida.*'‡ Accessory information was gathered from the contemporary work of Gomara and from Herrera's great and reliable compilation. Another contem-

* This date is well settled—Cabeza de Vaca '*Naufragios,*' (Vedia I, Chap. xxxiii, p. 546.) "Y pasados quince dias que alli habiamos llegado." (p. 547) "En la villa de Sant Miguel estuvimos hasta 15 dias del mes de Mayo." Antonio de Herrera, '*Historia general de los Hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del mar Ociano.*' (Edition of 1726, Dec. VI, Libr. I, Chap. vii, p. 11 of Vol. II.) speaks of a certificate issued on the fifteenth of May (old style) and adds: "i haviendo estado alli quince dias."

† Compare '*Naufragios,*' (Chap. xxi, xxii, etc.) Oviedo '*Historia general etc.,*' (III, p. 603 etc.)

‡ In quoting the '*Naufragios*' I use the copy of it contained in Vol. I of Vedia's '*Historiadores primitivos de Indias.*' I have collated it with the original and found it very reliable. The full title I omit as unnecessary.

porary of Cabeza de Vaca, and one who was personally acquainted with him, has, in the meantime, been overlooked. This is Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. His voluminous 'Historia general y natural de Indias' contains an almost literal copy of a report which Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo and Dorantes *jointly* made to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, besides notice of an interview which Oviedo had with the first one at Madrid, and a critical comparison of the two writings.* It appears that the *joint* report was never printed, although *this*, and not the 'Naufragios' is the proper official document. Still there is little discrepancy between the two. They corroborate each other in all important topics, and differ merely in subordinate matters.

While Narvaez evidently landed on the western coast of Florida, and the majority of his men perished around the Mississippi Delta at sea, or on the shores west of it, only the mouths of the great rivers are mentioned.† Their most unhappy days were spent in a quadrangle, bounded by the gulf on the south, the Mississippi on the east, Red river on the north, and Trinity river on the west. West of Sabine river they started on their long peregrination in

August, 1535, †† heading as directly as possible for the west.

They had acquired such influence over the Indians that the latter, even sometimes against their own inclinations, guided the Christians almost constantly towards *sunset*. ‡ Still they kept at no great distance from the coast, though with the intention of removing from it. || They traveled five days, crossing a river "wider than Guadalquivir at Sevilla," and quite deep. § This river was the Trinity. Three days march west of this river they began to see mountains, one range of which seemed to sweep directly northward. One day further, or "five leagues further on" they reached another river, "at the foot of the point where the said mountains commenced.** That river was the Brazos and by "mountains"—the hills of central Texas must be understood. Cabeza de Vaca says he estimated the distance of these "mountains" from the sea to be fifteen leagues (forty miles about. People from the coast came in one day to visit them. ††

††Oviedo 'Hist. general' (III, p. 603).

‡ It is superfluous to quote here. The allusions are too numerous.

|| *Ut supra*.

§ Oviedo 'Hist. general' (p. 604.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxvii, p. 539).

** 'Hist. general' (p. 605.) 'Naufragios' (p. 539, Chap. xxviii).

†† 'Naufragios' (Chapter xxviii, p. 539.) 'Oviedo' (p. 605). 'E luego aquella noche enviaron á llamar gente abaxo hácia el mar, y el día siguiente vinieron muchos hombus é mugeres á ver estos chripstianos è sus miraglos, è á traerlos cosas que les diceon, è aquestos trabaxocon mucho por los llevar hacia la mar."

* Edition of 1852 (Vol. III, Lib. xxxv,) or the entire thirty-fifth book (sixteenth of the second part) is devoted to Cabeza de Vaca, his friends, and their adventures.

† Oviedo 'Hist. General' (III, p. 592, p. 600,) not 'Naufragios' mentions the river of 'Espiritu Santo' at the latter's mouth. Under that name the Mississippi was known.

Here they changed their direction, and moved northwards along the base of a "mountain chain," and partly away from water-courses, eighty leagues according to the joint report—fifty according to Cabeza de Vaca. The last estimate is more likely, for the journey was painful and slow, and they experienced great scarcity of food as well as of water.* In this manner they reached the vicinity of Fort Graham. Here they changed their route, making towards sunset again.

Including lengthy stays among Indian hordes, our Spaniards consumed nearly two months in these wanderings, so that it was November when they began to move westward again. Guided by sunset and sunrise, they consequently followed a line *south* of west, it being now late in the fall. The further they advanced, the greater became that southerly deflection. They crossed the Colorado and finally struck a large river, to which they gave the name "Rio de las Vacas"† or, river of the cows, since the buffalo herds were said to roam more than fifty leagues up the river.‡

This is the last stream mentioned in either of the "relations." It was evidently the Rio Grande.

Here both reports become extraordinarily diffuse, although the joint nar-

* 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxviii to xxx.) 'Oviedo' (pp. 605, 608).

† 'Naufragios' (Chap. 542]. The name is properly given, not to the river, but to the Indians who lived on its shores, but he adds: "y porque aquel rio arriba mas de cincuenta leguas, van matando muchas de ellas."

‡ *Ut supra.*

ative is less so than Cabeza de Vaca's book. Still, it is easily discernible that the Spaniards struck the Rio Grande *without crossing the Pecos*, therefore below or very near the latter's mouth. Refusing to go due north where the "cows" were, they followed the eastern bank for fifteen (the 'Naufragios' have seventeen) days.§ The mountains were to the north, and during this tramp they suffered much from hunger. At the end of fifteen, or of seventeen, days they crossed the river to the west. The distance from the mouth of the Pecos to Presidio del Norte (where the Rio Conchos empties into the Rio Grande) is about two hundred and fifty miles, a reasonable stretch for fifteen days, of wearisome and difficult foot travel. I conclude, therefore, that they crossed the latter river about Fort Seaton. Thereafter their route lay towards sunset again, and no more water courses are mentioned.

At the end of seventeen days (says Cabeza de Vaca) they entered high mountains, and found people who lived in houses of sod and clay, as well as in huts of boughs and palm leaves.||

In a straight line, the eastern flank of the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua is scarcely two hundred miles from the mouth of Conchos. This distance increases if we take a more southerly deflection. At all events, it was easy for the four adventurers to reach the mountain-chain in the time specified. They traversed it for upwards of eighty

§ Oviedo (p. 609.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxxi, p. 544.)

|| *Ibid.*

leagues (two hundred and sixteen miles), and at last reached a valley which, owing to the fact that its inhabitants fed them on hearts of deer, was called by them "Valle de los Corazones," (Valley of the Hearts,)* a name which, for some time thereafter, has been quite prominent in the history of colonization of the Pacific coast.

The valley of the "Corazones" lays south of "Batuco," in the present state of Sonora. It was also north of the Yaqui river.† Consequently it belonged

*Oviedo (p. 610.) 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxxii.)

† Pedro de Castaneda de Nagera. 'Relation du voyage de Cibola' (French translation by Ternaux Compans) says that the "Valle de los Corazones" was below that of the Sonora river (p. 157). He also states that: "Quand l'on fut arrive à Batuco, des Indiens alliés de la vallée des Coracones vinrent au devant de l'armée pour voir le général." Consequently it was near Batuco and south of it. Batuco itself belongs to the "Eudeves," a Pima dialect, but the Pimas proper reach as far south as Comuripa. Manuel Orozco y Berra 'Geografía de las lenguas y carta etnográfica de México' (pp. 344 and 351.) Compare also: P. Andres Perez de Ribas. 'Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fee entre Gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe; conseguidos por los soldados de la milicia de la compania de Jesus, etc.' (Madrid 1645. Lib. vi, Cap. I. page 358.) Comoripa, Tecoripa, Suaqui are ascribed to the "Nebomes bajos." "Nebome" is synonymous with Pima, therefore to the lower Pimas. Finally: Juan Jaramillo 'Relation du voyage fait à la nouvelle terre sous les ordres du général Francisco Vasquez Coronado etc.' (in 'Rel: du voy. de Cibola,' appendix p. 366) describes the valley of Hearts, and indicates that it lay at least two days march of the Yaqui and north of it. Antonio de Mendoza ('Lettre à l'empereur Charles V,' 'Cibola,' appendix p. 289) says the "Co-

to what is called the lower "Pimeria," and its inhabitants were Pima Indians. It was in a straight line, south of west of Presidio del Norte (or in the proper direction of sunset) and the distance, allowing for circuits and turns, which a very difficult mountain region would cause, agrees perfectly with the itinerary of Cabeza de Vaca and his followers. Here they found the first traces of Spanish intercourse, and henceforth turned to the south, almost reaching the Pacific coast. They kept at a distance of about thirty miles from it.‡ Near the confines of Sonora and Sinaloa, between the Yaqui and Mayo rivers, the wanderers at last met their first countrymen—Lázaro Cebreros and four soldiers.§ Still their troubles did

razones' are one hundred and twenty leagues (three hundred and twenty-five miles) north of Culiacan in Sonora. That distance would place it in the vicinity of Batuco with Indians from the Corazones. Cabeza de Vaca 'Naufragios' (pp. 546, 547) founded a colony in Sinaloa. Ribas 'Hist. de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fee etc.' (Lib. I, Cap. vii, p. 25). The settlement was called Bamoa, on the Rio del Fuerte, "y es de lengua y nacion poblada mas de cien leguas mas la tierra adentro." Orozco y Berra 'Geografía de las Lenguas' (p. 333). "La Concepcion Bamoa fué fundada con los indios pimas, que vinieron acompanando en su peregrinacion à Cabeza de Vaca y à sus companeros."

‡ Oviedo (p. 611).

§ 'Naufragios' (Cap. xxxiv, p. 545). Herrera 'Historia general etc.' (Dec. vi, Lib. i, C. vii, p. 10). F. Antonio Tello, 'Historia de la Nueva Galicia' (Vol. II, "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, 1866," Cap. xii, p. 358). Matias de la Mota Padilla 'Historia de la Nueva Galicia,' (Cap. xv, p. 80-81).

not end here, for Cebreros, as well as the Captain Diego Alcàraz, ill-treated them for a time, and it was only at Culiacan (where they arrived on the twelfth of May, 1536) that Melchior Diaz extended to the sufferers a hearty welcome, and bestowed upon them every attention which their long misfortune demanded.

If, now, we retrace our steps from the well-ascertained point of Culiacan, following the trail of Cabeza de Vaca as laid down by himself and his associates, we have to look for the valley of the "Hearts," one hundred leagues at least (two hundred and seventy miles) north of our point of departure. That distance leaves us north of the Rio Yaqui and south of Batuco, latitude twenty-eight degrees thirty minutes about, in Sonora. The first great river east of Sonora is the Rio Grande, next comes the Colorado in Texas, finally the Brazos. Cabeza de Vaca and his friends, traveling from east to west, crossed all the streams mentioned by them. Consequently, those streams ran from north to south on an average. Such a system of drainage flowing to the gulf, west of the Mississippi, is found only in southern Texas. Therefore the Spanish adventurers remained in southern Texas until they reached the Rio Grande, and never entered the territory of New Mexico.

Once across the Rio Grande, they moved uniformly towards sunset, that is south of west. That course, instead of approaching New Mexico, carried them away from its southern borders.

The itineraries of the castaways con-

tain reference to plants of the regions traversed, and these references bear upon the route followed, inasmuch as they characterize vegetation. In the earlier part of the narratives, those which treat of the eastern sections, the coast and the swamp flora of Louisiana is sufficiently indicated.* Further on, on their westward journey, three of the most characteristic nutritive plants of the southwest are mentioned on various occasions. These are the "Tuna," or prickly pear, (*Opuntia*), the "Mezquite," (*Algarrobia glandulosa*), and in the hilly or mountainous districts of Texas, the Pinon (*Pinus edulis*).† West of central Texas, however, and along the Rio Grande, stress is laid in the fact that vegetation becomes scant and devoid of alimentary species. In the Sierra Madre palms are alluded to.‡ All these data corroborate the route which I have determined.

It is equally noteworthy that nowhere any mention is made of the great plain now called "Llano estacado," which occupies southeastern New Mexico as well as northern Texas. Its extent, peculiar vegetation and great aridity could not fail to attract the attention of the travelers. Their Indian guides, however, kept far south of

* Compare 'Naufragios,' (Chap. xii to Chap. xx); also Oviedo (Lib. XXXV, Chap. iii to v.)

† The description agrees with a small Pinon tree. Oviedo (Chap. v, pp. 606 and 607.) The tree was found in the Sierras. See also 'Naufragios' (Chap. xxix, p. 540,) "hay por aquella tierra pinos chicos, y las pinas de ellas son como huevos pequeños."

‡ Oviedo (Chap. VI, p. 609.)

the desert, thus tracing a line of march through *southern* Texas at least one degree of latitude below the New Mexican boundary.

Had the adventurous Spaniards ever trod the soil of eastern or southern New Mexico, they would have come in contact with immense herds of buffaloes. They saw the great quadruped several times during the first six or seven years of their adventurous career. Cabeza de Vaca states that it occasionally reached the Gulf coast in Florida*—but so soon as they began to travel westward, the buffalo country remained always to the *north* of them, and at some distance.† Once across the river and in Chihuahua, they did not hear any more of the “hunch-backed cows.”‡ To leave the buffalo grounds steadily in the north while travelling to the west, meant striking across *southern* Texas exclusively, and to reach the Rio Grande at or below the mouth of the Pecos river.

Lastly, the narratives fairly teem with diffuse information about the inhabitants of the country. Unfortunately the names used in order to designate tribes and bands are such that we cannot determine anything from them. Out of eight-

teen or twenty names of “languages,” not one can be identified as yet.§ It is different, however, with the picture presented of the degree of culture and mode of life. This picture shows roving tribes without fixed abode, subsisting from fishing along the coast at certain periods of the year, scattering towards the interior during the seasons when certain wild fruits ripened. The weapons of these natives consisted of bows and of arrows tipped with fish bones, shell fragments, and with flint brought from the interior by exchange. Further westward the mode of life became less transitory, and as they approached the Rio Grande, while the population was more numerous, their excursions seemed to be confined to buffalo ranges, which invariably lay further north.|| Beyond Texas in Chihuahua, Indians were as wild as east of it. It was only among the “high mountains,” which I have identified as the “Sierra Madre,” that tribes were found who enjoyed more permanent abodes.

There, too, the Spaniards met with the first fields of maize or Indian corn,¶ neither in Louisiana nor in Texas, nor in Chihuahua, had they found any tribe which cultivated that great American staple. Beans were raised on the Rio Grande, otherwise vegetable food con-

* ‘Naufragios’ [Chap. xviii, p. 532.] Oviedo [Interview de. p. 617.]

† Oviedo [Chap. VI, pp. 608 and 609.] ‘Naufragios’ [Chap. xxx and xxxi.]

‡ ‘Vacas Corcobadas’—Thus they are called by Francisco Lopez de Gomara. ‘Historia General de las Indias’ [in Vedia, ‘Historiadores primitivos, etc.,’ Vol. I, p. 288.]—The reports of Cabeza de Vaca were the earliest notices received in Europe of the buffalo, which were of a positive and well-defined nature.

§ Compare ‘Naufragios’ (Chap. xxvi).

¶ ‘Naufragios,’ [Chap. xxx, xxxi].

¶ ‘Idem’ [Chap. xxx] The Indians knew maize, but they had not planted any for several years, owing to drouth. So they brought what they needed from the west. “Tambien nosotros quesimos saber de donde habian traido aquel maiz, y ellos nos dijeron que de donde el sol se ponía.”

sisted of wild fruits, leaves and roots exclusively.*

Neither did the inhabitants of the country use or make any *pottery*. Gourds supplied the want of ceramic utensils.† Had, now, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions touched any part of New Mexico, they could not have failed to meet corn-tilling and pottery-making aborigines, or to hear of them in a very definite manner, as also of the permanent abodes of the so-called Pueblos. Nothing of the sort is told or intimated. In central Texas, between the Brazos and Colorado, a copper-rattle was given to them which, the Indians claimed, had been brought from the west, together with some cotton cloth.‡ The most southerly villages of New Mexican natives existed in the sixteenth century about San Marcial,§ at least three hun-

dred and fifty miles north-northwest of Presidio del Norte. Intercourse was difficult and slow; the tribes of central Texas seldom, if ever, came in contact with the Pueblos, and then only on buffalo hunts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the travelers heard nothing of countries and people so far distant, and it is certain that they never set their foot on New Mexican soil, as far as the territory is understood to extend at the present time.

The first houses of earth or sod which they saw were those in the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua. The locality or region is established by the statement that the people of these villages had *parrot's feathers* in such quantities that they traded them off further north in exchange for *turquoises*.|| The green parrot is no inhabitant of either New Mexico or Arizona. It dwells in the pine forests of the Sierra Madre; therefore south of the Mexican boundary. The Indians who inhabited these buildings belonged, evidently, to the Jovas, a linguistical branch of the *Pimas of Sonora*.¶ Like their congeners they had houses of sod or of large, coarse "adobes," as an exception, the *rule* being for them to live in huts of canes and palm leaves.** Such is also the

* References to these facts are numerous in Cabeza de Vaca as well as in the joint report, so that quotations are superfluous.

† See 'Naufragios' [Chap. xxx].

‡ 'Idem' [Chap. xxix,] 'Ovieda' [p. 606]. The rattle probably came from the northeast.

§ This is abundantly proven. I refer to the following papers contained in the 'Coleccion de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones espanolas en América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias.'

1. Pedro de Bustamante and Hernan Gallegos 'Testimonio' sixteenth of May, 1582, [pp. 83-89, Vol. XV].

2. 'Relacion breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del nuevo Mexico,' sixth of October, 1583. [Vol. XV, pp. 146-147].

3. Antonio de Espejo 'Relacion del Viaje,' [p. 109]. 'Expediente y Relacion, etc.' [p. 172].

4. Juan de Onate, 'Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el campo de su magestad desde la nueva Espana á la Provincia de la nuevo México' [Vol. XVI, p. 250]—and others.

|| 'Naufragios' [Chap. XXXI.] Oviedo [pp. 609 and 610.]

¶ Orozco y Berra Geografía de Lenguas [p. 345.]

‡ Compare Ribas 'Historia de los Triumphos etc.,' [Lib. VI, Chap. vii, p. 369-372; Chap. xviii, p. 391; Chap. ii, pp. 360; Part II, Lib. VIII, Chap. ii, p. 471.] P. Francisco Xavier Alegre 'Historia de la Compania de Jesus en Nueva Espana' [edited by Bustamante in 1841. Vol. I, Lib. III, p. 231-235.]

description furnished by Cabeza de Vaca and his friends. Their joint narrative says: "And those Indians had a few small houses of earth, made of sod, with their flat roofs."* This style of architecture is widely different from the compact, many-storied, Pueblo villages.

The people of these settlements informed Cabeza de Vaca that the parrot plumes which they owned were traded by them with tribes who, in the north, lived among high mountains.† This may be an allusion to the New Mexican village Indians, although it is not absolutely certain. Large houses of clay (and rubble) were inhabited by the "Opatas" also, in the northern Sierra Madre, and the many-storied

"casa grande," "casa blanca," on the banks of the Gila river in Arizona were formerly Pima villages.‡

Even if the information thus picked up and transmitted by Cabeza de Vaca should relate to New Mexico, it does not entitle him to the credit of being the discoverer of that country. Neither was his trip necessary for directing the attention of the Spaniards to the north. But it increased their desire to penetrate in that direction, and furnished a daring, although injudicious guide, in the person of the negro Estévanico, to the subsequent discoverer of New Mexico and of the "Pueblo" Indians—Fray Marcos of Nizza.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

VERITAS CAPUT.

ORIGIN OF LAKE ITASCA'S NAME.

WHEN the school-boy learns in his geography lesson that Lake Itasca is the source of the monarch of North American rivers, he thinks, if at all, of the wild forests, wild beasts and wild men who abound in that mysterious because little known region of Minnesota; but it never occurs to him to inquire whence came the name of the little lake, like a speck on his map, which gives birth to the watery serpent whose sinuous curves wind down through the centre of the continent three thousand

two hundred miles. Yet, if he but chose to ask the question, there lives in Minnesota a man who could answer it, since he was present at the lake's christening. This man is the Rev. W. T. Boutwell, who is now eighty-three years old, and the only survivor of the first American expedition sent to explore the headquarters of the Mississippi, and to reconcile the northwestern Indians to the American government. He gives the following account of the

* Oviedo [p. 609.]

† 'Naufraquios,' Chap. xxxi, p. 543.

‡ Compare my report in the 'Fifth Annual Report of the Archæological Institute of America,' pp. 80, 81,

memorable expedition undertaken in 1832 :

In 1831 Mr. Boutwell was sent by the American board of missions to Mackinaw, Michigan, then the headquarters of the American Fur company. The chief of the Indian missions at Mackinaw, Rev. William Ferry (father of ex-Senator Ferry), set him first at learning the Chippewa language, which occupied his time for a year.

Though England conceded the right of the United States to the northwestern country in 1816, it was several years before the English hunters and trappers were driven out and the Americans put in possession of the territory. Encouraged by their old English friends, the Indians made frequent trips across the border into British America, where hatred of the Americans was incited by the wily Britisher, and the bonds of ancient friendship cemented by liberal presents of tobacco, trinkets, British flags, etc. The natural result was the frequent massacre of American traders and trappers by the savages. In 1832 the American government decided to send an expedition among the Indians, with presents and medals and flags, to convince them of the good intentions of their new great father, and win their friendship and good will.

Accordingly, Henry R. Schoolcraft, the general Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, with Mr. Boutwell, a physician, an interpreter, and a squad of soldiers under Lieutenant Allen, thirty men all told, supplied with all necessaries, started out in row boats. They coasted along the southern shore of Lake Su-

perior to Fort Fond-du-Lac, at the head of the lake, ascended the St. Louis river about seventy-five miles, thence up Savan river to its source in a tamarac swamp. A short portage took them over the divide and brought them to a small stream, down which they floated to the Mississippi. They then rowed up the Father of Waters to Cass lake, until then supposed to be the Mississippi's source.

After spending some days exchanging American medals and flags for like articles given by British hands, and cultivating friendship with the red men, they learned from the Indians that Cass lake was not the source of the Mississippi. Under the guidance of a chief and a large party of the tribe, the Americans started up the river in canoes in search of the true source. When they reached Itasca five of the party—Schoolcraft, Boutwell, Allen, Houghton and the interpreter—canoeed by Indians, made a tour of the lake and satisfied themselves that it had no inlet and no other outlet than that by which they came.

They afterward landed upon an island, planted an American flag, and spent some time in discussing a name for the newly discovered lake, the Indian appellation being too much of a jaw-breaker for the civilized tongue to successfully surround. Being satisfied this lake was the real source of the Mississippi, as the Indians claimed, Schoolcraft asked Boutwell if he knew of any word which would mean "the true head of the river." Boutwell answered that he knew of no one word with the required meaning, but the two Latin

words, *veritas*, "true," and *caput*, "head," would express the desired meaning. The two words were written upon a piece of paper, but made too long a name; so Schoolcraft erased the first syllable of the first word and the last syllable of the second word, and joined the remaining syllables, *Ver-Itasca-put*. The lake was then formally named "Itasca," and by that name referred to in the report to the government.

Mr. Boutwell considers it a great thing to relate that as they passed out of the lake he landed from his canoe and at one bound jumped across the mighty Mississippi, at that place about twelve feet wide and three or four feet deep.

The exploring party finished their work among the Indians, then started for home. They descended the Mississippi past the sites of the great cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, then occupied only by a few head of government cattle belonging to Fort Snelling, and stopped for a short consultation at Kaposha, a Sioux village a few miles below where St. Paul now is. They then descended to the mouth of the St. Croix, went up the latter river past the present site of Stillwater to its source, made a portage of a few miles to Burnt Wood river, thence to Lake Superior, returning as they came to headquarters at the "Soo."

HERBERT L. BAKER.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

II.

The result of this insult to the best Whig sentiment of the north, was a great diversion of strength, from the ranks of the Whigs, to those of the Free-soil Democrats, who nominated Hale and Julian upon their national ticket and, in Michigan, placed a full ticket in the field, with Isaac P. Christianity at its head. The Democrats renominated Robert McClelland, one of their best men, and second in strength only to General Cass.

The canvass preceding the election was one of unprecedented activity and thoroughness. Mr. Chandler took the stump early in September and spoke

almost nightly until the close of the week preceding the election. He thus visited every important place in the state, and everywhere made a deep impression by the force, practical sense and evident sincerity of his utterances. In his campaign speeches he ranged himself definitely as the friend of protection and of internal improvements, and discussed national affairs practically and unsensationally, from the standpoint of a business man.

His vigorous canvass aroused the Democrats to their utmost endeavor, and led General Cass to take the stump, lest his own state should be lost. The re-

sult of the election was a victory for the Democratic ticket, McClelland receiving 42,768 votes, Chandler 34,660 and Christianity 5,850. Mr. Chandler ran 801 votes ahead of Scott, from 500 to 4,000 votes ahead of his associates upon the Whig ticket and received 11,000 more votes than had any other Whig candidate for the governorship in the history of the state. This result has especial force when it is considered that a very large proportion of Christianity's support was drawn from the Whig party.

This creditable defeat marked Chandler as the hope of the Michigan opposition. The Whig party was moribund, and, in the increasing impatience of many northern Democrats with the overweening arrogance of the southern wing of that party, there was indication of a disaffection that might prove serious. For any rearray of forces which should give the various elements of the Michigan opposition success in action, as well as unity of aim, there was needed a new man, one of strong popularity, organizing genius, sufficient individual force to be a strong leader, and of such character and ability as to command the united respect of a newly associated and ill-welded party. The campaign of 1852 was earlier by more than a year than the final aggressions directed at Kansas and Nebraska, which united the northern opposition to the extension of slavery, prepared the way for the Republican party, hopelessly divided the Democracy, made Lincoln President in 1860, and precipitated the great crime of rebellion. It is none the less true,

however, that the agencies which finally so culminated were at work, that the result was certain, and that the magnificent battle of 1852, marked Mr. Chandler and set him apart for the service of the future. The compact between the progressive elements of Michigan and their new champion was tacitly sealed when the Whig minority of the state legislature gave him a unanimous complimentary vote as United States senator, to succeed Alpheus Felch, whose term expired on the third day of March, 1853.

The causes which led to the formation of the Republican party form a part of the general history of the United States, and it should be safe to assume familiarity with them on the part of every reader; yet a brief *resume* of the leading events and dates may not be amiss. In 1820 the famous Missouri compromise, so-called, was adopted. By its terms the slave power gained the organization and admission of Missouri as a slave state, and the erection of Arkansas as a slave territory; by its terms slavery was, on the other hand, forever prohibited in all the original Louisiana territory, north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude. This compromise was one based upon mutual consideration, and was binding both in law and morals.

From a very early day the clear-sighted leaders of the slave power saw the danger, to their peculiar institution, that lurked in the development by New England settlement of a free west, and the consequent increase in congressional representation from free states.

To offset this danger, Louisiana was acquired from France, Florida from Spain, an iniquitous war was waged against Mexico for the acquisition of Texas, and a futile effort was made to secure the purchase of Cuba.

With all this, the south felt neither secure nor satisfied. In 1850 another sweeping compromise was made, by which the north meekly submitted to the erection of the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without a prohibition of slavery. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was forbidden, and every northern man was made a participant in the great wrong by the terms of the fugitive slave law. In return for these concessions, California, which could never have become a slave state, was admitted free, and the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, involving so serious a matter as the transfer of the actual slave market across the Potomac river.

During all the debate upon the precious "compromise," there was no hint that the binding force of compromise of 1820 was questioned. Soon after the assembling of congress, in December, 1853, when a bill was introduced for the erection of the territory of Nebraska, including the vast region between the states of Missouri and Iowa and the Rocky mountains, the committee on territories, after due consideration, reported, as a substitute, two bills providing for the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, declaring that the prohibition of slavery, contained in the Missouri compromise, should not be held to apply to these or

to any territories in the United States, and that the questions pertaining to slavery in the territories or the states to be organized therefrom, should be left to the action of the people, through their appropriate representatives. The justification urged for this shameful breach of law and honor, was that the compromise of 1850 operated as an abrogation of that of 1820. There is scarcely recorded in the annals of civilized legislation, a more disgraceful example of dishonesty and bad faith. The President of the United States was a party to it, and, after the bill had been passed by parliamentary sleight of hand, signed it. Later, in the bloody struggle between the actual settlers of Kansas and the colonized ruffians sent there to secure, by any means, the adoption of a constitution providing for the existence of slavery, the regular soldiers of the United States were made agents in reducing the Freesoil settlers to submission.

The slave power had overreached itself. It had underestimated, very excusably, the spirit of the north. The Democratic party was divided—a majority hopelessly committed to the slave cause, a strong minority alienated and ready for any honorable alliance that promised safety to the constitution, respect of law and the preservation of fundamental rights. The Whig party was dead, and its body at the disposal of any responsible party that could use it. Incidentally, Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Grant of the Democracy, had gone down with the wreck. He crawled out and recovered far enough to par-

tially regain his standing with the northern wing of his party, to estrange himself from its southern section, and to be soundly beaten in 1860.

The honor of having organized the Republican party has been claimed by many states and by many persons. It unquestionably belongs to Michigan as a state, and to the hundreds of earnest men who met at Jackson on the sixth day of July, 1854. This convention adopted the name Republican; adopted the first platform of the party, and made its first nominations. The demand for the uniting of all citizens opposed to the extension of slavery, in a compact and efficient party, sprang up spontaneously, as a result of the Kansas and Nebraska outrage, and co-equal effort to that end was almost simultaneous in every northern state. But Joseph Warren, editor of the Detroit *Tribune*, was probably the first to make the proposal in definite form, and to Mr. Warren, Jacob M. Howard and Horace Greeley, the name is due. The delicate task of persuading the Freesoil Democrats and the anti-slavery Whigs to surrender their organization, the latter party giving up as well a time-honored name and the traditions of many years, was carried to success by a number of leading Freesoilers and Whigs, of whom Mr. Chandler was one. He signed the original call for the Jackson convention, and was one of the speakers, "under the oaks," on the momentous day. The Freesoil Democrats had held a convention in February, and nominated a ticket, at the head of which was Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston county,

as candidate for governor. This ticket had been withdrawn, that it might not stand in the way of the new organization. Mr. Chandler, in his speech before the convention, made allusion to Mr. Bingham's honorable congressional service, and did his utmost in favor of the nomination of that gentleman as the first Republican candidate for governor of Michigan—a nomination which was unanimously made by the convention.

During the campaign of 1854 Mr. Chandler worked with untiring energy, tact and skill in organizing the party and adding to its ranks. There was at first some dissatisfaction among the Whigs—a feeling that the work given in charge of the Republican party might have been as well done by them without relinquishing their name and party existence, and that, granting the fusion, the Whig element should have been better represented upon the ticket. These and similar complaints were met and silenced; the party was thoroughly united before election day came, and, when the votes were counted, the entire Republican ticket was found to have been elected, Bingham receiving a majority of 4,977 over John S. Barry. From that day to this, with one exception, every governor of Michigan and, without exception, every United States senator elected for the state has been a member of the Republican party.

After the abrogation of the Missouri compromise, the pro-slavery power rushed fatuously to destruction; the outrages in Kansas continued with growing malignancy, and in congress whatever small pretense of restraint had

been made was cast off. Rust of Arkansas made an attack upon Horace Greeley, and Preston Brooks assaulted Charles Sumner upon the floor of the senate. A public meeting was held in Detroit to express the feeling of the people as to the assault upon Sumner, and Mr. Chandler made a speech full of scathing denunciation, to which he added resolutions demanding that Franklin Pierce be impeached for his share in the Kansas-Nebraska conspiracy, and that Rust and Brooks be expelled from their seats. He went everywhere throughout the state making terrible arraignment of the administration, the congressional majority and the Democratic party, taking the Kansas-Nebraska outrage as a text, and using it most effectively as a means of exciting the anger and the zeal of Republicans, welding the party into consistent unity and encouraging a radicalism from which alone did he believe that the greatest results could flow. His plan for dealing with the problem in Kansas was to meet colonization with colonization—to transport to Kansas enough determined men from the free northwest to cope with and overcome the Missouri ruffians, who were terrorizing the new state. To this end he circulated a subscription for the aid of Kansas, which he headed with the sum of ten thousand dollars, and which it is safe to say was not set on foot purely for the purchase of clothing and provisions.

During the years intervening between the holding of the Jackson convention in 1854 and the presidential election of

1856, Mr. Chandler's capacity for personal leadership was fully tested and fully approved. He took the Republican party of Michigan from the hands of the midwife and made it a radical, aggressive, uncompromising, united and victorious organization. This was done with the aid of many able men, but his leadership and responsibility cannot be questioned.

In response to the call of several Republican state committees, the first national convention of that party assembled at Pittsburgh on the twenty-second day of February, 1856. Mr. Chandler headed the Michigan delegation and took part in the discussion by which a national organization was effected. This convention adjourned after calling a national convention to nominate delegates, to be held at Philadelphia on the seventeenth of June following. To the Philadelphia convention he was also a delegate, and was one of the five who first voted for Abraham Lincoln as vice-presidential candidate. When the nomination of Fremont and Dayton had been made, he arose in his place and promised to the candidates the electoral vote of Michigan.

His services in the campaign which followed were constant and efficient, and his pledge to the Philadelphia convention was redeemed, for Michigan gave to the Republican electors 71,762 votes, against 52,136 for those of the Democracy, and 1,660 for the sediment of the Whig party which had nominated Fillmore. The Republicans carried every congressional district in

Michigan, and gained an overwhelming majority in the state legislature.

The term of Lewis Cass, as United States senator, expired on the fourth of March, 1857, and no sooner did the fall election make it evident that his return would be impossible, than the name of Mr. Chandler was in many mouths as that of his successor. The canvass was carefully made, but the result was in little question. The Republican legislative caucus met at Lansing on the eighth day of January, 1857, and, on the third caucus ballot, Mr. Chandler received a clear majority of votes. The caucus adjourned to the ninth and took two more ballots, the second giving him eighty votes against eight scattering. His principal opponent was Isaac P. Christiancy, while Austin Blair, Moses Wisner and Jacob M. Howard also developed considerable strength. On the tenth, the legislature voted for senator. One vote was blank, the Democrats cast complimentary ballots for Cass to the number of sixteen, and Mr. Chandler received the remaining eighty-nine votes.

Thus did one great popular leader of many years give way to another by the growth of a new sentiment and a new political array. No two men were ever more unlike, and the radical change of the day is clearly expressed by the difference. Cass was constantly conservative, and a leader within his party, adapting himself, from year to year, to the changing sentiment of that organization; Chandler was aggressive, belligerent, the leader of his party, taking that party with him as years

broadened his view. "*L'etat est moi*" might well be paraphrased in his case, for, during nearly a quarter of a century, he was the incarnation of Michigan Republicanism.

The senatorial career of Mr. Chandler cannot be minutely treated in this paper. His acts are so intermingled with the rushing current of events, from the year 1857 until his death, that to bring them fully before the reader, would involve writing the history of a period which it would tax the ability of a master and the capacity of octavos to portray. Certain representative episodes must be selected, and treated with the assumption that collateral events are familiar, and with the aim of showing not the extent, but the inspiration and direction of his work.

The senate assembled on the fourth day of March, 1857, being convened by the retiring President at the request of his successor, and Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, Judah P. Benjamin, John Slidell, R. M. T. Hunter, James M. Mason and others later prominent in the "Confederacy," were among its members, as were Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, John P. Hale, William H. Seward, Benjamin F. Wade, Simon Cameron and Stephen A. Douglas from the northern states. The Democrats controlled both houses of congress, but they had to deal with a large and determined Republican minority, very different in spirit from the dough-faces which had before been so large an element in the opposition. The new members advanced to the desk of the presiding officer in groups

of four to take the oath, and Jefferson Davis, "with treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips," was unequally yoked together with the senator from Michigan for this purpose. Twenty-two years later Mr. Chandler made this incident the subject of one of the greatest oratorical efforts of his life, and one of the most sensational speeches ever delivered in the United States senate.

Mr. Chandler entered congress when there was work, and to spare, for every patriotic member. Pierce had aided the Democracy in the wrongs which had so nearly served to unite the north; Buchanan was inaugurated—a puppet in the hands of the southern propaganda; the Republican party had so hotly contested the Presidential campaign as to make the victory of the Democracy a Pyrrhic one, and to promise defeat upon the next field. The conjunction which John C. Calhoun had described in 1850 had come. The plot against Kansas and Nebraska evidently could not succeed; the "equilibrium" (an equilibrium that gave to the south for many years an overweening influence) was destroyed, and the southern members were indeed prepared to "act accordingly."

The crime of secession and rebellion was hatched and from 1857 until 1861 the loyal minority was compelled to fight inglorious legislative battles against a traitorous majority, deliberately working, by the aid of an imbecile administration, to cripple the country whose abandonment had been as deliberately planned. In spite of every effort, the loyal President, in 1861,

found an empty treasury, an impaired credit, sacked arsenals, an army largely officered by disloyal men who accepted the training and the pay of the government they would destroy, and fleets scattered to the remotest corners of the earth. These were the appliances with which it must face a rebellion planned for a decade, and organized for half that time.

Mr. Chandler's service against the disloyal majority was very active. He entered congress with a full conviction that the cause represented by the Republican party was the cause of right and justice, with a hearty distrust of the intentions and professions of the south, and a deep contempt for the dough faces of the north, not a few of whom still lagged superfluous in the halls of legislation. He was not long in penetrating the designs of the country's enemies, or in seeing that rebellion and war were almost inevitable, and he was inflexibly determined to fight the great crime with fire, to any extremity and at any cost to himself and his fellows. His loyalty was entire and his bravery perfect. He knew from first to last no faltering, no doubt, no fear, and could never bring himself to look with patience upon any proposal for compromise.

During the year 1857 he spoke upon several minor matters, the most important being the deliberate neglect of the northwest in making up the senate committees. In speaking on the proposition to increase the army, he said: "If you will show to me that they require a force in Utah to put down

rebellion, I will vote for it, I care not if it be one regiment or one hundred." In these words he gave his southern colleagues a significant hint of what was afterward to be his attitude upon the matter of providing means of war.

In the spring of 1856 the final act of the disgraceful Kansas and Nebraska drama was played. A convention, organized and controlled by colonized ruffians, had framed the immortally notorious Lecompton constitution for Kansas, and had procured its ostensible ratification at an election from which the *bona-fide* settlers of the territory were practically excluded. Though this constitution was almost unanimously rejected at a later and an honestly conducted election, it was sought to obtain from congress the admission of Kansas, with the recognition of the Lecompton constitution and the Lecompton government.

To this audacious proposal, Mr. Chandler, on the twelfth day of March, 1858, made his first set speech, occupying the floor for nearly three hours, and holding the attention of every member of the senate, many representatives and an interested gallery. The speech, though carefully prepared and read from the manuscript, was a triumph of pure oratory as well as of argument. It had all the fire of an extemporaneous effort, yet the array of its facts, and its logical force bore conclusive weight. It was the speech of the occasion, widely read and widely influential, and drew from many sources the expression that it entitled him to a place among the first debaters of the country. In speak-

ing of the effects of the policy from which Kansas had suffered, and of the final outrage proposed, he said :

The people of Kansas are almost unanimously opposed to this constitution ; yet you propose to force it upon them without their consent. It cannot be done. The government has not bayonets enough to force a constitution upon the necks of an unwilling people. It is our purpose to avoid the shedding of blood upon the soil of the United States by civil war. While I will not charge upon the supporters of the Lecompton constitution the purpose, in civil war, of shedding blood upon the soil of the United States, I do charge that they, and they alone, will be responsible for every drop of blood that may be shed in consequence of the adoption of that constitution. I trust in God civil war will never come ; but if it should come, upon their heads, and theirs alone, will rest the responsibility of every drop that may flow. I trust in God that this question will never be pushed to that extremity, for I would have less respect for the people of Kansas than I now have if I supposed they would tamely submit to have a constitution thrust down their throats, without authority of law and against law, without making resistance. I would disown them as descendants of the men who fought our revolutionary battles, if I did not think they would resist any illegal attempts to force a constitution upon them.

The speech was made with the approval of senators Cameron, Wade and Hamlin, and won congratulations from others. Some of the more timid Republicans, however, deemed it imprudent and rebuked Mr. Chandler for uttering it, while it was hotly denounced from the Democratic side and by southern members. It fixed Mr. Chandler's position definitely ; not only as it demonstrated his ability, but as it ranged him in the very advance of radicalism in the senate, a position which he never deserted and for which he never apologized. At every point in the debate upon the Kansas question, the Dred Scott case, the discussion upon a proposal for

congressional investigation of the Harper's Ferry raid, and the execution of John Brown, and in other similar debates, he was alert in seizing every opportunity to unmask the hypocrisy of the south, to frustrate the efforts of the secession conspirators, and to make for himself a record, which his more timid or conservative associates regarded as simply ruinous. In his speech upon the Brown resolution, he made this bold menace :

I am in favor of the resolution, because the first execution for treason that has ever occurred in the United States has just taken place. John Brown has been executed as a traitor in the state of Virginia, and I want it to go upon the records of the senate in the most solemn manner, to be held up as a warning to traitors, come they from the north, south, east or west. Dare to raise your impious hands against this government, its constitution and its laws, and you hang ! Threats have been made, year after year, for the last thirty years, that, if certain events happen, this Union will be dissolved. It is no small matter to dissolve this Union. It means a bloody revolution or it means the halter. It means the successful overturn of this government or it means the fate of John Brown, and I want that to go solemnly on the record of this senate.

Six years later, had the opinion of Mr. Chandler prevailed, many of those prominent in the "bloody revolution," would have found the promise of a halter a faithful one.

Mr. Chandler's personal strength and personal courage gave him a supreme contempt for congressional ruffians of the Brooks and Rust class, who swaggered, bullied and assaulted those who offended them, more like bar-room ruffians than like statesmen or gentlemen. He believed them to be essentially cowardly ; believed that they took advantage of a supposed timidity and of a

known anti-dueling principle among northern men, when they sent challenges, and of physical weakness when they threatened violence. He was determined not to be intimidated nor moved by threats, and, upon just occasion, to fight without scruple. He reached this conclusion because he believed the public interest demanded it, and from no personal inclination to quarrel. He prepared himself by gymnastic exercise (though he had little to fear from any antagonist in a purely physical contest) and by the practice of marksmanship. Senators Cameron, Wade, Hamlin and some others came to the same determination, and these gentlemen often accompanied non-belligerent members, menaced with violence, in their walks to and from the capitol.

During the year 1858, senators Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Green of Missouri, became involved in a hot discussion, in the course of debate and a charge of falsehood was made. The presiding officer succeeded in restoring order, when Green, from his seat, announced his determination to settle the matter after adjournment, and where he would be beyond the reach of senate rules. Senators Chandler, Cameron, Wade and Broderick held a consultation in the cloak room, with the result that Mr. Cameron armed himself and prepared for defense, should it be necessary. The senate, however, remained in session eighteen hours, Mr. Green thought better of his threat, and no assault was made.

As a result of this incident, senators

Chandler, Cameron and Wade made an agreement which was written and signed, but which, it was arranged, should not be made public until all its parties were dead. Mr. Cameron still lives, and he alone knows the contents of this paper, but it is supposed that its purport was a pledge on the part of the three signers to put a stop to the practice of insulting senators upon the floor of the senate, and, that in case any senator was so insulted, one of the three should take it upon himself to resent the affront and to pursue the offender, under the code, to the last extremity. No necessity drove either of the gentlemen to this resort, but the attitude taken by them, which all might know, was of great value in preserving the safety and dignity of themselves and their colleagues. The close friendship then made and cemented was never broken, save by death.

Mr. Chandler, from the day of his first formal speech in congress, never spoke to an inattentive audience. He spoke frequently, either with deliberate preparation or with the inspiration of debate, upon many important questions arising previous to 1861, not by any means confining himself to the limits of the slavery question. One of his most masterly touches, during these years, was his strong argument against the proposed purchase of Cuba. This was, in fact, a last effort for the extension of slave territory, but his business-like argument against a proposal that the government should pay ten dollars per acre for every foot of Cuban soil, while

it was selling better land for one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, ignored the sectional issue and was entirely unanswerable.

During this busy period, Mr. Chandler found time to maintain his position as a leader in his own state. He worked assiduously in the campaign of 1858, and aided in securing another sweeping success, by which the last Democratic senator who represented the state was retired, and the victory of 1856 repeated in every other particular.

At the Philadelphia convention of 1856, Mr. Chandler cast one of five votes for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln to the vice-presidency, the nomination at the head of the ticket in 1860 was entirely satisfactory to him. Early in the autumn he supported the Republican ticket in New York, later thoroughly stumped his own state, and in October visited Illinois, carrying his effort to the very door of Lincoln's home at Springfield, where he spoke on the seventeenth of October.

The splendid victory of Lincoln and Hamlin vindicated the right of the Republican party to existence as a national organization.

Perhaps here, as well as elsewhere, it may be well to turn aside from the consideration of Mr. Chandler's share in the intensely exciting contest for the Union, and of his purely political work, to speak briefly of his important, if less sensational, efforts in the field of business legislation. These may, perhaps, best be generalized under the heads of the tariff, the currency and internal im-

provements, to all of which he gave patient, persistent and permanently effective work.

Mr. Chandler retained, from his years of Whig association and his confidence in Henry Clay, a firm belief in the principle of protection in its broadest application. He believed that a high tariff, impartially adjusted and rigorously applied, meant industrial autonomy to the United States as a nation; comfort and prosperity to its people as individuals. He held that in protection lay the best defense of the workingman of every degree against the degrading influence of poverty. In these opinions, as in almost every position of his life, he was a radical, but, unlike many radicals, he was usually proven right. There was nothing visionary in his ideas. He was radical only in holding that "a right road never led to a wrong inn." Believing the theory of protection to be fundamentally correct and beneficent, he held that its practice should be sweeping and thorough—not a mere useless dabbling in shallow waters.

His advocacy of the general principle was constant throughout his life, and he never saw reason to modify his views, or to admit that the theory of protection may be a true one, if followed only to a certain point, and beyond that point becomes false and dangerous. His tariff utterances in the senate and upon the stump were entirely unsensational, business-like and practical, full of argument, full of logic and of economic wisdom, based upon figures and holding every assertion up to the light of historical truth. He favored

the Morrill tariff in 1861; labored assiduously for the abrogation of the treaty of reciprocity with Canada, and gave to every practical measure for the extension of protection his earnest effort upon the floor of the senate and in committee and personal influence in moving legislators who make laws, and the people who make legislators.

Something has been said in this paper of an early protest made by Mr. Chandler against the injustice done the Republican party and the northwestern states in the formation of committees, especially of the committee on commerce. Of the make-up of that committee, Mr. Fessenden of Maine, said, on the ninth day of March, 1857: "The Republican party, numbering twenty out of the sixty-one members of the senate, is assigned, of the whole number of seven, one member. . . The interests of the whole lake region, the interests of New England and New York, involving, as those large portions of the country do, such an infinite superiority of all its commerce, are found with only two members out of the seven." Mr. Hamlin called Mr. Fessenden's attention to the fact that these great sections of the north had, in fact, but one member upon the committee, which Mr. Fessenden admitted. It was at the opening of the first regular session of the thirty-fifth congress in December, 1857, when the committee on commerce was announced, that Mr. Chandler made his first speech in the senate, condemning the ignoring of a strong party minority, and of the great commercial superiority of the north and

east. He closed by the prediction that the time was not far distant when the positions of the parties would be reversed, and warned the majority that when that time should come its own measure would be meted out in return.

The fulfillment of Mr. Chandler's prediction was foreshadowed at the opening of the second session of the thirty-fifth congress, in December, 1858. The Michigan senator was then added to the committee, while Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Maine, were also represented, giving the north a majority. From that time throughout his career in the senate, Mr. Chandler was a member of this committee, and during the period of its greatest usefulness, was its chairman. When, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1861, the vice-president filled the vacancies caused by the retirement of various southern senators, the committee became fully purged of the obstructionist element and was thenceforth one of the most efficient as it is one of the most important of the senate standing committees. One of the writers who contributed to the extended biography of Mr. Chandler, published by the *Detroit Post and Tribune* in 1880,* says of Mr. Chandler's service as chairman of this committee:

Mr. Chandler's business principles were carried out in his committee work as thoroughly as they had been in his mercantile career. He believed that what was worth doing at all, was worth doing well. It was the custom of the senate committee on commerce, to assemble formally, once a week, for the consideration of such petitions and bills as had been referred to it for action. Whenever the appointed meeting arrived, Mr. Chandler was always in his

seat, while the other members but rarely displayed anything like his promptitude. It annoyed the chairman to have anyone late, and it was his custom to proceed with business as soon as a quorum was present, or, if no quorum appeared within fifteen or twenty minutes, to assume that there was one, and commence work. No protests against this measure were ever made by the tardy or absent members.

The services of Mr. Chandler in the cause of internal improvement stand second only to his loyal defense of the national existence, and greatest of all his accomplishments in this direction was the building of the ship canal at the St. Clair flats, which he compassed by the persistent effort of many years.

On the fourteenth day of January, 1858, he gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill "making an additional appropriation for deepening the channel at St. Clair flats." The bill was introduced, referred to the committee on commerce and that committee, then in common with the senate majority, hostile to internal improvements and to northern enterprise, persistently ignored it. On the twenty-fourth of April, Mr. Chandler introduced a bill instructing the committee to report back the bill for action. On May 3, he called up his resolution and demanded a vote. This demand caused a hot debate, involving the right of the senate to coerce a committee. The result was the substantial defeat of the effort to compel a report. He then introduced a bill appropriating fifty-five thousand dollars for the same purpose, which was laid on the table without reference. Later in the session he succeeded in procuring the addition of the item to the civil appropriation bill, but the senate struck it out under

* The writer of this sketch desires to acknowledge a large indebtedness to this work.

menace of a veto. During the following session he secured the taking of his bill from the table, its passage in the senate and also in the house, using every personal effort to overcome the strong opposition there developed. The President withheld his signature from the bill and thus defeated it. In the thirty-sixth congress, the persistent senator's bill again made its appearance. Buchanan sent in a message February 2, assuming the position that river and harbor improvements should be made by the respective states, and that the specific work at St. Clair flats, should be done at the joint expense of Michigan and Upper Canada. The absurdity of this view is obvious, considering how trifling is the interest of Michigan in the work, when compared with the total benefit conferred.

During the remainder of the session Mr. Chandler worked constantly and vainly to secure consideration of the bill. The second session of the thirty-sixth congress faced imminent war, and the matter shared the fate of every measure of the kind, lying in abeyance until the tide of victory set northward, when it was revived, and with the aid of his colleagues, its originator easily won a victory. The canal was completed in the year 1871, and stands a splendid monument to the persistency and loyalty of its deviser.

This extended account of the history of the improvement of the St. Clair flats is defensible by reason of the importance of the work accomplished, but still more for the light it gives upon Mr. Chandler's methods. The same skill

and determination entered into every effort of his public life.

Upon questions relating to the currency, Mr. Chandler was from first to last upon the right side, and showed a profound familiarity with the economical and historical literature of the subject. He recognized the necessity of the act making "greenbacks" legal tender—a necessity involving the preservation of the government. He maintained, however, that the issue of greenbacks should be held to the lowest possible amount, and exchanged for a sounder currency at the earliest moment. He looked upon taxation as the only legitimate recourse for supplying the means of war to the government and sustaining its credit as a borrower in foreign markets. In his speeches protesting against later issues of greenbacks, he foretold their depreciation which should drive coin out of circulation and make it a commodity of speculation and, during the past decade, turned the light of the experience of the sixties upon the inflation craze of the day, with telling effect. He was an original supporter of the national banking system, both as furnishing a market for government bonds, and for its permanent excellence as a means of supplying a paper currency. He opposed the making of the United States treasury a bank of issue, worked earnestly for the resumption of specie payments and was only dissatisfied with the bill passed in 1875, which compassed that result, because he believed the time set for resumption to be unnecessarily remote.

These general principles directed his every act and word in relation to finance.

And now for the second phase of Mr. Chandler's dual career as a "business senator" and a "war senator."

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency precipitated the execution of the ripe plot of secession. South Carolina took the lead on the twelfth of November, 1860, by ordering the election of a convention to adopt an ordinance of secession, and other cotton states followed her lead very closely. Buchanan sent to congress, upon its meeting on the third day of December, a message in which he made the astounding statement that "no power to coerce into submission a state which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the confederacy, has been delegated to congress or any other department." South Carolina, always first in every seditious work, "withdrew" on the twentieth day of December, the Southern Confederacy was formed on the fourth day of February, the seizure, or base surrender of government forts, arsenals and other property, the defection of its military officers, the resignation of southern members of congress and of the cabinet, and the hurrying preparations on the part of the south for active war went on, while Buchanan sat inactive, and loyal men trembled lest the capital should be seized before a patriot President could be inaugurated.

Among northern people there were, at the outset, three classes—those who favored acquiescence in Buchanan's

monstrous doctrine and permitting the seceding states to peaceably withdraw; those who favored bribing them by concession to return, and those who demanded that secession should be treated as rebellion, and stamped out thoroughly and at once. Mr. Chandler belonged heart and soul to the third class. He had foreseen secession for three years, while many others preferred to regard the threats of disunionists as idle bluster. When the act of secession came, and the first state, arms in hand, announced itself severed from the Union, he considered the act of rebellion complete. It did not need the repeated thefts of government property that followed, or the firing on Sumter to constitute an "overt act." Had a Jackson sat in the chair disgraced by Buchanan, South Carolina would again have received prompt and effective discipline, and with the full approval of the Michigan senator.

He arose at once to the emergency, and men instinctively stood aside to give place to the natural leader whom the occasion had raised up. He strained every effort to unite and arouse the north; he spoke rarely in the senate during the winter of 1860-61, but in the private conferences of the friends of freedom was hourly at work, urging a stern and prompt suppression of the rebellion and punishment of the traitors. He afterward said that could he have had his way no man who proclaimed treason on the floor of the senate should have gone free from the capitol.

It was in these trying days, while straining every nerve to defeat the plans

of the leaders of rebellion, that Mr. Chandler formed a friendship for Edwin M. Stanton, then attorney-general in Buchanan's cabinet, but loyally working to arouse the President to a sense of his duty. This friendship grew with every day. During Stanton's incumbency of the war department, Mr. Chandler was one of the few men who never hesitated to approach him in any mood, nor feared to address him in plain English at all times. He had much to do, also, with securing for him the appointment to the supreme bench, which came to him as he lay upon his death-bed, having burned out his life in magnificent service to the government.

He imbibed, at the same time, a distrust of Senator Seward's firmness and wisdom, which grew to dislike in later years, and he always deemed both his distrust and dislike to have been fully vindicated by events.

Whenever Mr. Chandler did speak during that momentous session of the senate, it was to assail treason and its promoters with the crushing force of which he was peculiarly the master. He denounced "traitors in the cabinet and imbeciles in the President's chair" with no effort at euphemism. He opposed the so-called Crittenden compromise, and condemned the peace congress, called at the suggestion of Virginia sympathizers with the south, for the procuring of peace with any sacrifice of

honor. Largely through his influence Michigan was one of the five northern states which took no part in this gathering, but when, as its deliberations neared a close, and there was fear that it might reach some damaging conclusion, it seemed desirable to strengthen the number of uncompromising Union men in its membership, he and Kinsley S. Bingham, his colleague, transmitted by telegraph to Governor Blair the request of prominent loyal men, that the Michigan legislature should send a delegation to the congress. Mr. Chandler supplemented his dispatch with the following letter :

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 11, 1861.

My Dear Sir: Governor Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York, to send delegates to the peace or compromise congress. They admit that we were right and they were wrong; that no Republican states should have sent delegates, but they are here and cannot get away. Ohio, Indiana and Rhode Island are caving in, and there is danger of Illinois; and now they beg of us, for God's sake, to come to their rescue and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope you will send *stiff-backed* men or none. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in thin smoke. Still I hope, as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren, that you will send the delegates.

Truly your friend,

Z. CHANDLER.

His Excellency Austin Blair.

P. S. Some of the manufacturing states think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting, this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush.

WALTER BUELL.

[*To be Continued.*]



L. M. Burdett, M.D.

DR. S. N. BRAYTON.

DR. S. N. BRAYTON, of Buffalo, is illustrating in his life and experience the fact that when native worth and natural ability are wedded to industry and devotion to one's life work, the highest form of success is secured ; and that this holds good with an especial force in a professional career. He long since won a prominent place among the medical men of New York, and every year that passes adds to his reputation, and the circle of his usefulness. He is one whose course upward has been won by his own efforts, and the putting forth in a manly manner of the strength with which he was endowed. He was born on the eleventh of January, 1839, at Queensbury, Warren county, New York, where his father, Moses Brayton, had been born and reared to the life of the farm. He traces the family line back through New England, to the seventeenth century, when three brothers of the name came from England, near the time of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. They settled in different sections of New England, and their descendants may now be found in various portions of the Union.

Dr. Brayton's early life was that of a farmer's boy of near half a century ago. His childhood was spent in such rural pursuits and pleasures as fall to the lot

of the average country boy. He gave his winters to the district school and his summers to light farm work until he was fourteen, when he entered the high school at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where he received a classical education. Having determined to give his life to the medical profession, on leaving school he entered the office of the late Walter Burnham, M. D., of Lowell, Massachusetts, as a medical student. Upon the conclusion of his preliminary studies he attended the regular lecture course at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the medical department of Columbia college, New York, from which institute he graduated with a high rank in his class, in 1861. While attending these lectures he was employed as a physician and surgeon in a hospital on Sixty-fifth street, New York, where first-class opportunity was offered for a practical application of the theories he had learned in the books, and the knowledge he had gained from oral instruction.

Almost the first act of Dr. Brayton, on taking a place in his profession, was to offer his service to the cause of his country. In 1861 he entered the navy of the United States as an assistant surgeon in the regular service, and was assigned to duty in the Boston

navy yard. He was soon afterwards transferred to the United States frigate *Sabine*, and subsequently to the ironclad *Montauk* that played so conspicuous a part in the War of the Rebellion. She was the third monitor constructed by the government, and was in some of the hottest contests of the war. She it was that destroyed the *Nashville*, one of the most powerful and formidable of the rebel gunboats. On the day on which this great feat was accomplished, and as she was returning down the Ogeechee river, she was struck by a torpedo, disabling her so that if the tide had not been running out, while she was near a mud bank, she would have been sunk and her crew fallen into the hands of the enemy. But by good fortune she settled in the mud, which allowed sufficient time for repairs. When the tide turned she was enabled to float off and proceed to Port Royal, where a plate five feet square was rivited over the broken plates at the place where the torpedo had burst. Dr. Brayton was on board during that memorable engagement and the subsequent disaster. He was also on duty in the eight months naval contests with forts Moultrie and Sumter, off Charleston harbor.

The devoted and continued service Dr. Brayton gave during this long and trying period in a southern climate, told on him, and his health became so impaired that he was ordered home for rest and recuperation. After a respite of some three months, he was detailed to service in the Pacific ocean on board the frigates *St. Mary* and *Cyane*, where he remained two years. While in this

service he visited Peru, Chili, Central America, and Mexico at the time of Maximilian's invasion. He was afforded an excellent opportunity for comparing the medical and surgical treatment of diseases in these far countries with that of his own land. In the low lands of Mexico, the intermittent fever was of such a malignant character while he was there, that many surgeons of other vessels reported it as a true type of yellow fever. It broke out on the sloop of war *Cyane*, Dr. Brayton's vessel, and out of a ship's company of one hundred and forty men and officers, one hundred were on the sick list in less than two weeks, and whoever suffered from it turned as yellow as gold. It so crippled the crew that the vessel was unable to put to sea for several weeks.

While his vessel was in the harbor of Panama an epidemic of small-pox was prevailing on shore, and as no medical treatment was used by the natives—incantations taking its place—the death rate was even far greater than that of Montreal during the recent epidemic, and it was not to be wondered at that the disease soon broke out on ship-board, notwithstanding all possible precautions. As soon as a man was discovered in its grasp he was removed to an island near by and placed in a tent in perfect isolation from his shipmates. This fresh air treatment, together with a little medicine, was so efficacious that only one man of those attacked died. The experience Dr. Brayton gained in this service, and that which preceded it, has been of the greatest value to him in the practice of his profession, while his

broadened acquaintance with the great world has ever been a source of pleasure and profit, not only to himself but to those thrown into his companionship.

At the conclusion of his service on the Pacific, Dr. Brayton made arrangements for joining a squadron for a cruise in the Mediterranean and in other foreign waters, but before the plan was carried into operation a business opportunity presented itself of which he decided to make use. He resigned his position in the navy and engaged in the drug business in New York, at the same time carrying on the practice of medicine. He continued therein for a year, when he disposed of his business in the city and established himself at Honeoye Falls, Monroe county, New York, where he gave himself up in earnest to the practice of his profession. The ten years of provincial practice that followed was of great assistance to him and was a valuable experience ; but he came to see the need of a broader field for the exercise of the powers he felt to be within him. In 1877 he removed to Buffalo, where he formed a co-partnership with Dr. Hubbard Foster, which continued for about a year, when he succeeded to the business of the firm, and has since conducted it alone.

While he has made his profession the great aim of his life, he has sought to be of public service where he could without interfering with that high desire. He was one of the incorporators of the Buffalo College of Physicians and Surgeons, and upon the establishment of that institution became a member of its

faculty as professor of the theory and practice of medicine. In 1881 he was promoted to the rank of dean of the college. He is a member of the New York State Homeopathic Medical society, and also of the Western New York Homeopathic Medical society. While he has been styled a homeopathist since 1868, he has not forgotten his early teaching, and so blends the two schools of medicine that he considers his success in the treatment of diseases far greater than he could obtain by using either system alone. Holding this belief, he has written many articles for the medical press in advocacy thereof. In fact, his pen has been busy many times in the letting of light into the world, and he has sent forth a number of articles of value. He had for some time editorial charge of the Physicians and Surgeons Investigator, a monthly journal of medicine and surgery that is published as the organ of the homeopaths of Buffalo. This journal is now in its sixth volume, and its able and well filled pages speak in many ways of the help it has had from Dr. Brayton's skilled judgment and able pen.

Dr. Brayton stands in the front rank of his profession in western New York, and all who know him concede that he has well earned the success he has achieved. He is one of the busy men of Buffalo. He has given especial study and attention to ovarian difficulties, with very great success. He has performed all the capital operations, and has widened his reputation and usefulness with every year that has passed. He has given his whole life to

his profession, and has found such usefulness and rewards in that, that he has not been moved with any ambition toward public or political life. He is an enthusiastic believer in the efficacy of electricity in the treatment of chronic diseases of a non-malignant character, and uses it, probably, to a greater extent than any other physician in Buffalo. The Franklin electricity, generated by modifications of the Toëpler battery, he considers far superior to all the other batteries combined, as its effects are almost instantaneous, and permanent.

Dr. Brayton combines a fine physical presence with great mental powers, and

is one of the men whom it is a pleasure to meet, whether in a social or professional way. He is capable of great endurance, has wonderful natural forces, and the faculty of utilizing his capacities to the greatest advantage. He was married in 1868 to Miss Frances Hyslop, of Honeoye Falls, and their life together has been one of mutual confidence and happiness. Dr. Brayton is domestic in his tastes, and it is in his home that he finds his surest source of strength, and where his few hours of leisure are gladly spent. To it, and to his profession his whole life, service and heart are earnestly and loyally pledged.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

DR. JOSEPH C. GREENE.

THE position of Dr. Joseph C. Greene in the medical and municipal life of Buffalo is such that any mention of the men who have made the city what it is without reference to him would be incomplete. While he has worked steadily through many years for the good of his fellows and the welfare of the chosen city of his home, he has done so quietly, and sought rather to make himself felt through his works than his words. He is a self-made man in the best meaning of that term, and enjoys not only the confidence but the respect of the community in which he dwells.

Dr. Greene was born in Lincoln, Vermont, on July 31, 1829. His family

was of the best New England stock, and members of it have from time to time made their mark in the stirring scenes of colonial history. The paternal line runs back to Samuel Greene, a native of England who emigrated to America in 1630, and made his home in Boston. Among his descendants was Isaiah Greene who settled in Kensington, New Hampshire, and afterwards removed to Ware, of the same state. His son Simon was in turn the father of Stephen S. Greene who removed from New Hampshire in 1827, and settled in Vermont. In the year following he was married to Lydia Chase, a daughter of Joseph Chase of Starksboro, a prominent min-



J. C. Greene M.D.

ister of the Society of Friends, and a descendant of one of the early Holland settlers of New York. To this couple twelve children were born, of whom Joseph, the subject of this sketch, was eldest. The first sixteen years of his life were spent in that finest school of preparation that could be opened to any boy who desired to grow to a fine physical and mental manhood—the summer work of a New England farm, and the winter work in a New England common school. The youth made the most of his chances. Mind and ambition grew with his bodily growth, and from the first he gave evidence of the results that were to be. His taste for knowledge was such, and so good were the uses he made of his chances, that his parents wisely decided to give him a thorough education. In 1845 they sent him to an excellent boarding school at Nine Partners, Dutchess county, where he obtained a liberal education, and from which he graduated with honor. His personal tastes led him to choose medicine as a profession, and the eminence he has won therein justifies the wisdom of that choice. He became a student of Dr. Hugh Taggart of Hinesburgh, who was one of the leading physicians of western Vermont. After this preparatory office-work he attended regular lectures at the Woodstock and Castleton school of medicine, and subsequently matriculated at the Albany Medical college. In June, 1855, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Imbued with a desire to make his preparation thorough, he went to New York city after receiving his diploma, and attended clinics for a time in the various hospitals of that city, or took what is known as a polyclinic course. In 1856 he returned to his native state of Vermont, and began practice in the village of Charlotte. He remained there seven years, growing in experience, and adding to his store of knowledge by keen observation and close study. In 1863 he decided to seek a broader field for his energy and talents, and accordingly removed to Buffalo, and finding the place congenial and fruitful, made it his permanent home. His advance has been steady from the first, and both as physician and man he stands high in public repute, and has won success in every meaning of the term. His practice has grown into an extensive and remunerative one, and he finds his time and hands fully occupied. Among his professional brethren he holds a place due to his talents and manly character. He is a member and ex-president of the Erie County Medical society; is a member and also ex-president of the Buffalo Medical union; is a permanent member and vice-president of the New York State Medical association, and president of the fourth branch of the last named, comprising fourteen counties of western New York. Dr. Greene is also a member of the Buffalo Microscopical society, of the American Microscopical society, of the Buffalo Historical society, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In all these associations his personal and official influence has ever been used to advance the great objects for which they were

created, and to make them effective instruments for the good of man.

Dr. Greene has found time amid the many demands of his profession to aid the public of Buffalo in several direct and practical ways. In 1873 and 1874 he filled the office of district physician to the Buffalo board of health. Having always taken a deep interest in municipal affairs, he was nominated in 1884 by the Republicans to the position of alderman. Being elected to that responsible trust he entered on the discharge of his duties on January 1, 1885, and is now serving the public in that capacity. In the common council he has proved himself a wise and capable legislator. Keenly alive to the interests of his immediate constituents and of the general public, and unalterably opposed to all forms of trickery and jobbery, he has already been of great public service and will add thereto even greater results in the future. As one of scholarly attainments and having a deep interest in the cause of education, his appointment to the important position of chairman of the committee on schools was universally recognized as a proper and wise movement. In that office, which places him officially at the head of the Buffalo school system, Dr. Greene has been able to do most timely and excellent work for the public schools.

Although professional cares have kept Dr. Greene out of politics, he has always done all that lay in his power for the Republican party, and is known to all as a warm and earnest supporter of its principles. In many directions

he has touched with good results the public and social life of Buffalo and western New York. He was a member of the building committee of the Young Men's Christian association of Buffalo. He has for years been a prominent Mason, being a Knight Templar and also of the thirty-second degree of the Scottish rite. He is a leading member of the Acadia club of Buffalo, and takes a leading part in the matter of literary culture. He was married on September 21, 1856, to a daughter of William and Anna Taggart. Three children were born to them—Dr. De Witt C. Greene, now a practicing physician, and district physician of Buffalo, who married Miss Julia M. Gates of Medina, New York, June 10, 1885; Anna Adelaide, the wife of Edward Andrews, a well-known Buffalo lawyer, and Julia Delphine, who is yet in school. Dr. Greene's beloved companion was removed by death on October 15, 1882.

To give some degree of completeness to this brief sketch of Dr. Greene's career, we append the following description of his personal traits and analysis of his mental and moral endowments by a well-known citizen of Buffalo, who has been in such relations with the doctor, for over twenty years, as to afford him the amplest opportunity for a thorough study and knowledge of his character:

In person Dr. Greene is large and massive. He has always enjoyed almost perfect health, and possesses the ability to undergo almost any amount of labor and fatigue. His robust and ample physical frame is the fitting expo-

nent of his most characteristic intellectual and moral traits.

Largeness and strength are his leading mental endowments. He has an unusual grasp and sweep of thought, and never fails to "take in" any subject submitted to his investigation.

His robust and comprehensive common sense not only renders him proof against deception, but wise in counsel, skillful in planning, and unerring in the choice of means and employment of expedients. Although somewhat inclined to conservatism, there is not the least taint of "old fogysm" about him. He is self-poised and deliberate; nothing throws him off his base. He is a natural leader of men, and in his connection with deliberative bodies his associates highly respect his advice and judgment.

As a friend, Dr. Greene's adhesion and reliability are unconquerable. He is incapable of anything like a betrayal of friendship. Through thick and thin he stands by those to whom he has given his confidence and his pledges. His hospitality is unbounded, and the breadth of his sympathies unlimited. As a physician he is in the main cau-

tious, yet in an emergency self-possessed and full of resources. He possesses as a "gift" the intuitive eye-glance into the causes and seat of diseases, without which no amount of study or experience will make one a great and skillful practitioner.

In diagnosing it is rare that his sagacity is at fault, and so he is seldom or never at a loss to know "what to do" for his patients.

Dr. Greene has given to certain diseases close and special attention, and has worked out for them peculiar and independent modes of successful treatment. In consultation the doctor has, in a marked degree, the confidence and respect of his professional brethren. For this purpose his services are eagerly sought from near and far, and his judgment on such occasions is generally sound, and his advice usually followed.

Dr. Greene is now in the full maturity of his powers, and, with health unbroken, with unflagging physical and mental strength, and energy unabated, he and his friends may reasonably look forward to his enjoyment of many years of still increasing usefulness and honor.

. JAMES HENRY SEYMOUR.

DR. O. W. SADLER.

DR. OREN WINSLOW SADLER of Pittsburgh, although yet on the sunny side of fifty, has won a success and a standing in his profession that come to few; and the good he has done in the past and is doing in the present, may be regarded as but an earnest of his larger usefulness in the future. He has that rare gift, the full courage of his convictions, and, like many others, has been compelled to work out the problem of his life amid difficulties placed there by others, and against opposition as needless as it was unjust. There cannot but be points of interest in that life, which is here briefly detailed.

Dr. Sadler first saw the light of day in Brewerton, Onondago county, New York, on January 2, 1843. He traces his ancestry back through an excellent New England family to an old England stock, John Sadler coming across the ocean and settling in Massachusetts about the first of the last century, while other members of the family are known to have arrived at even an earlier date. Dr. Sadler has in his possession a number of heirlooms in which he takes no small pride, as some of them date back to the *Mayflower* herself. William Sadler, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, with three brothers, Scott, Giles and Arteus, in 1820 settled near Onondaga lake, near the then small village

of Syracuse; the country roundabout being a wilderness. They came of a sturdy and resolute race that hardships could not dismay, nor the dangers of the pioneer days frighten. With resolution and devotion they began the long labor with the forests, and hewed out for themselves homes, and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose. Dr. Sadler's father, William Dexter Sadler, grew to manhood amid hardships and the privations allotted to the early settlers' sons, yet through the efforts of a noble mother, he was enabled to receive a fair education. At the age of twenty-five, he was married to Nancy Spire, the daughter of one of the neighboring farmers.

When Dr. Sadler was but three years of age, his father, with the pioneer spirit inherited from his ancestors, removed to Millburn, Lake county, Illinois, going by the Erie canal and great lakes to Kenasha, Wisconsin. Here he built him a new home by hard work and indomitable energy, and by the continued labor of years, secured a comfortable competence, and, among other good results, was thereby enabled to send his two sons to college. The father, with his worthy wife, is still living and is doing a successful business in partnership with his son, Alphonso, in Marshalltown, Iowa.

The oldest son, Oren Winslow, spent his boyhood at home on the farm and



O. W. Sadler M.D.

in the public schools, developing in body, mind, and an ambition to make the best possible use of the powers that he felt to be within him. After attending school for some time, he in turn taught and afterwards gave some time to a commercial college. He tried one year of business life, but found that he had not been born for a career of that character. After some serious thought and investigation he was more and more decided that his natural desire for a medical life was an indication of the direction in which his life work should be performed. Accordingly on April 1, 1865, he was duly installed as a student of medicine in the office of D. B. Taylor, M. D., a skillful practitioner, who was devoted to his profession and his practice, and who gave excellent help to the young man under his direction. From thirteen to sixteen hours per day poring over anatomy, *materia medica*, chemistry, and the medical dictionary, kept the young man employed and gave him a foundation of depth and breadth upon which to build. After a thorough summer's work of this character he entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where he attended every lecture and "quiz," and worked a full course of analytical chemistry in the laboratory—one of the most thorough in the United States, and was granted a diploma. Then came another year of office study, when he entered the Chicago Medical school—the first one in the United States that raised its term of lectures from four to five months. He made this choice because he hoped to find there carried

out his principle of thoroughness, rather than to look for it in those colleges that bid for students by an offer of short terms and an easy graduation. Although there was no chair of ophthalmology in the college, a course of clinical lectures was given at the Cook County hospital near by, by Joseph S. Hildreth, who had been a student of the most eminent ophthalmologists of Europe, and who had been in charge of the eye department of the United States Army hospital in Chicago during the war. The course was optional, and though the earnest young student did not neglect the other branches, he employed many extra hours on the eye, and was among the nine of thirteen who passed a successful examination, and received the extra diploma of the chartered eye and ear infirmary, in addition to the regular one of M. D. from the college on commencement day.

After graduation Dr. Sadler settled in Dodge county, Minnesota, and was successful from the very first. At a meeting of the Minnesota State Medical society, held at Owatonna, he was elected a member, and upon organization of the Dodge County Medical society, at Mantorville, he was made its secretary. The wisdom of his choice in making medicine and surgery his life work, was soon justified in the standing he took in that profession and the results that followed his early efforts. Some very serious cases fell into his hands, and the skill that was evinced by their recovery heralded his fame abroad and widened and extended his practice. It was here that he won his

first honors in surgery. After a difficult and dangerous operation a physician who had assisted, although retired from active practice, remarked of him, "He dare do anything." The seeming daring, however, did not come through recklessness, but from a thorough knowledge of what was to be done, and how to do it. Anatomical geography of man is the foundation of courage in surgery. A student once asked an eminent professor of surgery, "What can a doctor do to give him courage and steady his hand in important and dangerous operations?"

"Study your anatomy," was the terse and forceful answer.

Professor Ford, the anatomist, once said: "He who wishes to be a good surgeon must know his anatomy so well that the location of all parts are as plain to his mind's eye as if a man were made of glass, and every part be seen in its place."

Dr. Sadler's knowledge of eye surgery had been kept in practice, and through its delicacy, its certainty of condition and rational treatment, added to the certainty of brilliant results when scientifically understood and skillfully managed, proved more to his taste than any other branch of medicine. With an ambition for a larger field for his chosen specialties and growing powers, he decided to move to the east. He chose Titusville, Pennsylvania, then the centre of the great oil regions, and in 1872 the transfer was made, and he commenced practice in the new field. The question as to the character of his practice urged itself more and more upon his thoughts,

and he gave it some serious consideration. The idea of "specialists" was then hardly known, except in large cities, and a chair of ophthalmic and aural surgery in the colleges was unknown, except in two or three instances. How to secure practice was the great question that confronted him. To visit the doctors from office to office to announce his purpose and solicit their support and contribution of that part of their business, smacked, as he thought, too much of conceit and beggary—was derogatory to his sense of "dignity and honor"—a course, it may be said, that is the one "honorable" method recognized by the code-loving part of the profession. The only uncensurable method under the code was to enter society, contribute to its needs and fancies, and, where opportunity offered, pose as an oculist and aurist—a course that would have outraged his sense of self-respect and good taste. Young, educated under the code, living up to its teachings and practicing its precepts, what course seemed to be left but—to adopt a phrase that will be understood—to "wait and grow up with the country?" Yes, wait until the public in its desperation should search up and down for that modest, code-like genius hid under a bushel, and drag him out to the light of a suffering world.

"Announce your business modestly and truthfully through the public press," suggested a friend (Dr. Sibbit) as a sensible way out of the maze of difficulty.

Yes, was the answer in substance if not in words, but that is advertising, and

advertising is "derogatory to the dignity and honor of the profession." "I can do nothing so 'dishonorable' as that," said he.

But this thought forced its way to the front in spite of all : The code—what is it ? A set of rules and by-laws adopted by a body of medical men for the government and regulation of members of that body. It asserts no new law or principle, moral or social, binding on all men, but merely the rule of action for a brotherhood. When it asserts that it is "derogatory to the dignity and honor of the profession" to advertise, that statement applies only to those who are in the society by which it was adopted. It does not assert an abstract truth of all doctors, but an assumed rule of action to all members of that society. Consequently, to advertise does not violate a moral law of right or justice ; but the member of the society who does so, violates his agreement with that society, and in this violation lies the dishonor. To illustrate this point more clearly : A person who has withdrawn from a church organization is no longer bound by the distinctive doctrines or regulations of that creed, and may do any act not in itself derogatory to the character of a Christian, whether sanctioned or not by the society from which, in the exercise of his right of judgment, he has formally withdrawn, and still be as true a Christian as the strictest of any sect.

The result of this train of thought and the outcome of its conclusion was that Dr. Sadler sent in his resignation to the society, received an honorable release

therefrom by its acceptance, and then followed his own sense of propriety as to what he should do. He modestly and independently announced his business and the location of his office in the morning papers, and before ten o'clock of the same day treated his first patients in his new field ; and before night a young man, blind and suffering for months, was under his care, and to-day blesses him for that terse notice in the morning papers. Advertising opened the natural channels of business and success. After two and a half years of successful labors in Titusville, and on the decline of the oil fields about it, he determined to seek a still larger field, and on February 18, 1874, removed to Pittsburgh, which city has since been his home. The change of location certainly proved itself a wise one. He realized that in a populous community he would be able to command a patronage commensurate with his professional skill, and accomplish more for himself and for suffering humanity. Untrammelled in his new field, he entered upon a career of usefulness and success which has rarely been equaled anywhere. In the midst of a great working community in which diseases of the eye and ear were common, he soon drew to his office scores of persons of moderate means, and as his fame spread abroad through the publication of the cures he had effected, men and women of the highest intelligence and social position became his patrons. Whatever criticism he has encountered from the "regulars" may be summed up in the phrase "he advertises." It is not

alleged that he is unskillful or unsuccessful, but that he violates the code of ethics, which, as we have shown, is not binding upon him, as he is no longer a member of their society, but their hostility has long since ceased to trouble him, and he has uniformly held his position at the head of the profession in the class of diseases treated by him. He has steadily gained in public confidence and regard, and to-day he stands without a competitor in western Pennsylvania, some of his cures bordering on the marvelous. By way of supporting the principle of advertising, it may be remarked that he has been the recipient of the most grateful and touching acknowledgments from patients who have not hesitated to say that they were saved from total blindness through having read the remarkable results of his skill in the newspapers.

It is doubtful whether any man ever gained distinction in any department of art and science without the incentive born of professional enthusiasm. A leading characteristic of Dr. Sadler is his devotion to those branches of surgery in which he has become so proficient. He is a close and untiring student, and his wide research, combined with that genius which seems intuitive with the favored few, has given him a national reputation. One of his greatest commendations is the stability of his habits. He is strictly temperate in all things, and scrupulously avoids whatever might in the least degree tend to retard or render uncertain the most rapid and delicate operations. Thus, he at all times possesses a clear head

and steady hand. As to his medical opinions, they are always based on a thorough examination, and while they may not always be correct, the patient has the benefit of his honest convictions. Never laying claim to infallibility, he deals frankly with those who seek his advice, and makes it a rule never to "nurse" cases that are hopeless.

In constructing an eye and ear infirmary in connection with his residence, Dr. Sadler's object was to increase his facilities for doing a larger business and rendering his operations more successful. With the class of patients requiring most careful treatment after operations, under his immediate care in his own house, his opportunities for effecting a speedy and perfect cure are greatly enhanced. A special correspondent of the *New York Graphic*, who accompanied a description of the residence and grounds with a very fine illustration, thus speaks of the place:

It is located on Mt. Washington, at a height of four hundred and fifty feet above the din and confusion of the busy streets. The doctor, who stands at the head of his branch of the profession in this city, appreciating the benefit of a home for those requiring difficult operations on the eye and ear, has selected this most favorable spot for the purpose, and at an outlay of thousands of dollars has erected the palatial edifice shown in our illustration. It is built with all the latest improved conveniences. His most difficult and critical operations are performed here, where the patient remains under his care and receives the attention and homelike comforts to be attained nowhere else, and which are so necessary to success in the treatment of those delicate organs. The grounds surrounding the residence are large and beautifully decorated with trees, shrubs and flowers. The air is pure and bracing, free from the smoke and dust for which the "Smoky City" is so noted. From the observatory the views are grand in every

direction. On one side is a beautiful country, on the other two cities and the three rivers—Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio—all forming an interesting panorama. At night the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny present a tableau of inexpressible beauty and magnificence. The innumerable electric and gas lights, stretching for miles over the low hills, the many varied colored lights on the steamers plying the river and anchored at the wharves, the fierce flames leaping high above the house tops from the stacks of the numerous furnaces, and natural gas escapes and mills along the three river banks present a sight of grandeur and beauty not to be seen elsewhere in this country.

Dr. Sadler has been blest in his domestic as well as his professional life. At the age of twenty-four he married Miss Josephine E. Slocum, daughter of George W. Slocum, now a resident of Mantorville, Minnesota. She is also of New England stock, her father's family being among the first settlers of Rhode Island. Both of her grandfathers were pioneers of western Pennsylvania, settling in Crawford county, near Conneautville, where an uncle, Hon. Frank Mantor, now resides. Mrs. Sadler has proved herself a noble and helpful wife in every meaning of the term, and her husband never enters upon any new project without first advising with her, and he attributes a large share of his success to her wise and comprehensive judgment. Educated, cultured, and a friend to those in need, her sympathetic nature and cheerful ways have strengthened many a fainting heart of those who through blindness have been brought into the influence of her household. A lovely little daughter and two sons add the sunlight of life and complete the domestic happiness.

Dr. Sadler's position with reference

to the needs and duties of his profession has received endorsement of a cordial character from the people and press of Pennsylvania, and many facts might be adduced in proof of that assertion. The *Pittsburgh Post*, in a solid and serious argument on the question above discussed, remarks that "Dr. Sadler has performed some extraordinary cures in difficult cases, and he has made the facts known through the newspapers; his remedies are not of the quack character or his advertisements sensational or in violation of the canon of good taste." Another Pittsburgh newspaper editorially makes a neat and sharp point on the opposition when it says that "Dr. Sadler is rather unprofessional in the eyes of some of his brethren, not that they deny his skill as an oculist for this they do not and cannot, but because he makes a liberal use of printer's ink, and pays for it. As a rather interesting rejoinder to this objection he has a very large scrap-book in his office filled with notices which other sons of Esculapias have obtained from newspapers without paying for them, and he suggests the rather pertinent question: Which is the most professional, to pay or not to pay?" Another tribute from a like source says: "Dr. Sadler does a legitimate business, and is 'honorable' enough to pay for his advertising, relying upon no one but himself for his success in his profession, and asking gratuitous notices from none. That he is successful and has the ability to perform the most difficult and delicate operations upon the eye and ear, the many cases that have come under

our personal observation leave no room for doubt."

The above quotations might be continued by the score, and very many instances could be furnished in proof of all that has been claimed for Dr. Sadler's skill. But a continuation is needless. The success he has won and the endless amount of good he has been enabled to accomplish, because he was brave enough to mark out a path

for himself and walk therein, are the best possible justification of his course. Although yet young in years, he is old in experience and has won a substantial reputation. Time will more and more justify his course, and the day is not far distant when others who now sneer at his methods may for very self preservation be driven to the necessity of adopting them.

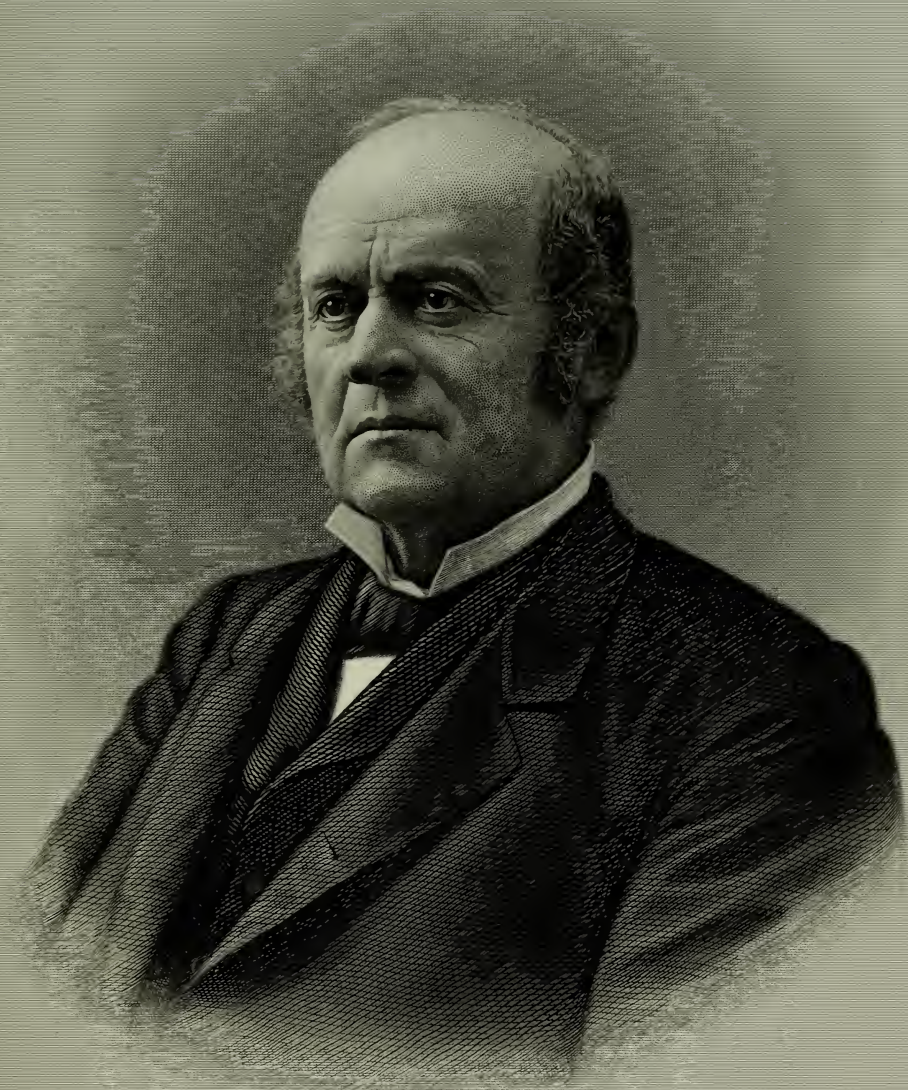
WILLIAM ANDERSON.

HON. DAVID S. BENNETT.

WHEN the commercial history of Buffalo comes to be written, many things of surprising interest will be brought to light, and the fact be made plain that nowhere among the cities that came into being with this century was one built on broader or more enduring foundations, or that from its location gave a more certain promise for the future. Situate upon the spot where the great western lakes find their only outlet toward the sea, and in the midst of a country full of promise and natural resources, its founders knew from the first that they had made no mistake, and every year that has passed between their time and ours but justifies the more the step so early taken. And when that history is written, much credit will have to be given to the men of courage, brains and energy, who, in the early days and in those of later times, have worked in season and out to make the city what it is, and to give it not

only a name for business enterprise but business integrity as well.

When the struggling little village was burned by the British in 1813, the disaster was not great enough to daunt the spirit of its people. They set to work with a determined energy, as soon as circumstances would allow, and from 1816 onward the growth of the place was permanent and sure. In 1823 the harbor was permanently opened and a pier constructed. This gave the place a commercial importance it had not possessed before. The year 1825 was probably one of the most important the city had witnessed, as it marked the opening of the Erie canal. The city then possessed a population of two thousand four hundred and twelve, but the addition of this new water highway toward the east gave it a new impetus, and by 1830 there were eight thousand six hundred and sixty-eight people within her borders. The panic of 1837



Engraved by J. H. P. & Co. New York

J. H. P.

J. H. P.

was the first backset received, but even its effects were overcome and Buffalo again found itself on the road to prosperity. The period from 1847 to 1857 was one of stirring events and business activity. "At that time," says one writer, "it was essentially a maritime town. Its harbor was serviceable, but narrow and inconvenient; and the frequent arrivals and departures crowded the narrow waterway, so as to give an air of wonderful life and activity to the region of the wharves. Passenger steamboats were in their glory." At the beginning of the above named period a new factor came into the field, and, when successfully established, was a most important adjunct to the handling of Buffalo's commerce. "The grain elevator, invented about 1780 by Oliver Evans, had been heretofore only used for the handling of grain in flour-mills, and in loading and unloading vessels a vast number of 'longshoremen' were necessary to properly facilitate the transmission. The grain elevator was first applied to the uses of commerce in 1842, and to Buffalo belongs the honor of its adaptation to the trans-shipment of grain from lake vessels to warehouses or canal boats. One of her citizens, Joseph Dart, was the first to erect a steam elevator for commercial purposes."

The year 1851 began with a remarkable increase of prosperity for the city. The great west had commenced to pour its products lavishly into the east, and this port became one of the main gateways through which the transfer was made. From six millions of bushels,

which was the receipt of grain in 1850, it rose to twenty millions in 1855, while every dock and wharf was crowded with commerce of a miscellaneous character. The lakes, the canal and railroads all gave their contributions to the growing stream. Buildings were erected with wonderful rapidity, and whole streets sprang into existence as if in a day. There was work for all, and newcomers crowded in from all directions. From a population of thirty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-three in 1850, it sprang to the wonderful advance of seventy-four thousand four hundred and fourteen in 1855. From the last named date to 1860 affairs were at a standstill, but the city soon after took a new start, and from thence has royally held its own. Of the point to which it has at last reached as a commercial factor, let the following, written only a year ago, stand as witness:

Commercially much could be written of Buffalo. At this port grain is received, transferred, stored and forwarded with greater dispatch than at any other in this country. The river for about a mile from its mouth is lined with immense elevators and floaters, provided with all of the most improved appliances for handling cereals. At the beginning of the present year there were twenty-two elevators, ten transfer elevators and six floaters—thirty-eight in all—most of which are massive structures, costing in the aggregate about six million dollars. Their combined storage capacity is three million one hundred and two thousand bushels. That is to say, the elevators of Buffalo are capable of receiving from lake vessels and transferring to canal boats and cars daily three million bushels of grain if called upon to do so. Several of these elevators have machinery attached whereby sixty thousand to seventy thousand bushels of wet or damaged grain can be dried every twenty-four hours. The grain trade has steadily increased for years. The season's receipt for 1880 were the largest on record, aggregating, *Lake and Lake*

Shore & Michigan Southern railroad, 175,000,000 bushels; those of 1883 were 101,122,705 bushels. The facilities for forwarding this vast amount of grain were as extensive as the terminal facilities.

There are many men who have done much for Buffalo, and have nobly labored to make it the great factor in the world's progress that it is to-day. Credit has been fully awarded in these pages to some, and there are others who will be spoken of in the future. In this instance the record of one of these workers is referred to. In the Hon. David S. Bennett, Buffalo has found one of her truest and most valorous champions; one of her most earnest and sturdy defenders; and for her future he has hoped, and planned, and dreamed when others were silent or opposed when they should have given help. The direction and manner of his labor can be discovered in that which follows:

Mr. Bennett had the advantage of an excellent parentage, his father being one of those enterprising sons of New England who early saw the advantage to be gained by a removal from the stony fields of his native state to the fertile valleys and plains of central New York. James Bennett was of Connecticut growth, but removed in his early manhood to Onondaga county, where by his own energy and thrift he secured a handsome property. The subject of this sketch was born on a farm, the youngest but one of a large family. The wilderness roundabout had been largely cleared off by that time, and the advantages of civilization secured in the main. The boy had the benefit of an excellent district school

and made the most of it, being an attentive student, and making excellent progress. This was supplemented by a two years' course in the Onondaga academy. "He began life" says one biographer, "at the age of twenty-one as proprietor of a magnificent farm of two hundred acres made over to him by his industrious father, partly in anticipation of his inheritance, and partly to be paid for out of what could be raised upon it. Taking a young wife about this period, he devoted himself for four or five years to farming, meeting with great success. By various trades in land and other speculations, in the meantime he had considerably increased his means; and finally yielding to the well-defined bent of his nature, he gave up agricultural pursuits and engaged in buying and selling produce, first in Syracuse and afterwards in New York City, where the firm of Bennett, Hall & Company was organized."

In 1853 the business of the firm had so developed that the presence of one of the partners was constantly required in Buffalo. Mr. Bennett accordingly removed to that city, which has since been his home, and for whose commercial and general interests he has worked with such loyal devotion. He was found in the front rank of her business men from the first. He was one of the early elevator men, purchasing the Dart grain elevator, which, as has been said above, is believed to have been the first constructed and successfully operated in the world. This structure was supplied with approved steam machinery and the endless belt and basket contrivance for lifting grain from the holds of vessels of

every description, and may be said to have furnished the model of all those now so commonly met with in American ports. Shortly after this purchase Mr. Bennett united with the late George W. Tift in the construction of an elevator on the Ohio basin ; and, at the subsequent period, in partnership with Messrs. A. Sherwood & Co., he erected another on Coit Slip. This latter construction was unfortunately destroyed by fire. The famous Bennett elevator, which cost, with its site, nearly half a million dollars, was erected by Mr. Bennett alone, and occupied in building from 1862 until 1866. The capacity of the Bennett, together with that of the Union adjoining or contiguous, which was rebuilt by Mr. Bennett, was equal to the handling of twenty millions of bushels of grain per annum, and to the storing of seven hundred thousand bushels. These elevators are still the property of Mr. Bennett.

From his earliest residence in Buffalo to the present, Mr. Bennett has been a friend to any movement whether moral, educational or material that had for its purpose the good of the city, the state, or the nation. During the war for the Union he was a persistent and conscientious supporter of the Federal government, and gave liberally of both time and money in aid of the Union cause. His patriotic zeal was unflagging, and the aggregate of his contributions towards the equipment of troops sent from the state is said to have equalled a moderate fortune. His wonderful business talents, his enterprise and success, and the great services he had

rendered in the development of Buffalo, naturally drew upon him the attention and esteem of the community, and it was not long before many overtures were made to him to allow the use of his name in connection with positions of public trust. In 1865 the Republican party, with which he had acted since its creation, placed him in nomination for state senator, to represent the Buffalo district. This result was not brought about by any movement of Mr. Bennett's, as he had little inclination for public life, but was an expression of the general desire of the people. His standing as a business man, his known interest in the advancement of Buffalo's commercial interests, his aid in the Union cause, and his great personal popularity, were all strong factors of success, and the result was that his nomination was followed by an election by an overwhelming majority. On taking his seat in the senate, he began to pay immediate attention to those questions that lay so near his heart. He gave special attention to the canal system of the state, and earnestly urged a measure for the enlargement of the locks of the Erie and Oswego canals to pass boats of six hundred tons burthen, "foretelling," as one says, "the divergence of traffic that has since been brought about as a consequence of the inadequate capacity of the boats employed." Although his earnest support of this measure did not cause its passage, because of the jealousy of the districts interested in the lateral canals, his services were of great value to his constituents and gave general satisfac-

tion. Among the measures of which he was the originator, and of which he caused the passage, was the bill reorganizing the Buffalo police department; the one founding the now flourishing State Normal school at Buffalo, and a third creating the Reformatory for boys established by the Rev. Father Hines, at Limestone Hill.

At the conclusion of his senatorial term, in 1868, there was such satisfaction with his record that much against his wishes he was compelled to accept a nomination to congress. He was accordingly elected to the Forty-first congress by a great majority, and on taking his seat was given a place on the important committee on commerce, a recognition of his knowledge and interest concerning the great commercial interests of the country. "Convinced by his experience in the New York legislature," says one writer, "that the state would undertake no measures of canal improvement liberal enough and vigorous enough to meet the pressing demands of commerce, and seeing how broadly national the question of cheap and adequate communication by water between the great lakes and the seaboard really is, Mr. Bennett boldly advanced the proposition that it should be the duty of the general government to enlarge the Erie and Oswego canals and to maintain them without tolls as free to navigation as the rivers of the Connecticut. He introduced in congress a bill to that end, and found much readiness among the representatives of the west to give it support. The committees on commerce and appropria-

tion both signified their willingness to report the bill if the state of New York, by its legislature, would indicate a disposition to accept the proffered aid. But the spirit of the New York legislature was the spirit of the dog in the manger. It would do nothing for the canals on its own part, it would suffer no one else to do anything for them. And so they were left to fall into comparative desuetude, their commerce to seek other waters, their revenues to dwindle away, until even the despairing policy of making them free will not win traffic for their decaying fleets."

Mr. Bennett was a hard-working man while in congress, honestly and earnestly laboring to do his duty not only to his constituents but to the country at large. Among other legislation introduced by him was a bill to authorize the construction of the International bridge across Niagara river; one to recommission the revenue cutters on the lakes, and to require them to go to the relief of merchant vessels in distress free of charge, against the severe opposition of the secretary of the treasury and others; and one to extend the park system of Buffalo over the grounds of Fort Porter, all of which were passed.

On the conclusion of the term for which he had been elected, Mr. Bennett refused a renomination, and has since declined all overtures looking to a return to public life. But he was by no means idle in relation to the great improvements to which he had given so much thought and such earnest support. He was thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the course he had suggested, and

worked earnestly in its aid, even after his retirement from congress. "Mr. Bennett was so full of the subject," wrote the editor of the *Buffalo Times*, only a short time ago, "and so confident that it was the true policy for the state as well as for the best interests of the canals, that he talked the matter everywhere, and was constantly impressing its importance upon the people through the press. He was found at every state convention of both political parties, urging the incorporation of a resolution in their platforms favoring his scheme. He could always find some one willing to offer the resolution, but could never get a committee on platform to which it was referred, to report upon it favorably. Things are different now. The *Courier*, *Express* and *Commercial*, vie with each other, not only in supporting the Weber bill, but in urging just what Mr. Bennett advocated seventeen years ago, which they then spurned and ridiculed. Mr. Bennett is to be congratulated, not only upon his triumph over the local press, but in seeing his pet measure so popular at present, with a fair prospect of ultimate, if not early, success."

In January last, when the *Buffalo* newspapers were discussing a bill that had been prepared by Colonel Weber, who represented the Buffalo district in congress, that provided for the asking of government aid for the enlargement of the New York canals, Mr. Bennett in response to some newspaper remarks, published an article in which he referred with some detail to the efforts he had made years ago to bring about that very object. As a contribution to the history

of American commerce that ought to be put in permanent form, I take the liberty of quoting a part of that history, as follows :

You will now allow me to bring to public notice, briefly, the action taken during the Forty-first congress, in which I had the honor to represent this district. On the sixteenth of February I introduced a bill asking for an appropriation of fifteen million dollars, to be applied to the payment of the canal debt of the state of New York, and the prompt enlargement and improvement of the Erie and Oswego canals. This bill was discussed freely during the first session, and a new bill introduced and referred to the committee of commerce, of which I was a member. It was unanimously reported from this committee, also from the committee of appropriations. I then forwarded it to Mr. Alberger, a member of the state legislature, asking for the passage of a joint resolution, accepting the provisions of the bill. It was stopped there by him, without any apparent reason. I allowed the bill to remain quiet in the committee until after the adjournment, simply forwarding a copy of it to the chamber of commerce in New York, which, as you know, is a body composed of commercial men of high standing. I then addressed a letter to its chairman, the late William E. Dodge, asking for a hearing at this conference. He replied promptly, naming the days of their meetings, and expressing a desire to hear me at any time. I thereupon presented the measure, and my brief argument in support of it, was received and a resolution passed, unanimously endorsing it, before they adjourned.

With such endorsement as the two committees referred to above, composed of twenty-five men from all parts of the country, and the endorsement of the chamber of commerce of the city of New York, together with the convictions of the people of the country during the last seventeen years, of the importance of the measure. I believe our present representatives from this district can pass a bill calling for an amount amply sufficient to enlarge and improve the Erie canal to the full extent of the water to supply the same ; having it expressed in the bill that if promptly passed during this session, so as to give the state of New York the summer to procure the necessary materials, that it shall be completed and ready for navigation on the opening of the spring of 1887.

The above was written in January last. Mr. Bennett's present position, so far as the prompt enlargement of the Erie canal is concerned, by the general government, is that the entire west and northwest, as well as the state of New York, should be entirely outspoken upon the subject, and that it should be advocated in every state and national convention until the project is called out.

Mr. Bennett has worked for the public good in ways other than those outlined above. Seeking to establish connections by rail through the city of Buffalo, and with its numerous docks and warehouses for the general use of all railroads running thereto, he was active in organizing the Buffalo Crosstown Railway company designed "to extinguish monopoly in the railway privileges of the city." His idea of an independent organization to effect this was not adopted, and the privileges fell to the New York Central and Delaware, and Lackawanna and Western railroad companies. Another project through which Mr. Bennett sought to advance the public interests was that of tunnelling under the Niagara river—the wisdom of which will doubtless be apparent at no distant day. He is, it may truthfully be said, a born leader of public opinion. He has the faculty of looking into the future, and seeing much that is hidden from the view of other men. Broad and liberal in his views on all subjects, it is in keeping with his character that he should build "not for a day but for all time."

Mr. Bennett is a man whom it is a pleasure to know in his social and home life. As has been said, he married when

quite young. His wife, whose maiden name was Harriett A. Benham, is a daughter of Mr. Truman Benham, of Bridgewater, Oneida county, and a most worthy and amiable lady, whose high character and womanly qualities have endeared her to all who know her. In a personal sense, Mr. Bennett's main power seems to lie in the unconquerable spirit of perseverance with which his plans are pursued. He outlines a policy that he knows to be right and just, and pursues it to the end. He cannot be turned from purposes which he has once deliberately formed. To do that which he has undertaken to do, being convinced that it is a right and needful thing to do, he is lastingly pledged by the resolution of his nature. If one path to this end is closed he goes back and seeks another, but the object on which he has fixed his eye is never abandoned. He pushes toward it through all obstacles and discouragements, not doing so stubbornly, but with patient persistence and the elastic high temper of mind which cannot understand defeat. It is impossible to vanquish such men, and this has strikingly been shown in all the encounters with misfortune which Mr. Bennett has undergone. He has had more than his share of the buffetings of adversity, but not one spring of hope or courage or energy has ever seemed to be broken in him. That the undertakings of Mr. Bennett both in public and private affairs have been sagacious almost always is undeniable. Events have vindicated his superior foresight and his shrewd apprehension of the drift of things in those

cases where his views met with most antagonism at first. Said a leading Buffalo newspaper recently concerning him :

As regards the canal policy of the state, the municipal policy of our city in relation to the railways and the general interests of our commerce, Mr. Bennett was far ahead of most men in discerning exigencies and demands which all can now recognize very easily. It is inevitable that one so positive in character as Mr. Bennett, so fertile in progressive projects and so determined in pursuing them, will provoke animosities and raise enemies around himself. It is quite as inevitable, on the other hand, that he will multiply friends. The two consequences go to-

gether and cannot well exist apart. He who has no enemies can have no friends, is a statement of fact which claims adoption among other proverbs. Mr. Bennett has both enemies and friends in a proportion which is flattering to him. If his enemies are sometimes bitter, his friends have warmth enough to more than meet them. In his own nature there is a warmth of kindness and geniality and generosity which kindles responsive feelings ; and those who know him best, who see the most of his daily life, and how much of his time and care is given with painstaking consideration to the serving and pleasing of other people, are sure to be the highest in their esteem.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

LOCAL SKETCHES—DETROIT.

BELIEVING that there is in the repositories of history a pigeon-hole for the lighter material which belongs to men and manners as they appear in their every day costume, it may not be out of place to devote some space to an attempt to depict some of the more familiar features of Detroit and its vicinity in the years gone by.

History has become in modern days a more liberal science than formerly. It was once a canon that all histories should be dignified and select. No matter was deemed worthy of a place which did not ostensibly affect the welfare of nations and their rulers. As in an epic poem, so in stately history, every character appeared only in full dress, and the discreet author never went behind the scenes ; and while we saw kings and counselors moving the grand springs of national action, we

never detected the secret wires that moved kings and counselors. But now things are changed. The epic poet of to-day is the writer of romances, who is most successful when he describes most fully the whole cause of common life. And the wise historian finds it important to learn all the circumstances which operate on national life. The nomad of the plain and the patriotic mountaineer owe much of their national characteristics to the nature of the countries they inhabit. A barren land from which the diligent hand can force but a scanty harvest is no mean source of discipline to its sturdy sons, compared with the enervating luxuriance of the tropics which dissuades from labor by spontaneous profusion. And so men are often moulded for ages by the customs and traditions of their fathers. The endless variety of human condi-

tions may all be traced to changes in circumstances. If those circumstances are not history, they *make* it.

When the first settlements were made at Detroit, the country of the emigrants was governed by a feudal despotism. Large numbers of gentlemen, younger sons of noble families, were seeking in the army the means of advancement denied them in trade or other laborious callings. The colonies from the earliest periods received their full share of these adventurers who became valuable members of society, their ambition finding sufficient food in the excitement always attending the early settlement of civilized men among barbarians. In 1701 the feudal system was fully inaugurated by the creation of Detroit and its vicinage into a dependency, whereof La Motte Cadillac was soon made, practically, lord of the manor, and invested with large powers and privileges. But for some years we find no clear traces of his deriving any great benefit from his domain; and when grants were made afterwards, of which we have any authentic information, they came from the French government which had recalled his conveyances and subsequently confirmed them. About the year 1730 we find evidences of permanent colonization. Up to that time the inhabitants, although owning farms, had lived chiefly in garrison, except when absent on expeditions. But from this period many grants were made of tracts upon the river, above and below, which were occupied as homesteads, and arranged so as to leave no considerable vacancies on the river. Each farm was narrow, being usually

only two or three arpents (or from four hundred to six hundred feet) in width, while all extended back forty arpents from the river. These grants were made by the governor-general and intendant, and contained many conditions. One of the requirements compelled the grantees within two years to obtain a confirmation from the king—a failure to procure which was to have left most of these lands entirely in the control of our government when the country was ceded to the United States. This was a narrow view not favored by French laws. Fines of alienation and quit-rents, as well as annual services are required of all the tenants. Mines and minerals, and the right to cut ship timber were reserved to the crown, but this timber privilege was only one of pre-emption. In some of the grants there was a clause requiring the annual attendance and aid in the erection of a May pole. In most of them the inhabitants were required to have their grain ground at the *moulin banal* or public mill. With the exception of these peculiar conditions, the instruments of cession were in all respects similar to the ordinary conveyances of which the modern French form books contain specimens. One feature will strike everyone who is at all familiar with our French inhabitants. All the early land grants were made to men of respectable position. There is no doubt the early landholders were the acknowledged aristocracy of the colony. There is to this day a very marked difference in physical characteristics and in mental peculiarities between the families of those gen-

tlemen and the descendants of the plebeians. There is no more aristocratic race on the face of the earth than the higher class of French inhabitants. Their courtesy of manners is more lofty than the easy good humor of the others; and while some of them, like their old Norman progenitors, cannot write their names, they are, nevertheless, proud of their birth, and exhibit unequivocal marks of their descent.

Not far from 1749, large accessions were made to the colony by arrivals from France. The new colonists brought with them all the implements and supplies necessary for good husbandry. Their settlements extended rapidly and their farms began to show appearances of neatness and comfort. In some respects they were much wiser than our American farmers. On every farm they planted freely all kinds of fruit of the choicest varieties. France has always been noted for the excellence of its fruits, and their gardens were well stocked with currants, while beautiful orchards of apples, pears, cherries and plums extended for miles along the river. The pear trees demand special notice. They occupied the place of honor near the mansion, and their majestic stature and brilliant foliage were as pleasing to the eye as their shade was grateful or their fruit delicious. Beneath these lofty pyramids of verdure the contented farmer, when his labor was over (and sometimes, perhaps, when he should have been at it), would sit calmly smoking and resting his eye upon the serene river, happy in silent musing or holding a friendly chat

with some white or red neighbor. The science of horticulture has done wonders in producing fine varieties of fruit; but no one whose youth has been spent among the old Detroit pear trees, will ever admit their product to have been equaled in excellence by any pear that grows, whether "Good Christian" or frivolous "Duchess."

The peculiarity of farms, so narrow and all fronting on the river, was founded on convenience as well as ancient custom. The river was their great highway—never out of repair—and costing no labor to build it. Roads could not be built in a heavily wooded country without much trouble and expense, and when made, would have been impassable for a large portion of the year. The necessity of compact settlements for defense against the Indians, was also very obvious. The houses were so near each other that any alarm was easily conveyed from one to another; and as the clearings were all in front, it would have been difficult for the savages to approach without detection. Every farmer had his canoe (and generally several) dug out from a straight log, and in a long pull, the French were superior to the Indians in their own craft. Bark canoes were not in common use in this neighborhood. Few white birch trees are found until we reach the more northerly portions of the state. But the log canoes or pirogues were made with much symmetry, and were about as manageable as those of bark, and much less liable to injury. Some canoes were made of elm bark. For long voyages, resort was often had to the larger sized

bark canoes which were brought down from the upper country, and served for carrying very heavy loads. But the *batteaux* were more commonly used by the *voyageurs* on long excursions. These, of various sizes, were generally built after the fashion of the wellknown Mackinaw boat, which has been found better adapted for all kinds of service than any other known. Its shape is like that of the American whale boat, and modeled very closely after the best bark canoes which were, perhaps, the prototypes of both. Equally well calculated for sail and oar, it rides safely the highest waves without shipping water or straining. In these apparently frail boats a large portion of the valuable furs of the northwest were carried to market hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles, the lighthearted oarsmen beguiling their labor with songs that had been sung by their fathers in the fair land beyond the sea. Occasionally some strong lunged fellow would vary the burden by chanting with more zeal than reverence, after the fashion of the priests in the singing of mass, murdering the Latin and grievously confusing the order; and then, perhaps, would follow an Indian chant, by no means remarkable for melody.

Being thus prepared for traveling by water, there was less occasion for land voyages. There were no highways in the wilderness but Indian trails, which were, however, well marked and passable with ease for ponies. These shaggy animals alternated with the squaws in bearing packs for their Indian masters, and it would be a hard problem to solve,

which could bear the heavier burden. It was a long time before the French established trading houses in the interior where there would be any occasion for land conveyances, and even then their houses were always on some river where everything could be transported in boats.

As farmers, the early inhabitants were by no means remarkable. Their orchards were carefully managed and yielded them abundance of fruit and cider. Potatoes, beans and other vegetables were raised in profusion. The strong soil required no scientific culture. Corn, wheat, oats, buckwheat, or *sarrasin*, and barley, all flourished. The creeks and rivers, not then shrunk up by the sun, furnished power for some water-mills where their grain was ground at the comfortable rates of toll secured to the jolly miller by the custom of Paris. On every point and headland stood a windmill whirling its long, white arms, and with its stones shaped rudely from granite boulders found on the beach, a grinding process went slowly on in which grain and grist were sometimes powdered together. Sugar was abundant, not imported from the tropics but made by the Indians from the sap of the maple, which grew luxuriantly throughout the whole country. This took the place of salt in many dishes; and the old men now will feast with much gusto upon a bowl of *medamin* or Indian corn cooked nicely and seasoned only with maple sugar. As their luxuries were thus easily obtained, and there was no chance for the export of grain, no one cleared more

land than he needed, and the idea of renovating it never entered their heads. All the fertility of the soil was derived from bounteous nature. Every winter, when the river became frozen up, the thrifty husbandmen cleared up their barnyards and removed the obnoxious accumulations of manure to the ice; and when spring came, and the frozen fields began to float down the stream, they congratulated themselves at thus easily getting rid of a great nuisance, for neatness was always a household virtue among the inhabitants, and their domestic arrangements are generally very cleanly. No brawny prize oxen tore up the subsoil with double ploughs, for neither the huge animals nor the implements, with which such feats are performed, were then invented. We can all imagine what a *paradiœ* this land must have been in its prime, when a century and a half of bad farming has not exhausted it.

It must not be supposed that these people were stupid or inert. They did all they needed for home comfort, as they had no markets. Their dwellings were always well kept and hospitable. An occasional campaign was as exciting and amusing as a summer trip to Newport, and they were always ready for a four months' voyage by land or by water. They knew nature like a book, and shaped their wanderings by the stars. There are many peculiar

customs, now dying away, which deserve to be commemorated. The amusements of the old settlers and those miscellaneous avocations, half work and half play, which were peculiarly suited to their temperaments, are worthy of being chronicled. Their relations with the Indians, too—differing entirely from those prevailing in the English and American rule—are not without importance in solving the vexed questions of civilization. And there are individuals whose lives and adventures should not be left to perish from remembrance. The only difficulty lies in selecting from the abundant materials which present themselves to our choice. The memories of anyone's boyhood in Detroit are full of curious interest. The bright sketches of the lamented Wm. Hamlin were too early brought to an end. Time dealt gently with the children of France until the inevitable Yankee disturbed their peace, and now that the Yankee himself is becoming æsthetic and appreciative of the amenities, the ghosts of the old inhabitants will be appeased. The prosperous citizen whose notes are headed by the handsomest armorial bearings that Broadway skill can furnish, respects the old heraldic symbols that his worthy neighbors have so long stored in their garrets, and the Normans again come to the front.

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

PITTSBURGH.

XI.

H. C. FRICK.

The place of the Frick Coke company in the world of coke is so prominent and so well understood that its founder and president needs no introduction to the public. The nerve and energy, the courage and financial skill, and the keen business vision of which he is possessed, have long since been shown in his works, and although young in years he is old in experience, and can justly be classed as one of the leaders in the manufacturing circles of the west.

Mr. Frick is of German descent, his grandfather on his mother's side being Abraham Overholt, a man of considerable prominence in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. His father was a farmer of West Overton, in the above named county, where the subject of this sketch was born on December 19, 1849. The first twenty years of his life were spent in school and in the usual round of duties and pleasures by which the American youth approaches manhood, a portion of the time being occupied in clerking in a dry goods store at Mt. Pleasant. In 1869 he became book-keeper in a flouring mill and distillery belonging to his grandfather, at Broad Ford, Fayette county. About this time Mr. Frick turned his attention to the business of making coke from Connellsville coal, an

industry which had then commenced to show signs of the wonderful, commercial and financial possibilities that were contained within it. Mr. Frick with a touch of the nerve and a stroke of the financial genius he has since so abundantly displayed, had already amassed a small capital by a neat little railroad operation, and was determined to see what possibilities might await him in the line of coke. He took a small interest in some available coal property near Broad Ford, and in company with partners built fifty ovens. As he looked into the business, and his quick vision discerned the certain future before the industry that has now become so permanent and of such great proportions, Mr. Frick decided to devote his whole time and apply all his capital, faith and energy to the making of coke. The capacity of his plant was doubled by the erection of fifty more ovens, and in a short time an additional piece of land was purchased and another one hundred ovens were added. About this time the panic of 1873 came. Mr. Frick's partners fell into difficulties through endorsements, and their interests were sold. By the aid of friends, chief among whom was Hon. Thomas Mellon of Pittsburgh, Mr. Frick was enabled to purchase those interests and take complete control of



W. C. Frick

the plant. Of his operations from that time onward, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in a recent article on the Connellsville coke region, has the following to say :

Mr. Frick kept on building and buying ovens. When he couldn't buy he leased. The panic had knocked the courage out of speculation and left many a firm in a corner. While unwilling to sell, through hope of better times, they leased their works to, Mr. Frick. Old men wagged their beards solemnly and pitied the young man ; he had been lucky, and if he had any sense, or would listen to the advice of older men, he might live in comfort all the rest of his life. But he was making a fool of himself, and one of these days we would see what we would see. Well, the boom in coke came. The yearly profit on his leased works were more than the value of the works themselves. And those who had prophesied his ruin can see him any of these days—still young, only thirty-six—the head of the Frick Coke company, which owns one-third of the ten thousand ovens in the region.

Mr. Frick conducted the business in his own name until 1878, when he sold an interest to E. M. Ferguson of New York. The firm of H. C. Frick & Company was continued in that form, an addition to the partnership being made in the person of Mr. Walton Ferguson, also of New York, and brother to the gentleman named above. In 1882 the H. C. Frick Coke company was organized, and a large interest therein was sold to the Carnegie Brothers of Pittsburgh. It is, beyond any question, the largest coke company in the world, owning over thirty-five hundred ovens, all located in the Connellsville region ; over ten thousand acres of coal, land and employing four thousand men. It daily produces about four hundred car loads, or sixty-four thousand tons, of coke, which aggregates over two million tons per year. To do this, over three million tons of coal are used annually ; and the coke

goes into every part of the country. The company owns eleven stores ; and taken all in all it is one of the largest, busiest, most useful and most important industrial establishments to be found in America to-day.

The immense annual product mentioned above comes only in answer to the demand that is heard from the country over. The coke of this company is used by the manufacturers of iron, steel, brass, copper and silver wares, and by those using cupola furnaces for iron casting and smelting ores. No expense has been spared to produce the best article that can be made, and in order that only the purest water, free from sulphur and all other impurities, should be obtained, the company has erected, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, a system of water-works at the beginning of the line of its ovens, on the Youghiogheny river, from which all the ovens are supplied with water of the best possible nature for the result desired. This is a grand advantage, and is one of the reasons why the "Frick coke" is so much in demand by those who know the relative merits of the various cokes.

This Connellsville region is a wonderful feeder to the industrial interests of the world ; and in proof of the relation it bears thereto, I am tempted to quote as follows from a recent writer touching the yearly coke product of that district alone :

Suppose we fork together the coke made during the last twelve months in the Connellsville region, the popular name for the black stripe of country about forty miles long by three miles wide, which lies northeast and southwest across Westmoreland

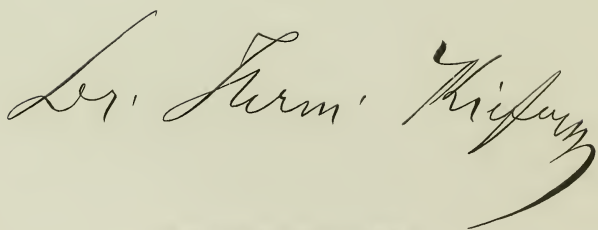
county and part of Fayette. Load it on cars and hitch them together in a continuous train. Start the train going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which is about a fair average for freight trains, and run it day and night, without a moment's stop to cool hot boxes, or the slightest slacking up on stiff grades. Stand beside the track and watch the train roll by, day after day, hour after hour. Night after night listen to the clank, clank of the wheels over the jointed rails as every hour sees eighteen thousand tons of coke whirled past you. Toward morning of the ninth day the signal lamps on the last car will mark the end of the train, and you will begin to have a dreamy sort of notion of the magnitude of the coke industry that is blazing and smoking within an hour's ride of the city. The headlight of the train will be about twenty-four hundred miles away. I handle the product in this way, not that it is either novel or original, but because one can give a better notion of bulk this way than by any quantity of figures standing by themselves.

That Mr. Frick has been and is one of the chief moving forces in this great development, goes without the saying in view of what has been recorded above. One reason of his marvelous success at an age when most men are only beginning to see their way clear toward the substantial things of life, lies in the fact that when he decided to go into the coke business he dropped all else and gave to it all the power and energy there was in him. He was not content to follow in the old beaten paths but sought out new ones for himself. He was the first to see the possibilities before crushed coke and to manufacture it, and now it is one of the special features of the great corporation of which he is the head. The favor with which his "crushed Connells-

ville coke" was received by manufacturers and the general public, encouraged him to add improvement after improvement to meet the growing demand, and now it is used by manufacturers, for household purposes, for carriage smithing and blacksmithing, for machinery forging, furnaces for brass melting, stoves and ranges in hotels and boarding-houses, on railroad cars, and in many places where its advantages over other kinds of fuel are many and apparent.

Mr. Frick has certainly accomplished enough in the decade past to excuse him from taking part in the other forms of financial and commercial activity of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. Those things are usually reserved for the leisure of later years, after a man has done his share of the active labor of the world. Still, Mr. Frick is a director in the Pittsburgh National Bank of Commerce, and also a director in the Philadelphia Gas Company of Pittsburgh, which has done so much to develop the great system of natural gas. What this bright, active and brainy young man shall accomplish hereafter remains for the future to develop. But he has already shown the possession of the highest qualities of financial generalship, and is universally recognized as one of the prominent and self-made men of Pittsburgh.

HENRY K. JAMES.



Les. Germ. Mißform

HERMAN KIEFER.

HERMAN KIEFER was born November 19, 1825, at Sulzburg, Grand Dukedom of Baden, Germany, and is the only son of Dr. Conrad and Frederica Schweyckert Kiefer. His academic and professional studies were thorough and liberal. He first attended the high school of Freiburg, beginning at his ninth year, and afterwards in turn those at Mannheim and Karlsruhe, completing his preparatory course at the age of eighteen years. He then began the study of medicine at the University of Freiburg, continued the following year at Heidelberg, and later, attended the medical institutions of Prague and Vienna. At various times he was under the instruction of such distinguished masters of medical science as Arnold, Henle, Oppolzer, Stromeyer, Pitha and Scanzoni, and in May, 1849, was graduated with the highest honors upon his examination before the state board of examiners at Karlsruhe. Such a degree received from such a source implies a prolonged and assiduous study, which America is but now beginning to appreciate, and, in a modified degree, to imitate in its requirements. The venerable institutions at which Dr. Kiefer spent fifteen years of his boyhood and young manhood, stand before the educated world as favorable examples of the vast and perfect machinery, by the agency of which Ger-

many has so well earned the name of being a nation of scholars.

There is very slight probability that Dr. Kiefer would ever have become an American but for one agency—the same which has given to the United States much of the best blood and best brains of Germany—that of revolution. He had scarcely received his doctorate when occurred the revolution of 1849. In common with thousands of his fellows among the educated youth of his country, he embraced the side of the people, with all the ardor and enthusiasm of his years, flinging his future carelessly aside, to espouse the cause of a down-trodden race, against the almost invincible power of organized authority. He joined the volunteer regiment of Emmendingen and was at once appointed its surgeon. With that regiment he was present at the battle of Phillipsburg, June 20, 1849, and at that of Upstadt, on the twenty-third of the same month. It was at the former engagement that Prince Carl, later Field-Marshal of Germany, was wounded and narrowly escaped capture by the regiment to which Dr. Kiefer was attached.

When the revolution was suppressed, Dr. Kiefer, in common with thousands of others, was compelled to flee the consequences of his patriotic service. He took refuge in the city of Strasburg,

then under the dominion of the French Republic, of which Louis Napoleon was president. Even there he did not find a safe asylum, for the Republic declined to shelter the refugees from Baden. The spies of Napoleon—a tyrant under the cloak of popular leadership—discovered his place of concealment, arrested him and he was again compelled to fly. Making his way to the sea-board he took passage upon a sailing vessel for the United States, leaving port August 18, and arriving in New York on the nineteenth day of September, 1849.

America was then far less cosmopolitan than now, and lacked much of having attained its present advanced standard of professional and general scientific attainment. It did not present a promising field to a highly educated German, and we can imagine that the necessity for leaving behind him the possibilities of success and distinction in his own country, must have been a bitter one to an ambitious young man, fresh from the scholastic atmosphere of Heidelberg and the gaiety of Vienna. Still, there was no question of the necessity, and he made the best of it. After a brief sojourn in New York, he turned his face westward, intending to establish himself permanently in St. Louis. On the way, however, he met a countryman who had lived for several years at Detroit, and was led to change his intention and turn aside to that place.

The population of Detroit in the autumn of 1849, was little if any more than twenty thousand. Michigan was still provincial, and neither social nor

business methods had outgrown the crudity of its earlier days. Less than five months before, Dr. Kiefer had stood before the state examiners at Carlsruhe, and received his diploma, with no other thought than that he should live, work and die in Fatherland. Since then he had been a soldier, a fugitive, and now found himself, by force of circumstances, an alien in tongue and blood, facing fortune in a very American western city.

He opened an office for the practice of his profession, on the nineteenth day of October, 1849, and, in spite of all his disadvantages, soon won a pronounced success. His practice was, almost from the first, sufficient for his needs and grew year by year, until it came to be exceedingly absorbing and lucrative.

It may be as well to say here as elsewhere, that Dr. Kiefer has always held very dear, and given every effort to preserve the spirit and the literature of the Teutonic race. The anomaly is only apparent in the statement that he is also a thorough and loyal American. His devotion to the country which gave him shelter in his exile, is not at all impeached by his desire to see the language, the grand literature and the social and historical traditions of Germany perpetuated among his compatriots.

He has always taken a deep interest in educational matters. He was one of the founders of the German-American seminary,* a school incorporated by the state for finished instruction in all departments of learning, to be given equally in the German and English language, so far as practicable or desir-

able. Of this institution he was president and treasurer from the time of its foundation in 1861 until 1872, when he resigned and severed all connection with it, by reason of a disagreement with its other members upon what he regarded as a vital matter of educational ethics. It has always been his belief that no teaching of religious doctrine or creed should be introduced into school instruction. His associates proposed to make the seminary a sectarian institution, and his withdrawal was the consequence.

During the years 1866 and 1867, Dr. Kiefer was a member of the Detroit board of education and used his utmost influence to induce that body to introduce the teaching of German into the public schools of that city. He made repeated efforts in this direction, urging his point upon the grounds of the practical utility of the language, and also as a right which German citizens were justified in demanding. In spite, however, of his utmost efforts, he failed to secure the desired legislation.

In 1882 Dr. Kiefer was elected a member of the public library commission, to fill a vacancy for a period of one year; in 1883 he was reëlected for the full term of six years. When he assumed this office there were very few German books in the library, and the fine and thoroughly representative collection of works in that language now upon the shelves, was almost entirely selected and purchased under his personal supervision. Considering the number of volumes and the sum expended, it would be difficult to find a

library which better illustrates the thought and literary methods of Germany, in science, history and the *belles lettres*, and Dr. Kiefer deserves the thanks not only of Germans but of all scholars and investigators, for the important service thus rendered.

Dr. Kiefer is a member of the Wayne county and the State Medical societies and the American Medical association. He is recognized at home and by physicians throughout the country as a skillful, successful and scientific physician. Until recently he has been devoted to his practice with the greatest assiduity, finding time only for the public services mentioned. This close attention to his professional duties has prevented his making any elaborate contributions to medical literature, but his papers in various periodicals devoted to the interests of his profession, have been many and have done no little to spread his reputation in other cities and states.

For many years Dr. Kiefer has held a representative position among the German citizens of Detroit and Michigan and has, upon all occasions, been their champion. In all his public life he has endeavored by tongue and pen to convince the public that the German born population of the United States should be respected as fully equal to the native born people. He claims nothing for his countrymen as Germans, but as citizens of the United States defends their rights to the fullest political and social recognition. Among the claims which he makes for them are recognition of their language and social cus-

toms and the right to pursue their happiness in any way which shall not infringe upon the equally sacred rights and liberties of others. In his own family Dr. Kiefer has paid a tribute to Germany by insisting upon the exclusive use of its language, and this influence he has supplemented by educating several of his children in the schools of his native land.

He has been an active member of many of the German societies of Detroit, and has represented his countrymen upon various important occasions. He took a prominent place at the Singers festival held at Detroit, in 1857; at the festival commemorative of Schiller's centennial in the year 1859; at the festival of Humboldt, in 1869; and in 1871, when all German America was wild with joy at the successful ending of the Franco-German war, he acted as president and orator of the day at the peace celebration held by the German citizens of Detroit on the first day of May.

In politics Dr. Kiefer has been a steadfast and consistent Republican since the organization of that party in 1854. There is nothing in his character that would render "trimming" or vacillation possible to him; no matter how dearly his political allegiance might cost him. During the futile campaign made by the Republicans in 1854, he was chairman of the German Republican executive committee of the state of Michigan. In 1872 he was one of the Presidential electors of the state, and in 1876 was a delegate to the Republican National convention held at Cincinnati. At that

convention, when after four ineffective ballots the delegates were seeking to unite upon a compromise candidate, he was influential in inducing the Michigan delegation to give their united support to Rutherford B. Hayes. In every Presidential campaign from 1854 until 1880 he worked actively for the success of the Republican party, going upon the stump and exerting his influence very effectively among the German citizens of the state. He is an eloquent speaker, recognized by all as holding his opinions with as much honesty as tenacity, and his leading position among his compatriots gives him an influence which has been invaluable to the Republican party.

In spite of his long and arduous service, Dr. Kiefer has held but one federal office and that very recently. During the month of July, 1883, he was appointed by President Arthur consul to Stettin. Once before, in 1873, he had revisited his native land, spending six months in travel, but his return as an official representative of the United States to the Fatherland which he left as a political fugitive, less than twenty-five years before, was an especial gratification to him.

The office, too, was much to his taste. He did not make a holiday of his residence at Stettin, but gave a close attention to his duties and an intelligent study to political social and trade conditions the results of which he transmitted to the secretary of state in a large number of valuable reports, many of which were published by the government. Among these may be named his "Report on Beet

Sugar," published in Volume xxxix of the United States Consular Reports; 'Report on Base Burners,' in Volume xl; 'Report on the Extension of European Trade in the Orient,' in Volume xlii; 'Report on American Trade with Stettin,' in Volume xlvi; 'Report on Agricultural Machinery,' in Volume xlviii; How Germany is Governed,' in Volume l; Report on Labor in Europe,' published by the department of state in a separate volume. These are by no means all the reports made by Dr. Kiefer during an official service of but eighteen months and they furnish a sufficient evidence of the activity and zeal with which he performed his duties.

Upon the election of a Democratic President, Dr. Kiefer was one of the first officials to resign his office. This he did in a characteristic letter addressed to the department of state immediately after the election, and while the cabinet, of course, was still Republican, in which he expressed his unwillingness either to be "a victim of the political guillotine or to see civil service reform managed by the Democrats."

On the twenty-first of January, 1885, he retired from his office. For several months thereafter he remained in Europe, traveling extensively upon the continent. In September of the same year he returned to America and, upon his arrival at Detroit, was complimented with two formal receptions—one tendered by his fellow physicians and the other by German residents of the city. He brought with him, from his brief of-

ficial life, an enviable reputation for the zeal and ability with which he had discharged its duties. During the present year Dr. Kiefer has made a prolonged visit to California.

Dr. Kiefer was reared a Protestant but his views have greatly changed and he now disavows any religious belief, holding that every individual must be judged purely by his own acts.

Soon after coming to America, Dr. Kiefer was joined by his mother, who was accompanied by Fransisca Kehle, to whom he was affianced in Germany. The two were married July 21, 1850. During the year 1851 his father also came to Detroit, but both father and mother returned to the old country after a brief residence in America. Dr. and Mrs. Kiefer have passed together nearly thirty-six happy and prosperous years. They have had seven sons and two daughters, and of these five sons and one daughter are now living. These children are: Alfred K. Kiefer, who is connected with the Wayne county savings bank of Detroit; Arthur E., manager of the Detroit Edge Tool works; Edwin H., a resident of New York; Edgar L., of the firm of Kiefer & Heyn of Detroit; Minnie C., the wife of Dr. C. Bonning, Dr. Kiefer's partner, and Guy Lincoln, now at Ann Arbor university.

Dr. Kiefer is connected as an investor and officer with many of the leading financial and business institutions of Detroit.

SIDNEY VICKERS.

FIFTY YEARS OF MICHIGAN AS A STATE.

GENERATIONS of men come and go, ripening with years for the inevitable harvest, but institutions in harmony with eternal laws may expand and strengthen as the cycles of time roll on, and with every passing century strike their roots deeper, and take on some new form of perennial growth.

A panoramic historical view of the region which embraces Michigan, beginning with the first meager accounts we have of it, would be of intense interest and give us many startling surprises. First, we should see on a background of almost total darkness the desperate struggles of powerful tribes of Indians contending, in their savage way, for its possession. Then a day of promise seems to dawn when the Jesuit fathers come, inspired with the purpose to convert the wandering tribes of savages to the true faith, but destined to give tireless labors for a harvest which seems but scanty when they come bringing in their sheaves. Not altogether in vain, however, do they labor, for on the picture we trace how the gleam of their mission fires lights the way for trade and settlement, and how the early commerce finds protection in the rude cross planted at the missions, about which the Indians gather with their furs and peltry for barter. Shortly appears upon the canvas the venerable figure of Father Mar-

quette, who in 1668 plants at the Sault Ste. Marie the first permanent settlement in Michigan, and three years later founds the mission of St. Ignatius on the straits of Mackinaw. Ninety years more roll on and the Chevalier la Motte Cadillac is seen to select with unerring sagacity as the site for his town the commanding position now held by the commercial metropolis of the state; but the town he establishes grows but feebly under the monopoly of trade which represses the energies of its people until it passes under British control. Then immediately the gloomy and threatening countenance of Pontiac rises before us, and we have in succession the dramatic surprise and capture of Mackinaw, with the massacre of its garrison and traders, followed by the close and persistent siege of Detroit, in the progress of which first romance and then tragedy excites intense interest. And then all through the war for independence the lines of British influence over the Indians are seen to centre at Detroit, which is the mart for captives, and the place where scalps torn from the heads of men, women and children in the back settlements are gathered in and paid for. Even after the treaty of peace the baleful British influence over the Indians is not withdrawn until two American

armies have been disastrously repulsed, nor until a third under General Wayne has annihilated the savage power.

Willingly we allow so gruesome a canvas to be rolled up from our sight that we may open the record book of American supremacy. And here we find the very first pages radiant with the history of that grand and inspiring event in our national life, the founding of territorial government for the country northwest of the Ohio, on the principle of entire and absolute exclusion of chattel slavery. When the founders of the new government thus took stand in advance of their age, they builded not wisely merely, but better than they knew; for their act was such "a deed done for freedom" as sends "a thrill of joy prophetic" through the universe. In putting slavery under perpetual ban, a blow was struck at oppression everywhere whose echoes were never to die away till the conscience of the world should be so quickened that in America every shackle should fall from human limbs, and even in distant Russia church bells should ring in a jubilee of emancipation.

In the fullness of time Michigan, fourth in the list of free daughters of the old Northwest Territory, was decked with the honors of incipient statehood, under the same perpetual dedication to equal rights and universal liberty. It was fortunate in its name, which is American, derived from Indian words signifying a great lake. Mr. Jefferson had proposed for it the classical appellation of Chersonesus; but a kindly providence spared it the hard fortune

to be thus named, and when it was organized in 1805 inspired its godfathers to give it the appropriate christening. In other particulars it was not so fortunate, and the early annals form dismal reading. In the very year of organization Detroit was wholly burned to the ground and its people rendered homeless. And while the little settlement was still struggling with adversity came on the war of 1812, and the revolutionary soldier who had been made governor, and entrusted with the defense of the lake region, proved wholly inadequate to the military responsibilities of his position, and Detroit, under most humiliating circumstances, was delivered into the hands of the enemy. Then came the massacre of Kentucky's brave sons at the River Raisin, and the banishment of worthy citizens who refused to turn traitors; but competent leadership soon breasted and turned back the tide of success, and in little more than a year Perry had won possession of Lake Erie, Harrison had chased the British army across the river and broken it up in a decisive battle, and Colonel Lewis Cass had been sent to Detroit as military commandant, soon to be followed by a commission as civil governor.

If the first appointment of governor for the territory had proved unfortunate, in the second the people found ample compensation. Governor Cass had been a pioneer in Ohio; he knew the west and its needs, and during the war he had become well known to the people of his new government. He was of vigorous intellectual and physical constitution; he was a man of

culture and courtesy; he was of pure life, so that with no affectation of dignity he commanded respect for abilities and deportment, and became a social force of marked and permanent benefit to his people. In his administration of public affairs it was soon perceived that he was a statesman in no narrow sense; that he thoroughly understood the interests committed to his charge, and that he might be relied upon to advance and cherish them with an energy proportioned to a nature so robust and vigorous.

To the pioneers of Michigan it would be repeating a thrice-told tale to recount how Governor Cass, by just and fair treatment of the Indians, preserved their friendship and purchased in fair convention vast tracts of their lands; how he contributed to the opening of the territory to settlement by means of good roads and the bringing of the public lands into market, and how, with a statesman's perception of the real point of danger in a democratic republic, he urged upon the legislature from session to session that competent provision should be made for educating in the public schools all the children of the territory. Nor was his interest in public education bounded by the narrow limits of elementary instruction, but comprehending the best and the highest, so that even in one of his treaties with the Indians we find him making a beginning in university endowment.

When Governor Cass was called to the government but few settlers of American birth had as yet located in the territory; but these few were

"The first low wash or waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

The population swelled rapidly, until in 1830 it numbered upwards of thirty-two thousand. But in the following year the territory lost its chief magistrate, who was summoned to a seat in the cabinet of President Jackson. The loss was not made good by the appointment of Mr. George B. Porter of Pennsylvania to the vacancy, for the new appointee was slow in coming to his government, and was much absent from his post afterwards. Under the law, in his absence the duties were performed by Mr. Stevens T. Mason, the territorial secretary, who when the responsibilities of government devolved upon him, was still a boy, without legal capacity to buy a horse or give a note of hand. But the acting governor was ambitious and able, and he shortly became leader in a movement for state government. In 1835 the population was found to exceed sixty thousand, and under a claim that this, by the ordinance of 1787, entitled the people to organize as a state, a constitution was formed and adopted by popular vote and a full complement of state officers elected and installed, with Mr. Mason as governor.

Had there been no opposing interests, it is probable that these proceedings, though plainly irregular, would have been sanctioned by congress and the state received into the Union. But a boundary controversy with Ohio, involving territory of which the chief value centered in the rising town of Toledo, complicated the situation, the military were called out to defend the

respective claims, and for a time the Toledo war raged. But the war was in prudent hands, and though drums were heard, not a funeral note brought sorrow to any household. Ohio had the advantage of position, for she was already in the Union with voting power, and President Jackson, who could appreciate this, disallowed the claims of Michigan to state government, and sent John S. Horner on as secretary, to be acting governor and restore peace. The secretary on coming on found no government awaiting him, and people only ridiculed his pretensions. There was thus a state government repudiated at Washington and a territorial government rejected at home, when congress intervened with the compromise proposition that Michigan, in exchange for the territory in dispute, should accept the upper peninsula. The offer was emphatically rejected; but an irregular convention of the people having subsequently voted to accept, the authorities at Washington pretended to be satisfied with this and declared the state admitted to the Union with its present boundaries. It was a piece of sharp practice, and people protested; but, even while protesting, they acquiesced, satisfied in their hearts that for all that was taken from them princely compensation was made. And thus the Toledo war came to an end. One beligerent had won all that it contended for, and the other a great deal more; and Franklin's aphorism that there never yet was a good war was proved to admit of exception.

The state was received into the family of the American Union on January 26,

1837. The occasion invites some notice of the people as they then were; of their antecedents and characteristics, that we may the better judge of the motives underlying and permeating the social and political community.

The motives which in past ages have led to colonization have not commonly been such as strict morality could approve; and in history we have many stories of great wrong, and very few in which the motive apparent was higher than national ambition or greed. The colonization of New England was exceptional, but it has been overpraised, as if it were a planting of states on the great principle of freedom in religious worship. This it was not and could not have been, for the world was not then ready for such a planting. What our New England forefathers did was to brave the hardships and privations of the wilderness that they might establish civil and religious liberty for themselves, and this was noble, even though they invited and desired no participation by others.

Religious motive in the ordinary sense had nothing to do with the colonization of Michigan. The early explorers were missionaries, but the French settlers came for trade and barter, as did also those of early nationalities. The later immigrants were for the most part men of very limited means, who in their plain way would answer an inquiry for their motive in coming west with the common response that they had come west to better their condition, and in order that their children might "grow up with the country."

The motive as thus stated seems commonplace, and to a degree selfish. We hear it with a certain degree of respect, but we are not thrilled by it, or excited to high admiration as we are when we read how some self-sacrificing, patriotic, or religious motive has inspired a great movement or led to notable deeds. But a motive may seem commonplace, or even selfish, and yet be grounded in the noblest sentiments of human nature. In the building of great states of vigorous and wealth-creating people selfishness comes first, though philanthropy may come later, and the selfishness is blamable only when excessive. The greatest of the apostles in his pointed condemnation of the man who provides not for his own, "and specially for those of his own house," has shown us in what category he places this duty, and reason as plainly as the preacher declares that the duty to place those whom nature has committed to our care above the want that causes suffering and breeds repining is not social merely, but religious also. In performing it we may lift those dependent upon us into that condition of comfort and content from which shall spring the sentiment that life is a beneficent gift from the Creator, to be acknowledged with continuous gratitude and well-doing.

It can justly be said of the pioneers of the state that they performed faithfully and well this duty of care for their own, and in doing so they demonstrated the harmony of their aims and their labors with the purposes of the Creator. The foundations of a great

state were laid in industry, frugality, and the domestic virtues.

If we look into the social conditions of the period we behold an exceedingly primitive society, in which wants were few and the measure of strict economy ample for their gratification. The older towns of the state were still largely French in population. Among these were all grades of intelligence and all conditions of worldly prosperity; and while some took up business in a large way and with ample means, others were content with the small gains and meager fare of trappers and fishermen. But the majority of the people had found their tedious way into the territory from other states in the heavy, tented wagons which then plowed the ruts of every forest road, but are now as much unknown in Michigan as the Buffalo or the beaver. They had come with an inspiration as absorbing as that which moved the old crusaders, and far more intelligent and elevating; an inspiration to seize the golden moment when peacefully, with their small means, they might possess themselves of homes where prudence and economy after some discipline of pioneer hardship and deprivation would be sure of just rewards, and where ample means for the nurture and education of a hardy and vigorous offspring should be within the reach of every industrious citizen. Never before in the history of the world, and in no other country but America, was such tempting promise held out for the acceptance of honest industry.

It was a hard life the pioneers led in

the woods, but every acre which they brought under cultivation added to the value of their possessions, and they could forego without repining many of the most ordinary comforts of life when the future promised such abundant compensation. And hard as it was for husbands and brothers, it was for wives and sisters still harder. Many of them had been reared in competence and accustomed to luxuries; but they had left these behind them without repining, and had brought to the west no notions which would preclude their giving effective assistance in any labor, indoors or out, to which the feminine strength was equal. And it must be said that there were few tasks to which it was found unequal, for the willingness to be helpful begat the strength necessary for the purpose; and the happiest days of many an honored woman's life were when she was piling and burning the brush in her husband's clearing, and as the sun went down refreshing him and herself with supper from the brimming milk-pail which she brought from the pasture. If she was a lady in her eastern home, she was not the less so with rougher hands and coarser garments and heavier burdens, but with equally buoyant spirits, in the woods, where only her husband's ax woke the reverberating echoes. She wore no diamonds and no laces; she may have known little and cared less for fashion; but she did her full share in giving to the new state the muscle and the brain, the industry and the strength of character that in a few short years were to bring to it both wealth and greatness. The song of the spin-

ning wheel in the log cabin was as cheerful then as is now the melody of musical instruments in many thousand happy homes, which owe their abundant comforts to the patience, the self-denial, the industry, the energy and the endurance of those who first opened the forest to the sunlight. The men felled the trees, and the women, "keepers at home," made the home worth the keeping. In that day of small things it was woman's mission, which woman faithfully performed, to

"—bring to her husband's house delight and abundance,

Filling it full of love, and the ruddy faces of children."

But if the pioneers could dispense with many comforts they could spare none of their accustomed institutions. They must, therefore, have the common schools, which in their view were a necessity to both the social and the civil state. But the provision for these was on a scale of economy corresponding to that which governed domestic expenditures, and often the child had to travel a tedious distance to school, where the instruction awaiting him was still more tedious. Then, too, those were the semi-barbarous times when every "master of the district school" was "brisk wielder of the birch and rule." But poor as they were, these pioneer schools were harbingers of better things; the rude forerunners of a system not surpassed in the world and seldom equalled. All education must be largely a process of self-training, and the child of inquiring mind, with only the most imperfect help at first,

may make all things about him, animate and inanimate, his teachers, finding "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks," to instruct him. In these primitive schools many a boy acquired such elementary instruction as enabled him in time to become a man of mark in the state; and they should be mentioned with respect, for places of honor and trust, from lowest to highest, have been filled with their graduates, who in many cases wielded wisely and well an extensive and valuable influence.

The early settlers in Michigan were for the most part young men, who first entered upon the stage of independent action in their new home. This was in some respects a great advantage to the state, for the vigor of youth inspired all industrial and political life, and made itself effectively useful where a conservatism which comes in later years might not have ventured. But in the confident and restless energy of youth may lurk dangers also; and as these young men contemplated the material advantages and resources of the state, hope told a flattering tale of the rapidity with which it might be made great and wealthy by prompt and efficient development, and pictured results so alluring and so apparently attainable that sober reason for the time was mastered.

General causes greatly magnified the dangers. When the state government was formed an eager spirit of speculation pervaded the country. Wild lands seemed to offer the best means for its gratification. The Erie canal had been constructed, railroad building had begun, the west was brought within easy

reach of the seaboard, and the emigration to it must be large and continuous. Land in the west must immediately begin to advance in value, and the advance must continue until prices should approximate those in the eastern states. Such was the confident and not unreasonable expectation. Wild lands, therefore, became the chief object of speculation, though by no means the sole object.

Some faint idea of the prevailing rage may be had from the statement that in 1834 fifty per cent. more public land was sold than in any prior year; that three times as much was sold the next year, and the quantity sold in 1836 equalled all the sales from 1821 to 1833 inclusive. The hurricane of speculation swept across the country, but the cyclone struck here. The state was easily accessible, and immigration poured over it in such a torrent that it seemed like the concocted migration of a great people. In the three years following 1834, though the tide was greatly checked in 1837, the population of the state was doubled, and lands in enormous quantities were held for speculation, much of it under purchase money mortgages far exceeding actual value.

The story of what followed, if given in detail, would show how to realize the flattering hopes of speedy wealth the state was induced, under the leadership of its sanguine governor, to enter upon an extensive system of internal improvements by canal and railroad, when it had not money to dig a mile of ditch or build a mile of road; how for this

purpose it mortgaged its future by a loan far beyond its ability to pay even the interest ; how bonds were issued for this loan and by a breach of trust put upon the market when only a moiety of the loan had been received ; and how to meet its current expenses and interest resort was had to state scrip of doubtful constitutionality. The great crash soon came, when the bubble of speculation broke. The market value of land went down faster than it had even gone up ; wild lands became unsalable at any price ; debts contracted in buying them bankrupted the purchasers, and the overtrading which had been a part of the general inflation was succeeded by such sharp reactions as made disaster general. In two years from the time when speculation was at its highest, and expectation most buoyant, the business of the state was prostrate ; credit, public and private, destroyed, bankruptcy general, and large numbers of persons looking about anxiously for the means of subsistence. Only among the officers of the law who were busy in bringing suits and serving writs, was prosperity apparent, and they had found their harvest time.

The bubble had burst, but another that had been inflated at the same time to dangerous proportions was now further expanded as a means of relief. And here we open another chapter of state history which can only be mentioned but not entered upon : the chapter which concerns that species of financiering appropriately termed wild-cat banking ; banking without legitimate banking means or convertible

security, and therefore only calculated to play the part of a beast of prey. Enormous amounts of worthless paper were issued ; the wild banking and the wild speculating going on hand in hand until the latter collapsed, threatening to pull down the worthless banking system with it, when the legislature interfered and authorized suspension of bank payments. Even then the process of creating banks was not stopped, and the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of banks coming into existence in a state of suspension—born bankrupt and lifeless except for plunder. Before the year was over in which the state was admitted to the Union, it had gone through all the stages of unreasoning speculation ; it had been compelled to refuse recognition of state obligations disposed of without consideration received, though the refusal subjected it to a plausible but unjust charge of repudiation ; it had begun railroads and canals it no had means to construct and did not yet need, and it had legalized a great brood of banks which had flooded the country with dishonored currency now sinking rapidly to utter worthlessness. Such was the mortifying result of the attempt to find an easier road to wealth and greatness than by the common highway which industry and frugality open. The suffering from the collapse of this fictitious prosperity was general, but here, as in all similar cases, losses from bad currency fell in largest measure upon persons of limited means, who had fewest opportunities to keep advised of what was coming, or to provide against it when it was perceived.

At the beginning of 1839 the lowest depths had been reached and the golden visions which had dazzled the eyes of the people had faded away. State and people alike were oppressed by debt, and the public works were unfinished and unprofitable. Nothing but a long course of sober and persistent industry with strict economy could bring effectual relief. But reason was now restored, and it was an inspiring spectacle to see with what unhesitating confidence the people put the past behind them, and beginning at the very bottom, applied themselves to planting in steady labor, in frugal living, and in honest dealing, the foundation of public and individual prosperity.

The errors of Governor Mason as executive are very patent, but in some particulars he is to be highly commended. He was a man of public spirit and good purposes, and had the best interests of the state at heart. His judicial appointments, among which were those of George Morell, Epaphroditus Ransom, and Elon Farnsworth, were excellent, and he did an incalculable service to the state when he made John D. Pierce superintendent of public instruction, and gave him the assistance he needed in putting in force his views upon common school and university education. And here he had the help of Isaac E. Crary, the first representative of the state in congress, well qualified by culture and ability to be a safe adviser. Nor must we forget that it was during the administration of Governor Mason that a geological survey of the state was provided for and put in charge

of that enthusiastic student of nature, Douglas Houghton; a survey which has been carried on to this day with most valuable results. The good he did, therefore, fully justifies the warm place the boy governor of the state still holds in the hearts of the people.

The financial crash carried down with it the Democratic party, which had been in power when madness ruled the public councils. In the election of 1839 William Woodbridge, a native of Connecticut, was chosen governor. He had been in the territory twenty-five years, and had held the offices of territorial secretary, delegate in congress, and judge of the territorial supreme court, which last office President Jackson had taken from him to confer upon one of his own supporters. He did not serve out his term as governor, being transferred to the federal senate to succeed John Norvel, who, with Lucius Lyon, had been the first members. Mr. Lyon had previously given place to Aug. S. Porter. Lieutenant-Governor J. Wright Gordon then became governor.

The Democratic party was restored to power by the election of 1841, with John S. Barry as governor. Mr. Barry was a native of Vermont, who in agricultural and mercantile pursuits had acquired a reputation for a prudence not too narrow to be thrifty, for methodical business habits, and for integrity. He had been sufficiently in public life to be known to the people of the state, and his characteristics seemed to indicate him as the suitable man for executive at a time when the people were still burdened with private and public debts,

and when, in the management of public affairs, strict economy and accurate business habits were of the first importance. He was not chosen for popular manners, for he neither had them nor apparently cared to acquire them, but he was nevertheless reëlected in 1843, and again recalled to the office in 1849, after having been four years in retirement.

The administration of Governor Barry was eminently useful to the state. It gave to the state an illustration of rigid economy and careful method in the management of public affairs which determined the character of financial management for the state thereafter. It was of value also for its influence upon private habits and expenditures; and the state and the people from that time went on steadily and strongly in the direction of improvement and accumulation. The times demanded an executive to whom the facile and flattering tongue of the demagogue was denied, but who could make austere and uncompromising public virtues acceptable to the people, and Governor Barry fully met its requirements.

In the election of 1845 Alpheus Felch, a native of Maine, still living, and worthily associated with state history from the first, was made Governor Barry's successor. Under his administration the state relieved itself by sale of the incubus of its railroads. The sale was demanded by a public sentiment practically unanimous, and it has never been regreted. The state was at once put in condition which made payment of its indebtedness easy, and its financial

credit became unquestioned and unquestionable. And now for a second time the state lost a good executive by the transfer of the governor to the Federal senate. William L. Greenly, the lieutenant-governor, succeeded him, giving way in 1848 to Judge Ransom, a native of Massachusetts, who had retired from the bench three years previously.

The old pioneers of the state were gratified by the nomination of Governor Cass to the presidency in 1848, naturally preferring him as they did to any other candidate of his party. The governor, after serving in the cabinet of President Jackson, had been sent as minister to France, and on his return was elected to a seat in the Federal senate. He resigned his seat pending the presidential election, but dissensions in his party proved fatal to his prospects, and a man without known political principles was elected over him. Governor Cass was a statesman of the old school, upright, patriotic and decorous; but he was overwhelmed by a rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment, which he could neither resist nor fully understand, and new men who were ready to grasp with aggressive ardor the living issues of the time, soon supplanted him in public notice. In this he but shared the fortunes of his great contemporaries, Webster, Clay, and Benton, who for a time struggled vainly to master the logic of events, hoping against hope that by new compromises they might preserve the national peace and repress a conflict which the laws of mind and morals made irrepressible.

During the last administration of Gov-

enor Barry, the time seemed to have come for that peaceful and undisturbing revision of the fundamental law which is always provided for in the American constitutions, and which enables new ideas to assert their supremacy without the revolutionary violence that might be a necessary concomitant in some other countries. The period was one of uneasiness and unrest the world over; the thrones of Europe were shaking, and the people, with arms in their hands, and behind barricades, were demanding the abolition of oppressive special privilege and for themselves a larger share in the government. America escaped the calamities of insurrection and civil war, and the radical wave which swept across both continents spent its force upon constitutional changes which brought the agencies of government more directly within the reach of the popular voice, and made in some important particulars a better adjustment of individual rights. A notable change in Michigan was the requirement that judicial officers and heads of executive departments should be chosen by popular election. In an entire revision of the state constitution made in 1850 we find restrictions upon over-legislation in the provision for biennial sessions of the legislature, and in the limitations imposed upon the exactment of private, social and local laws. Exemptions of property from forced sale for debts were largely increased, and married women were relieved from the hard rules of the common law which gave their property to their husbands. Very low salaries were prescribed for all state officers; that of

the governor being one thousand dollars only. The possible consequences of corporate aggrandizement were aimed at, in a provision requiring all corporations to be formed under general laws which were to be always subject to alteration or repeal. Banking laws must be approved by popular vote, and the state was prohibited from engaging in internal improvements, or taking part with, or loaning its credit to any person association, or corporation. These last are significant provisions, born of the great revulsion, but as wise in policy as they are noticeable in origin.

The succession of the executive office fell in 1851 to Robert McClelland, for a term shortened to one year in the change of constitutions. Governor McClelland was a native of Pennsylvania, but had emigrated to Michigan before it became a state, and had served for three terms in the popular branch of congress, where he had made for himself a national reputation. He was reëlected governor in 1852, but resigned to become secretary of the interior, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Parsons. Charles E. Stuart, who had also served with credit in the lower house of congress, was now advanced to the senate to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Felch, who had accepted a federal appointment.

The great anti-slavery uprising which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had the same disintegrating effect upon political parties in Michigan as elsewhere, and the Free-soil party now almost wholly absorbed the Whigs and had sufficient reinforcement from the

Democratic party to enable it to take control of the state. Kinsley S. Bingham who had served two terms in congress and made a good record, led the Democratic contingent into the Free-soil ranks. He was a native of New York, a farmer by occupation, had been in Michigan since 1833; and was now elected governor as the candidate of the new party. He was a man of good but not showy abilities; made a good record as governor, and was reëlected in 1856. At the end of the second term, he was chosen senator in congress to succeed Charles E. Stuart. Governor Cass continued in that body until 1857, when he became secretary of state under President Buchanan, and was succeeded in the senate by Zachariah Chandler. Of this gentleman it may safely be said that from the time of his election to the senate he was the most notable man of his party in the state; that he soon became prominent in national politics and that his influence with his party associates grew from year to year to the day of his death.

Mr. Chandler was a merchant of Detroit, and like his predecessor a native of New Hampshire. He had strong native sense, easily adapted himself to all classes of men and all grades of society, was quick in decision, fearless in action, uncompromising in principle, and inflexible in purpose. These are the characteristics which make one a natural leader of men, and Mr. Chandler by mere force of will commonly carried the doubting and hesitating among his associates along with him. He was less learned, courtly

and polished than his predecessor, he knew much less of literature and the history of foreign countries and our relations with them; but he resembled Governor Cass in his integrity and thrift, while in his nature he was far more combative and persistent. When the time came for the great life and death struggle of the nation, no defiance rang out clearer and stronger, no courage was less doubtful of results, no vote was more unhesitatingly or more emphatically given for radical measures than were those of Zachariah Chandler. For twelve years he spoke the voice of the state in the senate, and on the main questions of the day his utterances were never of a doubtful import. Governor Bingham was his fitting colleague when the civil war began, but he died in 1861, and was succeeded by Jacob M. Howard, another man of strong and positive qualities, respected alike for his learning, for his great natural parts, and for his integrity and fearlessness, who immediately took good rank in the senate, where he commanded general respect.

Governor Bingham was succeeded as executive by Moses Wisner, and he after two years by Austin Blair. Both these gentlemen were natives of New York, and both were inflexible in devotion to an undivided country. When the war broke out Governor Wisner entered the army at the head of a regiment, and great expectations followed him to his new field, but he fell a victim to disease before there had been opportunity to give proof of military ability. His successor is still living, and performing with undiminished strength such duties

as are assigned him, and therefore with record still incomplete; but it must be said of his administration that it was made notable by the refusal to join in compromising the dignity of the country and the constitutional rights of the people in order to win back seceding states, and by the vigor and fidelity with which the state, while the war lasted, performed all national duties.

When the war broke out Michigan was found to be loyal to the core. All parties, as by instinct, perceived that a great struggle was before us, which was to put to final test the institutions of the fathers, and to determine for all time whether we were henceforth to be one of many under a living constitution, or to be many and not one, under a disrupted and despised compact. The alternative admitted of no hesitation, and reason not less than sentiment responded to the summons of the Union, and responded again and again as the need increased in urgency. Nor in this did Governor Cass, though fresh from associations which had tainted some others, waver or hesitate. He had lost his youthful fire and vigor when the war began, and no doubt felt much of that despondency which is a common accompaniment of great age, in times of public danger and perplexity; but when he thought the time had come that he could no longer serve his country in the cabinet, he withdrew, to come back to the scenes of his early labor and successes, and there, with his old neighbors and constituents assembled about him, urged firm adherence to the cause of their common country, and gave his

last public utterance for an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

The deeds of Michigan's honored sons are resplendent in the history of the great civil war. How honorable was the part which Israel B. Richardson, Alpheus S. Williams, and others like them, now gone from among us, took in the great constitutional debate where cannon answered cannon in the argument! And that mighty man of war, George A. Custer, a lion in the battle and a child by the fireside; how the mountain passes of Virginia thundered beneath the tramp of his horsemen as he hurled them upon the enemy, striking never a light nor dallying blow, and winning never a barren victory. But Custer, too, is laid to rest

"With all his country's wishes blest,"

—But not until the battle storm had passed away,
"With its spent thunders at the break of day."

Leaving

"A greater earth and fairer sky behind,
Blown crystal clear by freedom's northern wind."

Of the four years trial of the constitution, in the civil war only this need here be said: The bands of union which some feared and many hoped were but withes of straw proved to be bands of iron, so entwined with the affections of the people as to bid defiance to assaults from any quarter. The idea that with many people has been almost a maxim, that it is almost impossible to support republican institution in large countries was shown to be utterly baseless. Other nations recognize the cogency of the proof. In Great Britain the monarchy has become little more than a name; France at last seems

securely Republican, and, excepting Russia and Turkey, every nation in Europe has been quickened to high life by American example, and either secured representative institutions or perfected such as it had before.

Proceeding with the regular course of events, the organization of an independent supreme court a little before the war should be mentioned. Of the justices of this court, Isaac P. Christianity and James V. Campbell remained long enough on the bench to make for themselves great names in legal circles, as did also Benjamin F. Graves, who in 1868 became their fitting associate.

The successor of Governor Blair was Henry H. Crapo, a native of Massachusetts, who was recommended to the people by his eminent business ability, which had been exhibited in many different vocations and with unvarying success. He was once reëlected and is remembered as an able, careful and prudent executive. During his term the fever of voting municipal aid to railroads was afflicting the country, and he strove, but without success, to stay its progress in this state. This method of making use of municipal credit and resources was, however, brought to a stop by a decision of the supreme court before the evils had become very serious.

The successor of Governor Crapo was Henry P. Baldwin, a native of Rhode Island, who for many years had been extensively engaged in business in Detroit as merchant, manufacturer and banker, and had won an enviable reputation for ability, integrity and liber-

ality. He held the office for two terms, retiring at the beginning of 1873. Succeeding him for two terms was John J. Bagley, a native of New York. In him the state had for executive one of those strong and vigorous characters who by their native sense, business tact and ability, and promptitude in the performance of duty do honor to the commonwealth with which they unite their fortunes. Many such have made their homes in Michigan, but none more worthy of honorable mention than John J. Bagley. He began life without means, and with but slight educational advantages, but he was full of energy and was prosperous in business from the first; his stores of useful information kept pace with his other acquisitions, so that when he was called to the office of governor his fitness for the place was universally recognized, and his administration was able, popular and wise. He was a man of large heart and of strong domestic and social ties; he was proud of his state and city, and he felt every inch the governor when he had occasion to be their representative abroad, and to speak as he delighted to do in their praise.

The gentlemen who have held the office of governor since the time of Governor Bagley are fortunately all still living, and may be daily met in social and business circles, where their ability and worth make them prominent and respected. Charles M. Croswell held the office from 1877 to 1881; David H. Jerome from 1881 to 1883; Josiah W. Begole from 1883 to 1885, and the latter then gave place to Russell A. Alger.

Each of these gentlemen, as a private citizen, was known and respected for the energy, prudence and success with which he managed his own business interests, and the people expected from each an administration of public affairs which would be prudent, conscientious and watchful, and in no instance were the expectations disappointed. Governors Croswell and Begole were natives of New York, and Governor Alger, of Ohio. To Governor Jerome belongs the proud distinction of being the first governor of Michigan who was born within its limits, the true representative of those who were reared among its stumps and taught in its district schools. Good rearing and good teaching that must have been that gave a product so sturdy, vigorous and self-reliant, so well calculated by energy and persistence to hew an open road to public respect and fortune.

The succession in the federal senate was kept up by the election of Thomas W. Ferry to succeed Jacob M. Howard in 1871, and Isaac P. Christiancy to succeed Zachariah Chandler in 1875. Judge Christiancy did not serve out his term, but resigned to accept the appointment of minister to Peru, and Henry P. Baldwin succeeded him for a time under executive appointment, until the election by the legislature of Omar D. Conger, who is still in office. Senator Ferry was once reelected, and was succeeded by Thomas W. Palmer, in 1883. All these gentlemen are still living and still making history.

Of the men who served the state faithfully in the lower house of congress,

and whose records have been sealed by death, a few have already been mentioned. It would be a pleasing task to name all the others in succession; but the list is long, and at best we could only pass through it, and place a laurel here and there upon a worthy brow. And among the worthy was William A. Howard, a man of strong and positive qualities, who represented the first district from 1855 to 1861. He took high rank in congress and had a place on most important committees. One of them was the special committee created for the investigation of the inroads into Kansas by armed bands from the border states. The country was then excited beyond all former precedent by what seemed to be the approaching culmination of the struggle over slavery, and already from state to state leaped the live thunder of the coming tempest. The committee in an elaborate report put plainly before the people a mass of startling facts, constituting one of the most important historical documents of the period. Mr. Howard was also one of the committee of thirty-three appointed to consider and report upon the subject of further national compromises, but his principles forbade him to take even the shortest step backward, and he performed effective service in defeating the purpose for which the committee was created. Men doubted at the time whether this was best, but few doubt now.

Another worthy name is that of Fernando C. Beaman, who entered congress in 1861, and had the rare fortune, unequalled in the state, except in the cases

of J. A. Hubbell and Omar D. Conger, of serving for five consecutive terms. He was a modest man and became less prominent in congress than many others who were neither so able nor so useful. Fidelity to duty was to him the main-spring of public action, and when he was offered the appointment of senator on the resignation of Senator Christiancy he declined because his health was then failing and he could not in conscience accept an office to whose responsibilities he felt himself physically inadequate. Charles Upson, also, who served for three terms, beginning in 1863, was a man of ability and sterling worth, and the career of a frank, manly, upright, honorable and useful citizen was closed when he passed away, having served the state in many important offices.

It is pleasing, also, as we pass along, to note some federal appointments made in evident recognition of the truth that the office should seek the man and not the man the office. Such was the appointment of President Angell of the university to conduct an important and delicate negotiation with China, a deserved compliment to the profession of which he is so distinguished a member, and which in China is particularly respected and esteemed. It was a graceful return which the Flowery Kingdom made to the state when it bestowed upon the university its excellent display of Chinese productions, which at New Orleans had excited so greatly the interest of all visitors. And eminently worthy also was the selection of George V. N. Lothrop, the distinguished leader of the bar of the state, for the important post

of minister to Russia. When the national executive so emphatically makes fitness the test in his selections, the people are not likely to overlook or even in thought to underrate the fundamental maxim that public office is a public trust.

But while thus mentioning a few of the many worthy men who have filled with credit important offices, we are reminded continually that many of the most notable and useful of the citizens of the state have seldom or never held public office. They have been active and served the public well in their several callings, and set worthy examples; but for various reasons, not personally discreditable, have lived and died private citizens. They may not be the less entitled to public honor for that reason. The test of worth is not in holding public office, but in showing by an intelligent performance of duty everywhere a fitness to hold it. A state's choicest possessions are its men of broad and vigorous minds, pure character and noble aspirations, whether they serve the public in high station or low; as cultivators of the soil, in the professions or in handicraft employments. Such men inspire and elevate all who come within the sphere of their influence; they give the state respect and standing abroad; they strengthen it in the esteem and regard of the whole body of its people, and they create among its youth emulation in excellence which is better for them and for the state than any reaching after mere personal distinction of wealth or office. Nor does the public spirited citizen fail to find that in private life he

is charged with public duties which in their performance may be made of the highest utility, and while he performs them faithfully, he knows he stands not merely at the post of duty but at the post of honor. The trappings of office are mere tinsel, but commanding worth, as Emerson has so justly said, "Must sit crowned in all companies."

Thus in brief space have we attempted to summarize the leading events in state history. As thus presented, the history seems tame and commonplace as compared with what during the same period has been taking place in other countries. No battle has been fought on our soil, no violent revolution has occurred in government, the steady pulse of industry has not been disturbed by the near approach of any alarming danger. There have been local calamities and disorders, but not once in all the period of state existence has anything occurred so strange and remarkable as to rivet to it the anxious eyes of the world. But yet—and largely because of this very fact—how mighty have been the changes! The state which, fifty years ago, was knocking at the door of the Union for the favor of admission, now numbers a population equal to that of all the American colonies at the time they first set British power at defiance in refusing to yield obedience to the Stamp Act. In fifty years the state has added to its population as much as the continent did in the first 150 years of its colonization, and its growth in material wealth has been still more wonderful. This single fact is far more striking and significant, and far more worthy the atten-

tion of statesmen and historians than could possibly be the greatest of battles and the most brilliant of victories upon which nothing was depending, but the gratification of individual or national ambition. Nor will the character of the population acquired suffer in comparison with that of any other country on the globe. The population is mixed as to nationality, with the Puritan blood predominating, but it is sufficiently homogeneous for all important purposes of the social state and of government. British America is largely and usefully represented; the Germans are planted on all sides, making intelligence and industry productive; all parts of the British islands have furnished contingents, as has Holland also, and other European countries; but disturbing elements are few, and order, industry, and thrift are everywhere. The educational system which the state so early established and so wisely nourished receives cordial support from adopted citizens, and it grows and prospers steadily and strongly, having, like the gentle showers of heaven, blessings for all. Rarely in either public or social concerns does nationality of birth determine the action of the individual. To the sober, industrious citizen of foreign birth, whether born in British islands or in Scandinavia, or beyond the Rhine, or in that small country of great renown, "where the broad ocean leans against the land," the home of nativity may always remain the home of sentiment, but the country of adoption will not, for that reason, be the less cherished; and common interest, common pursuits,

common enjoyments and common aims and purposes, must rapidly obliterate distinctions, leaving all proud that of right they are entitled in this beautiful and thrifty state to share the priceless benefits of its institutions.

And its people may well take pride in the state whether they contemplate it simply in its grand results, or examine it in comparison with other states. In the main its record is a clean one, bearing upon it few marks that one should care to erase. After passing over the brief spendthrift days of its youth, we have only the unexciting story of how energy, enterprise, prudence, and thrift may quietly and without the notice of the world build up a mighty state, with all the elements of strength and every promise of enduring prosperity. And were we to go back of the record to show who those were who were most active, efficient, and able in state building, it would appear that for the most part they were men who began empty-handed but strong-hearted, and by mental and physical energy, and force of character made for themselves a name while helping the state to greatness.

Michigan was the twenty-sixth state to take its place in the American Union, but it has been advancing steadily and with strong and even pace to the front, and to-day only eight are leading it in wealth and population. And while Michigan has been overtaking and passing so many of the older states, not one, new or old has ever taken, and securely held a position in advance of Michigan. Of the original thirteen only New York, Penn-

sylvania, and Massachusetts have now more people, and in a little time the proud old Bay state must content herself with a lower place. What more can be said in praise of the state than that it has more than kept pace with the astonishing growth of the country, and more than kept good the wonderful promise of its earliest years. Justly and with the emphasis of proud satisfaction may its citizens exclaim as they welcome the stranger to their borders: *Si æquis amœnam peninulam circumspice*—Its beauties, its riches, its attractions are everywhere! But not in its growth, in its beauty, in its wealth in its numbers does the state chiefly pride itself; as its religious and charitable institutions and its complete system of public education, and what the people have done and are doing through these and by these must sufficiently attest. First and foremost the aim of the state has always been to prepare its youth to act well their part in the great drama of life, and in the incidental trials and rivalries. If that aim is accomplished the state may well be content, for material success will abundantly follow.

However rich and diversified are the bounties of nature,

“Man is the nobler growth our realms supply,”
and the strength of the state must always be in the manhood of its people, who, if worthily trained, will make their own success in their chosen walks of life the glory of the commonwealth.

T. M. COOLEY.

MARTIN S. SMITH.

MARTIN S. SMITH was born in Lima, Livingston county, New York, on the twelfth day of November, 1834. His parents, Ira D. and Sarah Snyder Smith, were natives of Columbia county, New York, and removed to the beautiful valley of the Genesee, remaining at Lima only a short time after the birth of the subject of this sketch, when they again removed, establishing themselves at Geneseo, Livingston county, New York.

In 1844, when Martin S. Smith was ten years of age, he accompanied his parents to Michigan, where they took up their residence near Pontiac. Four years later he entered the service of a clothing dealer at Pontiac, and from that day has been constantly engrossed in the serious work of life. His systematic education was only such as could be obtained in the common schools, and ended at his fourteenth year. Unlike some more pretentious institutions, however, these very common schools are noted for thoroughness of training, and Mr. Smith left them with a firm grounding in the rudiments of knowledge, such as has served in many cases as a basis for liberal self-culture.

He remained with his first employer but a short time, leaving him to take a place in the office of the *Pontiac Gazette*, owned and managed by William M. Thompson. After two years, he gave up

this place for a more profitable engagement, and after one or two minor changes in Pontiac, took an employment in Detroit, which he exchanged a year later for a place in a prominent jewelry firm. This was his first connection with the business of which he became, in later years, a principal representative, and in the prosecution of which he has accumulated a large fortune.

Mr. Smith was employed in this jewelry house until 1859, when the firm failed and its stock and business were offered for sale. More than ten years of hard work and rigid economy had enabled him to save the sum of one thousand dollars; and with this trifling capital, supplemented by the credit which his industry and straightforwardness had won him, he deemed himself warranted in buying the business of the insolvent firm. The experiment then seemed a hazardous one, but the event proved that he had reckoned wisely, for, from that day to this, his success has been uninterrupted and his prosperity a matter of continual growth. This has come only by the most diligent and thoughtful devotion to business, and in those early days of small things, there must have been much wearing anxiety to provide for daily demands with so small a cash capital; but, at whatever cost, the demands were always met and the credit



Amstutz

of the concern was preserved free from cloud or suspicion.

In August, 1864, Mr. Smith admitted to a share in the business, his brother, Frank G. Smith, who had been in his employ; at the same time Edward T. Smith, who had held for nine years a responsible place in the jewelry house of George Doty of Detroit, also became a partner, the firm name being M. S. Smith & Co., as it to-day remains.

When Mr. Smith purchased the stock of L. P. Durkee & Co., the jewelry business of Detroit was in its infancy, while the trade throughout the United States was not only of far less volume than to-day, but of infinitely narrower scope. The stock of the jeweler in those days was very largely composed of articles of pure utility—watches, clocks, table plate, etc.; the demand for precious stones was small, and the articles of gold and silver jewelry called for by the public seem very crude and trivial when compared with the infinite variety of beautiful ornaments sold to-day.

The purchase was made at a fortunate time, when the country was beginning to revive after a period of financial depression; when the war of the rebellion, with its easy making and lavish spending of money, was close at hand; at the dawning of the day of great fortunes and luxurious living. The growth of the business under Mr. Smith's management may be judged by the fact that the total sales in 1859 were but \$17,000, and that they have since attained in a single year the vast sum of \$300,000.

In the conduct of his business, Mr. Smith has been always progressive, al-

most to radicalism, and has gained the first and largest profit from the adoption of new lines of business policy, in which others followed, after their safety had been proven by his success. As early as 1868, he visited Europe, and made arrangements for the direct importation of goods, benefiting himself by cutting off the profits theretofore made by exclusive importers and other middlemen, and giving to his customers the newest conceits of the Italian, Swiss, French and English workmen, before they had lost their novelty by the slow process of trade filtration. He was the first prominent jewelry dealer in the west to recognize the merits of the American watch.

A secondary and certain, though somewhat tardy, result of increased wealth, is the growth of the taste for the beautiful and artistic for its own sake. The rise of the art taste among the American people is a matter of only a decade, or a little more. Amateurs, collectors and *virtuosi* there were before, but the universal desire to possess objects of beauty, which to-day shows its fruition everywhere in the homes of the rich and well-to-do, has grown up within a dozen years, has ceased to be a superficial craze, and remains a permanent and elevating influence.

Mr. Smith has never assumed to be an apostle of aestheticism, but, led by his purely commercial interest, he has given object lessons in art, which have had no little to do with developing and enlarging the taste of the people of Detroit. Very quick to see the tendency of the time, he naturally saw the begin-

ning of the so-called art revival before it had reached the west, and his adroit agents supplied from every foreign market the artistic objects for which he felt sure there would in time be a sale. Thus, at the beginning, he was in advance of the public taste, and aided by his foresight in creating the very demand he had equipped himself to supply. So he has continued; his beautiful store, like every great jewelry establishment of the day, seems more a museum of art than a mere place of traffic, and the wisdom of his advanced policy is shown in the firm hold he has gained and held upon the liberal and discriminating buyers of his city and state.

The business was first carried on at No. 51 Woodward avenue. In 1863 it was removed to the northwest corner of Woodward and Jefferson avenues, there remaining until 1883, when the splendid building at the corner of Woodward avenue and State street was completed and occupied.

In the year 1879, the firm was incorporated under the name of "M. S. Smith & Co.," the senior partner retaining a large interest. Its present officers are: president, F. G. Smith; vice-president, Edward J. Smith; secretary, Charles Roe jr., and treasurer, Martin S. Smith. Its place at the head of the jewelry business in Michigan and in the front rank of the western trade is beyond question.

Since the reduction of his business to corporate form, Mr. Smith has retired from its personal management, relinquishing the detail to his very competent

associates, and devoting much of his time to other important business interests. In the year 1874 he formed a partnership with the Honorable Russell A. Alger and George W. Bissell, under the firm name of R. A. Alger & Company, dealers in long pine timber and pine lands. This firm, in 1881, was incorporated under the name of Alger, Smith & Company, and Mr. Smith is now its treasurer, Mr. Alger its president and Mr. R. K. Hawley its vice-president. Its investments and operations are larger than those of any other concern in the world engaged in the same specialty, and Mr. Smith gives the greater portion of his time to its service. He is also president of the American Eagle Tobacco company, a director of the American Exchange National bank and of the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance company; was once upon the directorate of the Wayne County Savings bank, and has been, since May, 1869, a director of Woodward cemetery. In 1882 the Manistique Lumbering company was formed, and Mr. Smith has ever since been its treasurer; he is vice-president of the Detroit Bay City & Alpena Railway company; president and treasurer of the Detroit & St. Clair Plank Road company.

He has found time, in spite of his many business cares, to give attention to the various social and material interests of Detroit. He was one of those who, in 1869, signed a communication urging upon the city council the purchase of Belle Isle for park purposes, a plan which has given to the city, at small cost, a pleasure ground easy of access,

and, fresh from the hand of nature, ready endowed with advantages in the imitation of which other cities have spent millions of dollars. He was also a director of the Detroit Medical college until it ceased to exist.

That Mr. Smith should be a lover and a discriminating critic of art, goes almost without the saying, for his daily occupation for many years compelled an attention to its details which would have educated a much less sensitive eye than his. He has given a generous encouragement to the art movement in Detroit, by which has recently been assured the erection of a permanent museum, contributing liberally of his means, and giving a moral support that was scarcely less effective in bringing the enterprise to final success. He has been a collector, not only as a dealer, but as an amateur, and his home is adorned with many gems selected in the course of his travels.

Mr. Smith has neither had time nor taste for active politics. He is a Republican, but not an extreme partisan, and has never held an elective office. In 1872 he was appointed a police commissioner to succeed the late John J. Bagley, when the latter resigned upon his election to the governorship. He was reappointed to this office in 1877, and again in 1886.

In 1862 Mr. Smith married Mary E. Judson of Detroit.

Though he so early began the practical work of life, Mr. Smith is a man of information and practical education. He has traveled extensively, observed intelligently and read with discrimination. He has, what many learned persons have not, a large practical income of useful knowledge from his intellectual investments.

As a business man, measuring the accomplishments of his life by the years they have occupied in the making, and the capital with which he began, his success stands second to none among the many successful men of Detroit. There has been nothing sensational or speculative in his career. Every step has been thoughtfully and deliberately made, and every advance has been at the cost of hard and self-denying labor.

Socially he holds an important position in the economy of the city, and a very warm place in the esteem of those who know him well. He is kind, unaffected and unspoiled, liberal, though wisely discriminating in charity, and seems to have taken to heart the advice given to a friend by a great social philosopher—"If you would be happy, let your fortune be your servant, not your master."

W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WHEN, on the thirtieth of November, 1753, George Washington reached Venango, Pennsylvania, on a tour over the Alleghany mountains "to visit and deliver a letter to the commander of the French forces," on French creek, he was told by those in authority at the mouth of that stream, "that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio." "They pretend," wrote Major Washington, in his journal kept upon that occasion, "to have undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle."

In 1755, in a "Memorial in Answer to the Observations by the British Ministry," authorized by the French king, is the following regarding the discovery of the Ohio:

The Ohio, otherwise called Belle-Riviere, or the Fair river, forms a natural communication between Canada and the Louisiana by the Lake Erie. The French who were concerned in the discovery and the maintaining this communication, were the first who surveyed this river, of which the Sieur de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, had visited a part in 1679 [1669].

There are other writings extant clearly showing that the French claimed the Ohio valley just before the Seven Years' war, by virtue of La Salle's discovery.

ONE of the noted annual events in Chicago (for the last eight years) is the reception held at the Calumet club house for the old settlers of that city. At the last yearly occurrence, the parlors were filled with aged gentlemen and ladies who represented all that is best, and bravest, and truest in that fast-growing civilization. Two hundred and twenty guests were served to an appropriate and modest supper in the dining hall. Old songs, old dances, and stories, and handshakes with old friends were the order of the evening. Letters were read from several persons whose arrival antedated the village government. Gurdon S. Hubbard,

who was too feeble to attend, first saw the site of the city in 1818. J. S. Sackett, now residing at La Grange, made his way to the western metropolis in the summer of 1831. John L. Wilson contributed an account of the auction sale of the Grand Pacific and postoffice blocks in 1834, for \$325 and \$350 each.

THE first newspaper printed in what is now the state of Ohio (then a part of the Northwest Territory), was issued at Cincinnati, by William Maxwell, on the ninth day of November, 1793. It was called *The Centinel of the Northwest Territory*. The issue of the *Centinel* was necessarily irregular, on account of the difficulty in procuring supplies of printing paper. The sheet was emphatically "a brief chronicler of the times." In the summer of 1796, Edmund Freeman purchased the *Centinel* establishment and changed the name of the paper to *Freeman's Journal*, which was continued until 1800, when Mr. Freeman moved to Chillicothe, where he established the *Chillicothe Gazette*.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to the following letter, which is here for the first time published. The original was handed to William Myres by Squire Boone, brother of the famous Daniel Boone, to be taken over the mountains to Colonel Campbell, but Myres, who was acting as an express for Colonel George Rogers Clark from Vincennes to Virginia, was killed by the Indians; and the letter, sprinkled with his blood, was sent by the savages to Captain R. B. Lernoult, commandant at Detroit, on the side of the British, during the first half of the Revolutionary war:

"CANTUCKEY COUNTY THE FALLS OF THE OHIO

"April 4th 1779

"SIR

"I received your letter Dated Dec'm 20th for which I

return you grate thanks but in regard to seling the Horse I would much rather I could get him out hear, for the Indians has took my Horses and they are very dear to buy hear. and I humbly beg you would send to the Gentleman that has him to send him to me by William Moires and you will much oblige your humble serant

"SQUIRE BOON

nevertheless if the Gentleman sees cause to keep him and send me two hundred pounds let him use his pleasure

"To

"Col n Arthur Camble"

ON THE fifth of June, David S. Sheldon, an Iowa scientist, died in Davenport, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was one of the foremost scholars in the department of natural science in the state of Iowa. He was born in Rupert, Vermont; was a graduate of Middlebury college in 1831; a student in the theological institution at Andover in 1834-5, and, after teaching for several years in Bennington, Vermont, Potsdam, New York, Northampton, Massachusetts, and Burlington, Iowa, was called in 1853 to the chair of natural sciences in Iowa college, then recently founded at Davenport. In 1860, he was chosen to fill the same chair in Griswold college, which succeeded to the site and buildings of Iowa college upon the removal of the latter institution to Grinnell. He was a thorough scholar, an apt teacher, and for thirty-three years discharged the duties of his professorship with unflinching devotion. He was a scientist of the school of Agassiz and Hitchcock. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences at Davenport, the chief scientific institution in Iowa. In its service and honor, with characteristic devotion, he taxed himself to the last.

IN THE last number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*, we stated that the authenticity of Champlain's map of 1632 was doubted by some writers. We are asked, by whom? In the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. I, pp. 1-13, in a paper entitled "Champlain's Expedition of 1615 Against the Onondagas," the author, O. H. Marshall, says:

It is supposed by some that the edition [of 'Champlain's Voyages'] of 1632 which contains the map, and is composed of his previous publications, was not the work of Cham-

plain, and never passed under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet, to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed. There was no map to the edition of 1619 and the one which accompanied that of 1632, was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition [against the Onondagas by Champlain in 1615] as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. . . . It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand.

In The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 103-108, is a lengthy note by John Gilmary Shea, on "Champlain's Expedition into Western New York in 1615, and the Recent Identification of the Fort by General John S. Clark." In this paper, Dr. Shea takes issue with Mr. Marshall as to the unauthentic character of the map contained in the compilation of 'Champlain's Voyages' of 1632. He says:

Mr. Marshall, in his article on the expedition, in the January number (1877) of the *Magazine of American History*, inclines to reject the map as not being in the volume published in 1619, nor appearing until long after the date of the expedition. . . . But the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited. His wonderfully accurate surveys of the New England harbors prove his ability, and we know he gleaned information from the Indians as to parts he was yet to visit. There we expect no accuracy. He embodied such information as he could acquire.

To Dr. Shea's communication, Mr. Marshall replies in the *Magazine of American History* Vol. II, pp. 470-483, the gist of which is that there are discrepancies between what Champlain wrote (which was published in 1619) and his map intended to illustrate it, which discrepancies cannot be reconciled.

THE Rev. (now bishop) Edmund de Schweinitz, in his 'Life and Times of David Zeisberger' (pp. 477 and 478), says that on the fourth day of July, 1780, at Salem, on the western branch of the Tuscarawas, in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio, "that veteran missionary, Adam Grube, united John Heckewelder and Miss [Sara] Ohneberg in marriage. It was, doubtless, the first wedding of a white

couple in the present state of Ohio." However, nearly a year and a half *before* the tying of this nuptial knot, John Leeth, a prisoner to the Delaware Indians, was married in Gnadenhutten, a "Moravian" Indian village lying in the outskirts of the present town of that name, in the county just mentioned, to a young woman, seventeen or eighteen years of age, also a prisoner to the Indians, named Sally Lowray, but called by the white people, in the wilderness, "Elizabeth."

ALTHOUGH the following letter does not bear a copy of the signature of the writer, yet, judging from the initials attached to other letters in the same book (War Department, Washington, D. C., "Military Book," Vol. II.), there can be no doubt but that it emanated from Gen. Henry Dearborn, then secretary of war, and was intended for Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the United States army:

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 28, 1804.

James Wilkinson,

SIR: Being of opinion that for the general defence of our Country we ought not to rely on Fortifications but on men and steel; and that works calculated for resisting batteries of cannon are necessary only for our principal seaports, I cannot conceive it to be useful or expedient to construct expensive works for our interior military posts, especially such as are intended merely to hold the Indians in check. I have therefore directed stockade works, aided by block-houses to be erected at Vincennes, Chicago, near the mouth of the Miami of the Lake and at Kaskaskias, in conformity to the rough sketch herewith inclosed each calculated for a full company: the block-houses to be constructed of timber slightly hewed and of the most durable kind to be obtained at the respective places, the magazine for powder to be of brick or a conic figure each capable of receiving from fifty to one hundred Barrels of Powder. Establishments of the kind here proposed will I presume be necessary, for each of the military posts in upper and Lower Louisiana, New Orleans and its immediate dependencies excepted. I will thank you to examine the enclosed sketch and to give me your opinion on the dimensions and other proposed arrangements. You will observe that the block-houses are intended to be so placed as to scour from the upper and lower stories the whole of the lines. The back part of the Barracks are to have port holes which can be opened when necessary, for the use of musketry for annoying an enemy. It will, I presume, be proper ultimately to extend the palisades around the block-houses.

I am, etc.,

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the renowned German historian, died in Berlin, on Sunday, the twenty-third of May, in his ninety-first year, having been born at Wiehe, in Thuringia, on the twenty-first of December, 1795. 'The History of Roman and German Nations from 1494 to 1535,' and 'Criticisms upon Modern Historians' were his first published works. When they were given to the public he was twenty-nine years of age. The work which first gave him an European reputation was 'The Popes of Rome,' a continuation, really, of 'The Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe.' His most complete effort is his 'German History in the Time of the Reformation.' The closing work of his life, a history of the world, entitled '*Weltgeschichte*,' projected after he was eighty years of age, was to have been in nine volumes. Six of these he lived to complete.

THE officers of the Massachusetts Historical society elected on the fifteenth of April last, were George E. Ellis, D. D., LL. D., president; Charles Deane, LL. D., Francis Parkman, LL. D., vice-presidents; Rev. Edward J. Young, A. M., recording secretary; Justin Winsor, A. B., corresponding secretary; Charles C. Smith, Esq., treasurer, and Hon. Samuel A. Green, M. D., librarian. The society has just published Vol. I, sixth series, of its 'Collections,' containing, besides a full list of membership past and present, the 'Letter-Book' of Samuel Sewall, 1685-1711.

The Virginia Historical society has also just issued Vol. V, new series, of its 'Collections,' taken up entirely with documents relating to the Huguenot emigration to Virginia "and to the Settlement at Manakin-Toun, with an Appendix of Genealogies," the whole edited and compiled by R. A. Brock, corresponding secretary and librarian of the society. The 'History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France' by Henry M. Baird (to be followed by two uniform volumes on "The Huguenots and Henry IV" and, it is hoped, by others, covering the period of struggle and suffering down to the Edict of Toleration), and 'History of

the Hugueno. Emigration to America,' by Charles W. Baird, are well supplemented by this timely "assembling of scattered data relating to the Huguenot settlement in Virginia, and of families of the lineage," by Mr. Brock.

"THE Vatican at Rome, the ancient palace of the popes, and the most magnificent in the world," says Andrew Smith, in Notes and Queries for May and June, Manchester, New Hampshire, "stands on the bank of the Tiber, and on the hill anciently called by the same name." "Its extent," says that writer, "is enormous, the number of rooms, at the lowest computation, amounting to four thousand, four hundred and twenty-two; and, in its riches in marbles, bronzes and frescoes, in ancient statues and gems, and in paintings, is unequalled in the world, not to mention its library, the richest in manuscripts in Europe."

AMERICA'S great historian, Bancroft, is seldom at fault in statements of fact; sometimes, however, he is "caught napping." In speaking of Major Robert Rogers' tour to Detroit, in 1760, to take possession of that post ('History of the United States' [Ed. 1883] Vol. II, pp. 523-524), he says they—Rogers and his force—were "the first considerable party of men whose tongue was the English that ever spread sails on its waters [meaning Lake Erie]." But they "spread" no "sails;" their boats were propelled by oars. "It is recommended to the soldiers as well as officers," says Rogers, in his "Order of March," "not to mind the waves of the lake; but, when the surf is high, to *stick to their oars*." (The italicizing is ours.)

"MR. SPOFFORD," says the Washington correspondent of the *Cleveland Leader*, "has been librarian of congress for over twenty years; and he has seen the library grow from ninety thousand to more than five hundred thousand books. He is the busiest man in Washington, and never has an idle moment. He walks fast, talks fast, and uses others to help him in his work. He never writes him-

self what he can just as well dictate, and does not allow his energies to be wasted on what cheaper men could do as well. He does a prodigious amount of literary labor; has always several different articles on hand, and turns out many things for encyclopædias, magazines and books."

IN SECTION nineteen, of the law of 1788, of the Northwest Territory, respecting crimes and punishments, is this provision:

If any children or servants shall, contrary to the obedience due their parents or masters, resist or refuse to obey their lawful commands, upon complaint thereof to a justice of the peace, it shall be lawful for such justice to send him or them so offending to the goal or house of correction, there to remain until he or they shall humble themselves to the said parents' or masters' satisfaction.

DURING the late civil war in the United States, Indiana had, in its volunteer regiments, six thousand, four hundred and fifty-six Germans. Among the most noteworthy of its representative German soldiers were General August Willich and Colonel John Gerber, the latter being killed in command of the Twenty-fourth Indiana regiment, at Shiloh, on the seventh of April, 1862.

THE student of the history of the New World will find Justin Winsor's 'Narrative and Critical History of America' an exceedingly valuable aid to his studies. So far as issued, it is all that is claimed for it, whether narrative or critical. Mr. Winsor, as editor, is binging to his aid some of the best living writers upon American history in the country—standing himself in the front rank.

ON THE twenty-first day of June, 1821, upon the island of Mackinaw, in the present state of Michigan, one Alexis St. Martin, a Canadian, eighteen years of age, in the employ of the American Fur company, was accidentally shot in the left side. This accident is well known to the medical fraternity throughout the civilized world, from its results. St. Martin was not more than a yard from the muzzle of the gun when it was discharged; it was loaded with powder and buck-shot. A hole was made

directly into his stomach, which healed but never closed. This enabled Dr. William Beaumont, then post surgeon at the fort upon the island, to experiment upon the action of the gastric juice on various kinds of food and liquors in the stomach of a living subject. These experiments, extending through a series of years, gave to the world much valuable information.

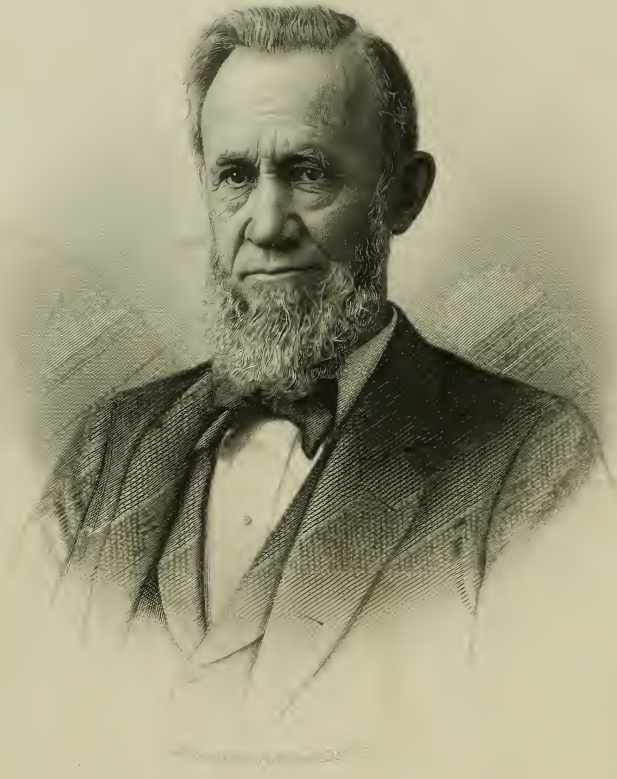
IN THE summer of 1813, during the war with Great Britain, a man named Valentine Slate was permitted by the Indian department to settle upon a branch of the Little Scioto known as the "Rocky Fork," in that part of Ohio then belonging to the Indians, afterwards known as the "New Purchase," where a road from Franklin—now Columbus—to Fort Ferre, at Upper Sandusky, crossed it. This arrangement was made for the convenience and accommodation of the mail carrier; it enabled him to change horses at the place, as Mr. Slate kept a "House of Entertainment" for man and beast. The carrier's contract was to take the mail twice a week between what is now the capital of the state and the county-seat of Wyandot county. Mr. Slate remained at the crossing just named as "tavern-keeper" until the close of the war, when he forfeited his license from the government by selling liquor to the Indians and was removed.

IN WHAT is known as "Brodhead's Expedition to Coshocton," from Fort Pitt at Pittsburgh, in April, 1781, there were, besides Brodhead's force, four companies of Virginia militia. Of these, David Shepherd was colonel; Samuel McCullough, major; Isaac Meeks, adjutant; William McIntyre, quartermaster; James Lemon, sergeant-major, and Jonathan Zane, spy. Captain Joseph Ogle commanded one company; Captain Benjamin Royce, another; Captain Jacob Lefler, a third, and Captain William Crawford, the fourth. The whole number of the militia, including officers, was one hundred and thirty-five.

"TO REACH Detroit from the River Sandosyuët [Sandusky]," says an account written in 1718, "we cross Lake Erie from island to island and get to a place called Point Pelée, where every sort of fish are in great abundance, especially sturgeon—very large, and three, four and five feet in length. There is, on one of these islands, so great a number of cats that the Indians killed as many as nine hundred of them in a very short time. The object of the Indians in making this traverse [crossing from island to island] is to shorten their road considerably." It has frequently been suggested that the "cats" here spoken of were really raccoons; and this would seem to be the fact; for one of the islands was visited by David Zeisberger in 1786, who says there were many of these animals upon it, "but no other game."

THE following extract from a letter written by the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, from the banks of the Tuscarawas river to Colonel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, then an American fortress at Pittsburgh, on the ninth of August, 1779, will serve to show whether he was coerced by Delaware Indians to write to the Fort Pitt commanders, as, in his books ('Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren [Moravians] among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians' and 'An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States') written many years after, he would have his readers believe:

I have understood by some Delawares who came from Philadelphia that I have been represented as one who listens to any story he may hear, and for that reason have sent such fearful letters to several officers in the service of the United States. I, therefore, think best to leave the communications of all news to the Delawares themselves, and not to trouble myself further about such matters, as they are indeed not properly my business. I thought to do some service to my country to which I am closely attached; and always have made it a rule to write nothing but what I had from a trusty body; likewise to distinguish my news by the words *facts* and *reports*. I think the most I have written has appeared to be true already, and the other part may yet so appear.



Thomas M. Cooley.

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THE RAILWAY SYSTEM OF THE WEST.

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"If there were to be no railroads, it was on the whole rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America." The point is well taken by Gail Hamilton. The tide margins of the continent could provide for a belt of civilized homes, which navigation could encourage and utilize for the rest of the world, and steamers could do similar service along the banks of large rivers. All this, however, when best done, would leave the new world neglected in primitive nature. It might do for insular England, so threatened by salt water, but would not for Dakota, three times as large, and two thousand miles from the Atlantic Ocean.

In 1840 I had occasion to traverse somewhat the almost unbroken prairie country, stretching away, ocean like, from Chicago to Cairo. To the lone traveler in the saddle, with scant roads to guide or fences to check one, and a

point of timber here and there like a headland at sea, it was mostly *colum undique et undique campus*. The lone-some farms furnished magnificent livings in grains and meats and vegetables, almost miraculous in the eyes of the immigrant from New England, where the very sure annual staples are rock and ice. Yet what was to be done with the "twelve baskets full of fragments" in Illinois? My friend in Sangamon county was feeding unthreshed wheat from the stack to his cattle and swine, rather than to thresh and haul it fifteen miles and get but twenty-five cents a bushel for it. Four years later it could command only that in Chicago. The lands loaded and drugged the market at a dollar and a quarter an acre, farm wages were ten to thirteen dollars per month and board. Surplus products were exchanged as oats twelve cents a bushel,

corn fifteen, beef and pork one and a half to two and a half cents a pound for store goods, and these were taken in exchange at about double their prices in the east. On the Iowa shore of the Mississippi, in 1841, 1842, 1843 we found a belt of settlements inland for perhaps fifteen miles, log and some board cabins and houses, with the staples of life easy and abundant and prices somewhat better than in Illinois interior. The Indian and the buffalo had the prices of land and of food supplies quite their own way throughout the most of the territory, as they did, till they heard the locomotive, over the river eastward. There lies before me the first map of Iowa ever published—1845. It shows thirty-one counties—there are now ninety-nine—clustering on the Mississippi between the Des Moines and the latitude of Prairie du Chien. About eighty towns are located on this map—Iowa now has fifteen hundred and seventy-eight post-offices—and the most of them within a day's ride of the river. Nine of the counties do not show one town. The state embraces about fifty-six thousand square miles, and it would be difficult to find the same amount of land in one body in the world that can furnish more cereal and flesh food for the human family. Yet at the time here named such was the condition of transportation between the east and the west, or between the supply and the world's market, that a bushel of wheat and an eastern letter were at the same cost in Iowa—twenty-five cents. The railroad had not then crossed the Mississippi. Now postage there is two cents and wheat from seventy

cents to a dollar. The railroad has arrived in Iowa—7478 miles of it.*

Illinois and Iowa are fair illustrations of all our western states prior to the introduction of the railroad system. They from the first had their princely wealth in the cereals and meats, as truly as in the mines, and each staple was awaiting equally development and a market. The wheat and the corn were in the loam, potentially and waiting, as really as the strata of coals and ores underneath. The great pine forests in Washington Territory were worth nothing, except enough for one house for a resident owner till he could have transportation.

"Trees six and seven feet in diameter and two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet high are very common, perhaps rarely out of sight in the forest in Washington Territory; eight feet in diameter and three hundred feet high are rare, but still not at all uncommon; the builder of the telegraph line had hitched his wire, in one case, to a cedar which is fourteen feet in diameter; a monster tree that had fallen—the forests are full of fallen trees—measured three hundred and twenty-five feet long, and another tree, at a distance of ninety feet from its root, was seven feet in diameter."†

An editor at Olympia informed the author in October, 1885, that they were preparing for the New Orleans exposi-

*Notes on Iowa Territory with a map. By Willard Barrows, United States deputy surveyor. Cincinnati, 1845.

†'Across the Continent.' By Samuel Bowles. 1865. P. 206.

tion a section from a Washington Territory tree nineteen feet in diameter.

The grains and meats and hides and ores and coals and timber and wool, have, practically, been waiting for their opportunity in the great North American west a thousand years. They were natural values, on deposit, without interest, and subject to draft for all the uses and profits of commerce. I was once offered very heavy timber land on the headwaters of the Connecticut for one dollar an acre, but only the bear and deer and myself seemed able to reach it. A railroad has since made it a piece of good property.

To state the case briefly, and then expand and illustrate it by items, the board of appraisers or of valuation for the United States consists of three, the highway, the canal, and the railroad. Each rises in valuation on all real estate and local products within accessible distances; the railroads mark highest and last. What is not appraised, as in central Wyoming, where the United States have not yet surveyed the lands, as not yet in demand enough to be put on the market, up in Alaska on the Yukon, or out on the Aleutian Islands, has no nominal value, that is, value which can be named. The timber and arable lands and fisheries and ores and furs have the same natural value which they would have in central New York, but to assign to them convertible and commercial worth this board of three United States appraisers must go on the ground and fix prices.

In early times our eastern vessels went around Cape Horn to California

for cargos of hides, and agents contracted for the ship load. "The number of cattle required might vary from a thousand to tens of thousands. In some instances they were corraled, and let out by tens and twenties, to be dispatched with sledges, or by other methods. In later years they were sometimes felled in large numbers by bullets, while grazing with the herd on the plains. The hides, tallow, horns and hanks were preserved; but the carcasses were left either in piles or scattered over the plains, to dry away and disappear under the scorching rays of the sun. . . .

The bones of the heads were sometimes used for the construction of fences around small lots in the vicinity of their dwellings. In one place, even to this day, there remains such a fence nearly two rods in length. The fence was of the thickness of two heads." Before the Missions were broken up by the government, the padres, anticipating the confiscation of both lands and live stock, slaughtered immense numbers of cattle. "It is estimated that in those three years there were sent from the Missions to the ports three hundred thousand hides with the tallow."*

But the railroad came in and appraised not only the hides and tallow and horns, but the beef and bones also, and even the hair, as worth transportation. After spending a month in 1885 on the ranches and ranges of Wyoming, the writer reads the above account from eastern California with commercial horror. 'Dana's Two Years Before the

* 'History of California.' By E. S. Capron. Boston, 1854, pp. 29-31.

Mast' furnishes a graphic detail of this incalculable waste on the Pacific coast, while that country was waiting for a government and our continental railways.

The expenses for doing business beyond the plains and on the Pacific Slope, before the Union and Central and the Northern and Southern Pacific roads were opened, left bulky goods, in the mountains and beyond, almost valueless to the east, while the necessities to be carried west were placed almost above price by the cost of transportation.

In 1849 packages, not exceeding fifteen pounds, were carried by Adams & Co. express from New York to San Francisco at the rate of seventy-five cents per pound. The charge was three dollars on an ordinary daguerreotype, and twelve dollars on a package the size of a common novel.

Julesburg is in Colorado, now a station on the Union Pacific, 139 miles east of Cheyenne. In 1864 there arrived at this shanty town, from the States, 3,574 wagons of freight, under guard of 4,258 men, and handled by 28,592 animals. At that date Holladay's Overland express had been under way two or three years—started on a capital of \$2,500,000—and this year it was employing, between the Missouri and the mountains, 15,000 men, 20,000 wagons, and 150,000 animals, on a capital of \$20,000,000. In 1864 it transported west 100,000,000 pounds of freight, and in 1865 double this amount, at a cost of fifteen cents to the pound. Bundles were charged seventeen cents a

pound for every hundred miles, and passengers paid from thirty to fifty cents a mile. Freights were from thirty-five to sixty days from the Missouri to Denver, while the stage made the same trip in six days. The next year, 1866, government paid this company \$735,000 for carrying the mail and other government matter.*

Indeed Governor Stanford of California did not lift too soon that first spadeful of earth for the Pacific railroad at Sacramento, in January, 1863. Yet this vast amount of merchandise, to be loaded and unloaded by human hands and hauled by animals, was as one solitary baggage wagon compared with what those prairie and mountain and Pacific roads are now doing.

The railroad makes it possible to utilize natural values and convert them into property, and thus swell and lengthen all the channels of commerce. This is more evidently true in our new country, where natural resources are so much more abundant than in the old colonial states, and cover immensely more area. The great staples of life have their prices fixed by the railroad. The blank schedule of grain and meats and wool and hides, and coals and ores, and timber and lumber, has its column of prices filled when the railroad comes in.

The Illinois lands were as rich and as susceptible of their immense burden of agricultural products in 1850 as they were in 1880. At the former date the state had 46,208 farms; at the latter,

* Overland Traction Engine Co. Report for 1865, p. 31.

255,741. A valid reason for both facts is not far to be found. It was not till 1842 that the Boston & Albany road was opened to the Hudson, and not till 1850 that the sill and strap rail was removed from the track between Schenectady and Utica. Why should wheat and beef, and pork be raised, and then stacked up in Illinois? It was not till 1851 that the cars could meet western products on Lake Erie, and not till 1853 that Chicago saw a locomotive. What call was there for more farms in Illinois in 1850? If she would ship her supplies east by the Mississippi and Ohio she must haul them over the Alleghanies on the Portage road, or store them three years at Wheeling, waiting for the Baltimore & Ohio railroad to open there in 1853. Illinois had had the first of prairie railroads in 1838, running from Meredosia to Springfield; but it proved a failure, and no wonder, for six inches of snow would stop its engine. General Semples afterward put tires two feet wide to the wheels of this locomotive, and attempted to run it here and there on the open prairie. The experiment was akin in wildness to the one with sails on the Baltimore & Ohio, and on the Charleston & Hamburg railroads in 1830. If memory be correct, this is the horse-power road in which we had some experience in the closing of 1840, when its bed was suggestive of the condition of the land, "standing out of the water and in the water," before Adam began to till it.

In 1880, Illinois had increased her number of farms from 46,208 to 255,741. Well she might, for it paid, since the

state then had 7,955 miles of railroad—one mile of road to every seven square miles of land. The farms must have been few on which the whistle of the locomotive could not be heard every twenty-four hours, and often to take on wheat for England. Other things being equal, it pays to make grain and meat where the whistle of a locomotive can be heard. My friend need no longer feed his unthreshed wheat from the stalk, for a railroad now runs within sight of that farm.

When these railroads began to come into Illinois freely in 1861, the average value of land went up from five to fifteen dollars an acre, and in 1880 improved lands averaged from thirty to fifty dollars an acre, whereas, in 1840 to 1850, when the state had one railroad only, and it a failure, land loaded the market at government price. At the same time, 1880, the price of corn, beef and pork had almost doubled, and wheat had gone up about three-fold.

The reasons are obvious. The railroad is able largely to triumph over space between the producer and the consumer, and can create markets for the farmer. It is able to offer the Liverpool trade to the Dakota wheat fields. By this interweaving of our own country with freight lines, it equalizes prices across the continent, and leaves it in comparative indifference whether one's farm be west of the Mississippi or east of the Hudson. Fifteen miles in a freight wagon will affect the price of the grain hauled more than fifteen hundred miles in the cars. In the old times of the baggage wagon between Buffalo

and New York, the freight on a barrel of flour was ten dollars; the Erie canal reduced it to two dollars in 1825, and now the railroad to perhaps thirty-five cents. Or to use terms in the official reports, in 1817 freight was one hundred dollars a ton from Buffalo to New York; in 1825 it was twenty dollars by Erie Canal, and now it is three dollars or so.

Nor is it too bold a figure of speech to say that the railroads create markets. In proportion as space and time are overcome by the locomotive, the opportunities for the sale of products, agricultural and mechanical, are brought nearer to the farm, and factory, and shop. With all our familiarity with the railway in this broad domain, having its right-angled diameters of two thousand and three thousand miles, we do not yet comprehend the unification and the centralization of our national industries and interests by the railway system. Steam can put all our marketable and movable products into one place in a few hours or days, thus maintaining a kind of equation of prices. So the railway forces of the north and the south and the east and the west, set over against each other, preserve an equilibrium in trade prices, as the opposite pivots of the mariner's compass keep it level and reliable on the roughest sea. Once on the car, any barrel of flour in the United States is within twenty possible days of the table of any man who lives on the railroad in this country. The greatest speed for any distance, so far as appears, is made by the New York and Chicago limited—913 miles in 25 hours, or 35 miles an

hour for consecutive hours—and no one conversant with the history and progress of mechanics will presume to say that the highest limit of train speed has been obtained. This is practical annihilation of space and time to the producer and consumer. Gladstone raises some practical fears in his article of 1878, in the *North American Review*, over the preservation of a fragmentary empire, like the British, in forty—and now with Burmah, forty-one—isolated portions. In our broad territory the railway system unifies all our interests.

This statement may be extended to cover the United States and more or less of Europe. The prices of bread and meat supplies in Chicago affect those of Liverpool, and so much so, that within the last ten years Great Britain has been moved to turn one-fourth of her wheat acreage to some other uses. In 1880, the United States exported \$389,000,000 worth of grains, meats, and the products of the dairy. As this importation must tone down prices there on these articles, it must compel a reduction on the prices of lands and rentals. It would be no very strange thing, therefore, if the land question of Ireland, and England, and Scotland, so often and for so long time postponed in parliament, should be forced to a settlement on our western prairies. The locomotive and the steamship are forcing English and American lands into juxtaposition. The new world has already done singular and surprising things for the old world. In reality, and as among bottom forces, the United States intro-

duced the English corn law question and closed it in 1848. The world grows smaller, the Atlantic Ocean narrower, St. Paul and London talk with each other hourly, and the human family, in its different branches, is coming to live nearer together, as in one city or block. The term "foreigner" is dying out—the highways between the nations are so many, and broad, and inexpensive. An old advertisement of fares on emigrant placards in England told more than the passer-by read: "London to Chicago, £6 8s." It will be wisely done, if Americans allow that term, "foreigner," to pass kindly and gently into disuse. Trade makes nations and laws, and one need not move long on the great channels of commerce, on both sides of the ocean, to notice that there are no foreigners.

The acres, and grains, and meats, and other supplies for human wants are coming nearer and nearer to the same prices in different cities, no matter what oceans or mountains lie between. All this was preordained when the locomotive first pulled out from Boston, and Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and when the first train of cars turned the pitch of the watershed on the Alleghanies and went "out west."

When those five shovelful of earth were thrown up, as on July 4, 1828, for the Baltimore & Ohio—the first passenger road in the United States—by Charles Carroll, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence; and for the first railroad in Ohio, 1835; and for the first in Illinois, and for the Kentucky, Frankfort & Lexington road,

both in 1838, deeds were done hardly surpassed by any industrial acts for the civilization of the world. When those last spikes were driven at the completion of the Union & Central Pacific railway and of the Northern Pacific; of the Southern and of the Mexican Central, the echo of the hammers and the salvos of artillery and the ringing of bells, sent good news to man like "the shot heard round the world." The human race never before took so long a stride as when they then stepped over the Alleghanies and struck out for the Pacific. It was our hap to see the waving banners and to hear the glad shouts when men passed westward through Winnipeg—the old Fort Garry of the Hudson Bay company—to drive the last spike for the Canadian Pacific early in November, 1885. Then another trunk road, believed to be the longest in the world—2906 miles—was completed and North America was put under another bond to aid the interests and keep the peace of mankind. How different from the time when old Fort Garry was in its glory of solitude, and the largest monopoly, save one, in the world, held sway over territory, "one-third larger than all Europe, larger than the United States of to-day Alaska included, by half a million square miles."*

For nearly two hundred years that iron monopoly kept white men and civilization out of that vast region, only letting in a man with a steel trap to bring out a beaver for the company. Now worthy emigrants from Great Britain

*Oregon: The Struggle for Possession. By William Barrows. Boston, 1885. p. 39.

will go in freely by the ten thousand, and factories will take the place of steel-traps around the waterfalls, and grain fields will be opened up equal to three times the area of all England.

But this chapter has to do with the United States, and we return from abroad and into the west. The power of the railway system to develop a country, naturally inviting, is well illustrated in Missouri. At the opening of the civil war that magnificent and almost empire state of more than 68,000 square miles, had only 600 miles of railroad in operation, but at the return of peace it took a new departure. "Instead of numbering our railroads by a few hundred miles, they are counted by thousands of miles [1883]. In that part of the state north of the Missouri river, there is not a single county which is not traversed by at least one railroad, and in many cases by many. South of the Missouri the supply of railroads is not so great, but yet it is very considerable. Instead of consuming a week to reach our great city from distant parts of our state, we can reach it from the same points in less than a day. Instead of having but one market, we have a multitude of markets; instead of being practically excluded from the world, many months every year we are in constant intercourse with it every day, and I might say every night. Large and important cities have sprung up in our midst. The log cabins of the farmer have been transformed into habitations of comfort, and many times of elegance. Our public school houses have been multiplied and enlarged, and in many

cases students of these institutions are fitted for Yale and Harvard. The price of farm labor, which in 1860 was eight and ten dollars per month and less, is now fifteen dollars per month or more. The entire assessed value of the real estate in Missouri was, in 1860, \$249,469,620.91; in 1880, \$406,104,426."^{*}

It should be considered that as late as 1850 there was not one mile of railroad west of the Mississippi river.

It has been stated that a railroad creates a market by shortening up time and space between producers and consumers, be it in agriculture or mechanics. Conjointly it stimulates production in sections naturally adapted to it, but formerly too distant from markets to make production profitable. In proving these two statements, a box of strawberries in Illinois will serve us equally as well as the Iron Mountain in Missouri, both waiting for cars. In June, 1869, the writer was visiting in Cobden, Illinois. The whole region was one vast fruit garden, opened about ten years before, on the advent of the Illinois Central railroad. There were peach orchards of 12,000 trees, and pear of 20,000, and strawberry beds of half an acre to ten acres each, as also immense quantities of small berries and early vegetables. The principal markets were Chicago, 323 miles, Milwaukee, 408, Detroit, 610, sometimes St. Louis, 120 miles. There were special express fruit trains, and these delicacies from the earlier and "sunny south" were hurried north. The

* 'The Railroad and the Farmer.' By Hon. Edward Atkinson, 1883, p. 54: In *Agricultural Review*, New York.

shipping clerk at the station furnished me these figures for the strawberry season of that year, nineteen days : 572,496 boxes, one quart each, equal to 17,890 bushels, forwarded. But for the railroad, only so many of these boxes would have been needed as would supply families and strawberry festivals in that border village.

In running down the Columbia River valley by cars, and up that river by steamer, in the autumn of 1885, our attention was called to immense salmon canneries on the banks; and to some huge fishing wheels or machines, projecting from the shore into the river. A leading operator in this interest informed me that during the current salmon season, mainly June and July, he had put up a million and a half of cans. A can of salmon is one pound and a case is forty-eight cans. Before the railroads were opened to the Pacific this branch of commerce was slight. In 1866 the product was only 4,000 cases, but in 1884 the number had gone up to 672,350 cases, which realized to the people more than three millions of dollars. "The foreign demand has become a settled fact, and Oregon canned salmon is being used in nearly all civilized countries as a daily article of diet." "Since the opening of the Northern Pacific, fresh salmon are exported to the eastern states in refrigerator cars, an export, although it bids fair to increase each year, which can only be conducted at each season for two or three months." All the United States to the eastward of the Rocky mountains is supplied with the canned salmon, while Australia,

England and other European markets are extensive customers, and the business is thought to be capable of great expansion.*

It is not necessary to schedule and tabulate all of the commercial interests on our northwest coast, which the railroad has created or caused to be developed, in order to show the relations of the railroad in our new country to national growth. The brevity to which we are constrained compels to the presentation of the topics by glances. It is due largely to the introduction of railroads into Oregon that the state had, in 1880, a population of 144,000, and farm value to the amount of \$56,000,000; manufactured goods for the year preceding amounted to almost \$11,000,000, and 1,782,537 head of live stock. Similar showing might be made of all the states between the Pacific and the Alleghanies; each was born of the railroad system, as one of the forces in the leading nations of the world. When Chicago had but one mail a week, in 1834, which was all it needed, the United States was quite in the rear among the nations. In 1880, Mulhall, comparing the nations and speaking of the industries of the world, says: "At present Great Britain holds the foremost place, but the United States will probably pass us in the ensuing decade."†

It is the locomotive which has hauled up the United States to the front in the procession of the nations.

* 'Progress of the State of Oregon and of the City of Portland, from 1870 to 1885.' By William Reid, 1885.

† 'Balance Sheet of the World for Ten Years—1870-1880,' pp. 3, 41.

In his Reports on the International exposition at Paris, in 1867, Michel Chevalier uses this remarkable expression: "It seems that the supreme authority is about to escape from western and central Europe, and to pass to the New World."

We recur to the railroad creation of markets and the utilization of neglected values. In 1870 I was over the Kansas Pacific—the year of its opening to Denver. At Salina we spent the night where cattle were waiting by the ten thousand to be sold and shipped east. Owners and purchasers and cow-boys thronged the station, and the herds covered the prairie in all directions toward the horizon. How those ranchmen of old, Abraham, and Lot, and Jacob and his twelve cow-boys, "whose trade had been about cattle from their youth," would have enjoyed that day and night at Salina, Kansas.

Between June and December of that year, the road was said to be under contract to ship east 70,000 head. Some of those herds were said to have been on the trail six months. They came from the Indian Territory and the extremes of Texas, and from ranches and ranges where New and Old Mexico border on each other—drives of five hundred, eight hundred, and even a thousand miles. A few years before there was not a mile of railroad west of the Mississippi to help on a steer toward his slaughter; and in that long distance from a meat market and a tannery he was not worth the stripping of his hide. As we have **seen**, they were worth only that in California in those days, though near to

shipping ports. Now by our railway system, those unlimited American pastures, in which England could be sequestered, have been placed, if we may so illustrate, just back of the abattoirs of Kansas City and St. Louis and Chicago and Brighton.

A month among the cattle and horse and sheep ranges in Wyoming, in the autumn of 1885, furnished a good sample of this great American industry, and the wealth which lies in it. Areas of natural pasture we passed over, where ample counties of New England could be placed in tier right and left and in front to the horizon; and beyond it another tier and so on, for Wyoming is as large as twelve states like Massachusetts, though it has a large per cent. which cannot be grazed. However, its river valleys and mesas and natural parks in the mountains are immeasurable for a month in the saddle. Its natural grasses, it is claimed, make better beef than grain-feeding in the east. Of the 197,497 head, purchased in one year by one cattle-dealer in Chicago, and for which he paid more than \$13,000,000, very few would know grain by sight or taste. In cattle, Wyoming leads nine of the United States, west of the Mississippi, and railroads on the three sides of the territory make a market accessible. But in riding over those pastures, limited somewhat by snow-peaked mountains, but more by the horizon, and seeing herds from one thousand to thirty thousand, it was painful to think how through centuries the country had lain waste, and a hungry world had waited for the locomotive to go in and

bring out beef. The ranch and range area of our country is about forty-four per cent. of the whole, excluding Alaska, and lies in fifteen states and territories. Abroad it would cover Great Britain, and Ireland, France, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and one-fifth of Russia in Europe combined. One is pardonable for being skeptical over this statement. The railroads are in good progress toward making this once immense waste land servicable to mankind, and many of the 49,417,782 head of cattle which were on it in 1884 are already on the way to the great meat markets of America, and to family tables on both sides of the Atlantic.

The increase of railroads and of agricultural products in the United States have moved off into our new country with an even pace, and indeed the evenness is remarkable. The number of miles of new road each year is inevitably followed by a proportional increase in the tonnage of products put on the market. A glance at 'Poor's Railway Manual' and the census returns and tabulated market reports for our national centres, will make this evident. In 1880 there were exported \$389,000,000 in value of grains, meats and dairy products. How impossible to have brought so much from inland to tide-water in the old methods, by horse and wheel and boat, and how senseless in the producers to have produced it for export. That year the tonnage of wheat alone raised in the country was 70,000,000. The idea of its movement to a market in the old ways would have been

a commercial absurdity, but it is now carried as flour a thousand miles, at a cost of from five to seven dollars a ton. In other words, a barrel of flour can be carried from Minneapolis, where they manufacture 27,000 barrels a day, to New York, for a price varying from fifty cents to seventy-five. And it is stated on good authority that during the last twenty years no prices, in leading interests, have fallen like those of transportation; so that it is said that his fair wages for one day will freight to his depot the supplies of a laboring man for a year. His breakfast and dinner and supper and household comforts are brought to his family door at very low rates, and where Vanderbilt gains his penny by the transportation, the workingman gains fifty or a hundred. With many in New England the memory is still fresh, when the great sleigh, with its load of beef, and pork, and poultry, and butter, and cheese, and oats, glided from the hills over snow banks to go "below." After ten days, or twenty of them, it returned with West India goods and groceries, and cottons, and cloths, and prints. The "good old times" returned, as some sigh for them, would put the old sleigh on the road again, and there would come back in it what we saw in the stores in The Aroostook, twenty-five years ago, hand cards, and flax wheels, and the family loom.

The sighing for other days to come back, and the mourning of the aged, and the fossil young over sad and degenerate changes, usually gives amusement in quiet. Every age has it, and every improvement is admitted with

regrets and under protests. In 1673 there was published "The Grand Concern of England Explained." It gravely shows the miseries and trials and the ruin of trade, occasioned by the invention and use of coaches.

For the present, and for a long time to come, in the United States, it cannot be a question of production of the cereals, and meats, and articles of heavy manufacture, for which we have the raw material in the natural state and in great abundance, but it will be a question of transportation and delivery. The annihilation of space and time will continue and probably be intensified and our broad domain will become more and more as one place for the market of our products with one price. During the last ten years the cost of distribution by the longer and combined railroads has been reduced one-half and we are warranted in hoping for increased reduction.

Probably not more than one-sixth of our arable land is yet under the plough, so that we may anticipate not only a continuous but large expansion of the railway system. Mr. Atkinson, in his admirable pamphlet above quoted, estimates that within the present century the development and wants of the country will demand and add about one hundred and twenty thousand miles more to the present system of railroads. As our growth in the line of new settlements, agriculture and manufactures has usually exceeded even ardent predictions, the above estimate will probably prove to be moderate if not timid, compared with final fact.

Nor let it be supposed that these anticipations and predictions rest wholly in the region beyond the Mississippi. It is thought that a region could be outlined with a centre in the Cumberland mountains and margins, running into Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, embracing several fold more wheat acreage than Great Britain, and quite as good, not to mention its adaptation to the production of tobacco, and hemp, and corn, and cattle horses and mules. Of the mineral resources there but little is known, yet enough to establish large expectations in the line of coal, iron, copper and salt. The area might be as large as Great Britain and Ireland—one hundred and twenty thousand square miles. This region is but little known, sparsely populated, and the inhabitants of one-half of it are so isolated that they are said to be clothed in homespun and have yet to see the first wheeled carriage and locomotive. Probably by many American travelers the Swiss mountains are much better understood than the Cumberland, and the railroad has yet much to do in exploring and opening up our own country to our own people.

This steady growth of the railway system into our new territory is an exceedingly interesting manifestation of modern civilization, and a few diagrams of its progress would be impressive. Let them indicate the movement of railroads westward from the Alleghanies to the Pacific in periods of ten years each, beginning with 1840, when the locomotives were taking first looks into the great west. A skeleton map with state

boundaries, principal rivers, and the railway growth for each successive period of ten years—four periods down to 1880—would be a surprising story and study east of the Alleghanies, and specially east of the Hudson. Each decade should be marked in different colors. No large portion of the world ever took on so great a change in four successive decades.

How like some living thing this railway creature has rushed off into space this way and that, across plains, over rivers and through mountains, reaching out with its tentacles, feeling for a way and a place and making fast. One cannot avoid thought of the simile of Ezekiel when in his vision he saw the living creatures on wheels. "At first a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud and a fire enfolding itself. And the creatures went every one straight forward. Whither the spirit was to go, they went; and they turned not when they went. Their feet were straight feet. The spirit of the living creature was in the wheels and the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning." Did Ezekiel ever see a locomotive?

No one must be skeptical over the continuance of this settlement of wild country and development of its resources and consequent supply of the markets of the world. Five-sixths of the arable land of the United States is yet waiting for the plow. Vast tracts, once called desert, wait only for irrigation, to be ploughed; and when the government organizes a water system as it has a land system, it will be found that with rainfall and rivers, the land and the water

of our country are in fair proportions. The Missouri, the Colorado and the Columbia, starting near together, central for the regions needing irrigation and ten thousand feet above tide water, may be and yet will be made to do much in wetting this country. Already the western farmer, with this process and that, and this product and that, has driven the Great American Desert from our school geographies. "Whither the spirit was to go they went, and they turned not when they went," and the doomed lands of Pike and Long and Hazen, not farmers but soldiers, are controlling the prices of meats and bread-stuffs in foreign markets.

Moreover, the United States has the multiplying population and the national policy to continue this wonderful development. In the decade ending with 1879 our increase in population was 11,920,000. Mulhall says: "This is three times the European rate of increase, and double that of England or Germany."*

A few comparisons will aid in forecasting our growth by showing how largely the chances are with us. Leaving out Alaska from the United States, and Russia and Turkey from Europe, let us set in contrast in several particulars the two countries. As to area, the United States has two square miles to Europe's one, as above reduced, while the arable land in the two is equal. Europe has one hundred and forty-five persons to the square mile, and the United States about sixteen. The debt

* 'Balance Sheet of the World for Ten Year, 1870-1880,' pp. 117, 118.

of Europe averages to the individual—1880—\$74.64, and in the United States \$36.85. Since 1848, when the United States had comparatively no debt, the European has increased three fold, and is still increasing. In 1866 our war debt averaged \$83.35 to a person, but in 1880 had been reduced to the above figures. The national expenditures in Europe averaged \$10.15 to the person, and in the United States \$5.35. Taxes on the earnings of the people in Italy, France and Great Britain averaged twenty per cent. and in the United States nine and one-fourth. In Europe one man in five of all fit to bear arms is a soldier in active service, and in the United States one in four hundred. In the army and navy of Europe there are in camp and barracks and on shipboard 2,100,000 able-bodied men. These are not producers, and so not only detract so much from the producing forces of these European nations, but consume the labors of very many in their support. The standing army of the United States is twenty-five thousand only. While the war policy and the war footing of these European states withdraw so much from their progressive force, the United States, with her peace policy and small army, is left quietly to develop the continent and enlarge the nation. If they go to war and we continue at work, who can doubt our continued progress, in which Gladstone said we were passing Great Britain "in a canter?"

Some per cents. of growth given in the census of 1880 are worthy of grateful memory. In the decade of 1870—

1880, New Mexico had increased 30 per cent.; Nevada, 47; California, 54; Utah, 66; Montana, 90; Oregon, 92; Texas, 94; Idaho, 117; Wyoming, 128; Kansas, 173; Washington, 214; Nebraska, 268; Arizona, 319. These figures warrant some ardent anticipations for the census of 1890.

There is no one power in the country which carries civilization so fast and disseminates it so widely as the railroad. In 1870 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé was open as far as Las Animas, in Colorado; and it was exceedingly interesting to study the effects of its advent. It began at once to reconstruct the plan of the old Mexican town, with its streets and lanes beginning anywhere and ending nowhere, in vanishing lines. Its only feature, evidently designed, was its *plaza*, or atomic centre and original camping-ground, from which the town had been evolved, as in a spider's web. The engineers and locomotive marked out the first straight line in Las Animas, and the village, when we were there, was trying to make other straight lines, and right-angles and fronts to the houses, adapted to the railroad, the regenerator. This movement was compelling obvious and sometimes violent distinctions between front and back yards; also producing some wooden houses among the adobes. Chairs and ploughs and bedsteads had arrived from the states, and some wheels which had spokes and iron tires. The great American time-keeper had arrived, the locomotive, and they were awkwardly getting used to it. They had been living on the time-table introduced into New Spain by Cortez

and Coronado, which was exact enough to recognize sunset and sunrise. In later excursions we found that this road had gone along to Pueblo, and Santa Fé, and Albuquerque, and El Paso, running vigorously there into the Europe of the sixteenth century, and working revolution enough to haul in the nineteenth century. It had introduced the kitchen from the north, to the bewilderment of men and women; and we shall not soon forget with what satisfaction and idea of advancing civilization a gentleman at Albuquerque showed us through his new adobe, ornamented with cabinet furniture, upholstery, and all that and all that, from the states. He had indeed the white elephant of the old Aztec country. This must not seem so strange in the rising man, for as late as 1846 the adobe palace in Santa Fé was said to be the only building in New Mexico which had window glass.

Not only has the railroad system been the great, if not the greatest, civilizing means and power in our new and wild country, but it is the binding power of the union of the states. It may be gravely doubted whether sixty millions, so free in all their civil action, and so widely scattered, could be kept willingly under one government without easy and speedy intercourse through all sections.

Moreover, the railway system makes it impossible that any one point in the country should be fatally vulnerable to the whole. Such a body politic has no heel of Achilles. It was before we had railroads that Jefferson said so wisely in a letter to Livingstone, at Paris, in 1802 :

There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans—through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market; and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants.

Jefferson had heard with regret and anxiety that France had recovered her ancient Louisiana. But with railways radiating from that fertile valley to each ocean, the lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, his anxieties would be readily abated, since they could concentrate the strength of the whole nation at the most needy point. To be of one mind and under one law, statesmen, business men, scholars and educators need to meet and know each other, see face to face that they have one interest, and so come to a union in purposes and plans and action. When a country, under one government, is too large to have national men, it is too large for prosperity and perpetuity. When John Bright was discussing the question of Canadian fortifications in the house of commons, in 1865, he spoke of Englishmen as a people "who appear to have more sense the farther they go from their own country." He might have safely extended that remark to all who speak English. Calhoun's life worked in three centres—his home in the hill country of South Carolina, luxurious and aristocratic Charleston, and Washington. The first two places were all of our country which he could carry to the third. Hence the able provincial was unfortunate in his lack of travel and as narrow as he was strong in his sectional movements. Randolph well states the case of so many radical and provincial

extremists in the north and in the south :

With regard to the battle cry of "State Right," seven-tenths of the voters of the north hardly know what a southern man means when he pronounces the words. Thus we presented to the world the curious spectacle of a people so ignorant of one another, so little homogeneous, that nearly all on one side of an imaginary line were willing to risk their lives for an idea which the inhabitants on the other side of the line not only did not entertain but knew nothing about.

It now seems very strange to us that Massachusetts should have instructed her representatives in congress in 1813 to ask for the repeal of the bill which admitted the state of Louisiana to the Union the preceding year, but Louisiana then was as far off as China is to-day. The trip from Boston to New York required more time and discomfort than the one now to San Francisco. Travelers were called at three in the morning, and with a farthing candle and horn lantern got under way, and toiled over miserable roads till ten at night. The use of his shoulder or a rail by the passenger to pass a quagmire is no original custom of the western prairie. Like so many of their hardy virtues and practices for hard places, our frontier men inherited them from New England, If the travelers were fairly fortunate they would arrive in New York on the six or seventh day.*

On one occasion, and about the time when Massachusetts was moving this action on Louisiana, Mr. Quincy spent

* 'Life of Josiah Quincy,' by Edmund Quincy, pp. 47, 48. See also 'Recollections of Samuel Breck,' who says: "I have myself been nine days going from New York to Boston"—pp. 90-99, 100-103, 271-273. And more generally on travel in those times, see 'Letters of Aaron Burr to his Wife,' and 'Arnold's Life of Benedict Arnold.'

a month in his own carriage in going from Boston to Washington. In those times the rates of public conveyance over the Alleghanies was forty miles in twenty-four hours, and the round trip between Cincinnati and New Orleans was about six months. A Russian post in Siberia is to-day no further from Massachusetts than Louisiana then was.

It was this distance and inaccessibility of the southwest from New England, which make some views and remarks of eastern men in those earlier days surprising and amusing, and always pardonable. When the bill for admitting Louisiana as a state was under discussion, in January, 1811, Josiah Quincy, representative from Massachusetts, said:

You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into 'hotch-pot' with the wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed, though more respectable race of Anglo-Hispano-Gallo Americans, who bask on the sands in the mouth of the Mississippi. * * Do you suppose the people of the Northern and Atlantic States will, or ought to look on with patience, and see representatives and senators from the Red River and Missouri pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard fifteen hundred miles at least from their residence?†

How the vigor of that question is reduced when we insert four days in the place of fifteen hundred miles!

From woods and lakes and desert wilderness legislators issue, controlling the destinies of a seaboard people, paralyzing all their interests and darkening all their prospects. * * A whirlwind from the west is passing over those massy pillars of our greatness, and they are already prostrate, * *

* from your councils, and out from your confidence be every man, who will not maintain the old foundation of New England prosperity. Follow no longer the doctrines and commandments of men from the mountains, contend earnestly for the com-

† 'Life of Edmund Quincy,' by his Son. Little & Brown, Boston, 1874.

mercial faith delivered to your fathers, and let him who will not stand up for it, be to you worse than an infidel.*

Only railroads were needed to convert such fears into glowing visions, which to-day are realized in grand national facts. The Baltimore & Ohio, the Louisville & Cincinnati, the Chicago, St. Louis & New Orleans—these or other roads have put Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi and the Missouri nearer to Mr. Quincy's old home than New York was when he so eloquently expressed his anxieties. The revolution in travel and the condensation of the country by steam have been wonderful and beyond the comprehension of business men, born since those days. And the opposition to the revolution and condensation was equally wonderful. Of the scheme for the Boston & Albany railroad, the *Boston Courier* says: "A project which every one knows, who knows the simplest rules of arithmetic, to be impracticable." And as late as 1842, the town of Dorchester voted: "That our representatives be instructed to use their utmost endeavors to prevent, if possible, so great a calamity to our town as must be the location of any railroad through it; and if that can not be prevented, to diminish this calamity as far as possible," by locating it along the marsh.

"Whoever," says Webster, "would serve his country in this our day, with whatever degree of talent, great or small, it may have pleased the Almighty Power to give him, he cannot serve it, he

will not serve it, unless he be able to extend his political designs, purposes, and objects till they shall comprehend the whole country, of which he is a servant."†

Yet when speaking in the Senate in 1838, on Preëmption he said: "Of the southwest I know but little." When, however, nine years later, he was making remarks at the New England dinner in Charleston, South Carolina, he expressed those very excellent views: "I concur with you cordially, gentlemen, in the sentiment that mutual intercourse strengthens mutual regard, and that the more citizens of different parts of the country see one another, the more will asperities be softened and differences reconciled."‡

It is to be deeply regretted that such intercourse could not have been had all through the first half of the present century, between the north and the south. Possibly some other intercourse would have had its asperities softened if not wholly prevented by it. In the introduction to Webster's Southern Tour, 1847, the editor remarks, that "the receptions were rendered peculiarly interesting by the unusual nature of such an occurrence as the visit of a highly distinguished New England statesman to the south." That lack of intercourse was no good omen for the interests of either section, or of the whole country. Yet the breadth of domain and the infelicities and sometimes impossibilities of travel, kept the north and the south and the east and the west in great ig-

*Address of Edmund Quincy before the Washington Benevolent Society, Boston, 1813. *Life*, etc., 309-316.

† *New England Festival*, New York, 1843.

‡ *'Webster's Works,'* Vol. II, p. 376.

norance of each other. Happily, in the immensity of the public domain, those obstacles are now removed, and one may reach any of the great centres between the two oceans, and the Canadian and Mexican borders in six or eight days. The harmony and strengthening and prosperity of the Union lie in this speedy and easy travel between all parts of it.

The outlook for the United States would be better, let it be added, if there were more home travel by her citizens, before there is so much travel by them in foreign lands. Scholarly pursuits of ancient and foreign history, and pleasurable rambles in foreign climes add an estimable charm to companionship and general society, while statesmanship and serviceable citizenship call for the ornament and the strength which come from personal knowledge of one's own land. The American exchange at London reports astonishing expenditures in Europe by Americans. Basing the estimate on letters of credit to European banking houses, the number of travelers from America has been marked as high as sixty thousand in one year, and their expenditure as high as one hundred and eighty million dollars—probably an overestimate.

An extract will not be out of place here from a letter of Washington to the tutor of young Curtis, Washington's stepson, when the question of foreign travel by him was under consideration: "It is to be expected that every man, who travels with a view of observing the laws and customs of other countries, should be able to give some description

of the situation and government of his own."*

This sixty thousand might, perhaps, furnish a select audience of such of their number as have not been a thousand miles from home in their own country, for the Reverend Doctor Bushnell says: "The sooner we have railroads and telegraphs spinning into the wilderness, and setting the remotest hamlet in connection and close proximity with the east, the more certain it is that light, good manners, and Christian civilization will become universally diffused."†

It is thought and hoped that the railroads of the country will have no little to do in harmonizing the theological sects, and so in economizing the religious and financial forces of the church in the United States. The religious wars by the sword in olden times and those by the pen then and now have come much from the cloister, and priest, and divine, and not from the wide observations of life, or from diverse causes among ordinary and good people. Men, religious, so-called, have quietly, and in the solitariness of study, run their thoughts along in the lines of musty parchment, or of letter-press, and have framed and mastered sentences and then marshalled them into polemical theology and so led to the organization of denominational skirmishers. Hence the wars of the phrases and of the paragraphs, which waste so much good feeling, and strength, and sacred money, ink, and paper and type. The struggles come on the battlefields of belief, not of life.

*Irving's *Life of 'Washington,'* Vol. I, p. 367.

†A Discourse, *Barbarism the First Danger*, 1847.

If reverend and cloister and lecture-room dogmatists had moved freely and frequently and observingly among the people who are living a Christian and exemplary life, they could not have organized the sects from any differences in their living. It is a catechism and not difference in Christian life which organizes theological campaigns, and makes great church expenses for holy wars. Travel among other religious bodies, and candid, domestic observation on their religious life broadens and softens the local and the provincial religion. This travel and observations are apt to slip one's theological phrases and devout mannerisms out of the quotation marks in which he has received them by inheritance. He is exposed to doing his own thinking and expressing, which is always dangerous to religious sects, created by phrase-makers among people who are living the same Christian life.

We therefore give the hand of Christian fellowship to the locomotive as a peacemaker, as harmonizing and economizing Christian forces. It brings new currents of thought to the cloister, hangs new pictures of holy faiths and life in the galleries of the old masters, and reveals a Christian kinship broader than any holy league and covenant. The railroad does vastly more than to work for commerce and dividends and civilization. It is an evangelist.

California and Oregon and Washington would have been an impossibility without our Pacific railways. A quick circuit of thought and feeling between the old Atlantic and the new Pacific

homes was a demand as inexorable as a necessity of nature. The new west, to thrive, must have the footsteps and voices of the old homestead as next door neighbors. The early French and Spanish colonies in America, pined and dwarfed by isolation, and those splendid Dutch and Christian farmers, cotemporary with the New England fathers, degenerated into the present semi-civilized Boers of South Africa, because they lost contact and close communication with the fatherland. With education and Christianity coming tardily to the rescue of cities, and villages springing from gold mines, the railway is their greatest hope for law, order, equity, morality, and more than all for the recognized and sanctified home of marriage, without which there is no civilization. For all the high and noble ends of society, a bonnet is more than a gold mine.

The social and moral and religious benefits of our flowing together are already happily obvious in a thousand modern ways of union where theology gives place to religion, and living is more than believing. A railroad between Jerusalem and Samaria would be a wonderful aid for the passengers and freight in the great business and commerce of godliness. Voltaire puts the point well in his definition of an educated man—and we would include religious—as “one who is not satisfied to survey the universe from his parish belfry.” We assent to the text of the chapter, “If there were to be no railroads, it was, on the whole, rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America.”

WILLIAM BARROWS.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

III.

THE letter quoted at the close of our last article passed into history as the "blood letting letter." Though purely personal, it was made public, published, and was, within a few days, in every hand at Washington.

Senator Powell of Kentucky brought the newspaper publication to Mr. Chandler and asked if he had written the letter, as reported. The latter answered that, as the communication was a private one, he had kept no copy and could not vouch for its literal correctness, as published, but that the sentiments were his and he adopted it as his. Mr. Powell brought the letter before the senate, and Mr. Chandler made a vigorous speech, reaffirming the sentiment and dealing heavy blows at the enemies of the government. To the end of his career he was called upon to meet this letter. It was flaunted in the press, denounced upon the stump and quoted in the senate. Four times, in that body, it gave him opportunities to speak and excoriate his opponents, but never did he palliate it or withdraw one jot of its meaning.

Though there were many times when Mr. Chandler and Mr. Lincoln had different views as to matters of policy, they were both working honestly and devotedly for the same end, and the general confidence and esteem they had for each

other was never impaired. Lincoln was very anxious that the south should bear the whole *onus* of the war so clearly that all the world might know ; he was anxious, too, to give time for preparation and was perhaps sometimes over-fearful of too severely taxing the public opinion of the north. Mr. Chandler was exceedingly radical and aggressive, caring as little for the fire in the rear as for the fire in the front. He was especially opposed to giving cabinet offices to men of whose loyalty there was the slightest doubt, and was one of those through whose influence the President was induced to forego his plan of tendering portfolios to James Guthrie of Kentucky and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. He urged the arrest of openly disloyal members of congress ; was ready for confiscation, emancipation and the arming of the blacks, before Mr. Lincoln deemed the time ripe ; looked with favor upon the strong policy of Fremont, while in command at St. Louis, and was, in general, more advanced in his view of the powers and the policy of the administration than was the President. With all this, Mr. Lincoln received no aid more warm and constant than that given by him.

When Fort Sumter was surrendered, on the thirteenth of April, Mr. Chandler was in Detroit. On the fifteenth the

President called for seventy-five thousand troops ; on the same day Mr. Chandler wrote to Secretary Cameron that Michigan would send all the troops that could be used, and that two regiments would be ready in thirty days. The two regiments were enlisted in four days, with one hundred thousand dollars raised by subscription to equip them. Of this sum, General Cass, who had indignantly resigned from Buchanan's cabinet, gave thirty thousand dollars. Michigan sent but one three months regiment to the field, all the rest of her magnificent contribution being long term men.

Thus at the outset, and throughout the war, Mr. Chandler's service at home was almost equal to that he performed in Washington. He gave his money freely to the cause, but did more and better, speaking and writing, exhorting the people to action and to confidence, until they caught the force of his enthusiasm, and, in the darkest days of the war, never wavered. Every Michigan soldier knew "old Zach." by name, thousands knew his face, and hundreds have him to thank for acts of kindness and words of cheer. The dustiest, raggedest blue coat applicant for his aid, had a claim to royal precedence, and they all knew that if they needed influence or money, they had but to ask him. Not the iron rule of Stanton himself could avail to delay him in such a service.

Mr. Chandler was in Washington when the First Michigan arrived, and remained there, or at the front, assisting in organization, supplying deficiencies in the

commissariat and giving other practical aid to the secretary of war. All this time he was urging a strong policy and vigorous war. He never lost confidence in the result, but he regretted that Mr. Lincoln had not called for five hundred thousand men instead of seventy-five thousand, and he knew that the short term enlistment was a mistake, as it was terribly proven to be at the battle of Bull Run.

The extra session of congress, called by the President, opened on the fourth day of July, and, on the following day, Mr. Chandler gave notice of his intention to present a bill providing for the confiscation of the property of all governors of states, members of the legislature, judges of courts and officers of the army—above the rank of lieutenant—who should take up arms against the United States, or aid or abet treason. He thought such a measure would restrain wavering persons, and aid in punishing traitors, and would reach an influential class in Washington and Baltimore, who promised and did much harm. This bill was emasculated and passed, but a year later, congress came to his views.

The extra session adjourned on the sixth of August, after having done an unprecedented amount of business, including the voting of five hundred thousand men and five hundred millions of dollars for the purposes of war.

Mr. Chandler was one of the members of Congress who joined the army of the Potomac the night before the battle of Bull Run, and the next day watched the progress of the fight. When the stampede of teamsters, sup-

ernumeraries and stragglers, which "Bull Run" Russell took for a general rout, was at its height, he, with Senator Wade, and Representatives Blaxe, Riddle and Morris, sprang from their carriages and, armed with Maynard rifles and revolvers, arrested the fugitives, using actual force in some cases, and held them until a New Jersey regiment came up, hastening to the field, and turned them back. He from the first took the utmost interest in the operations of the troops in the field, and circumstances placed him, throughout the war, in a position of such intimacy with military matters, that few men in the United States knew more of the minute and inner history of the war.

Soon after the assembling of congress, in December, 1861, he offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of three, to inquire into the disasters of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff. The resolution was so amended as to provide for a joint committee of both houses, and its scope enlarged to include the whole field of "the conduct of the war." This was the origin of the famous committee of that name. Mr. Chandler especially desired that he should not be made chairman of the committee and privately intimated to Vice-President Hamlin that Mr. Wade's appointment to that place would please him. The committee, as appointed, consisted of Senators Benjamin F. Wade, Zachariah Chandler and Andrew Johnson, and Representatives Daniel W. Gooch, John Covode, George W. Julian and Moses F. Odell. Senator Joseph A. Wright subsequently succeeded Mr. Johnson,

but retired from the senate a year later and, thenceforth, throughout the thirty-seventh congress Mr. Chandler and Mr. Wade constituted the senate branch of the committee, and both so served until the end.

When Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Cameron heard of the appointment of this committee, they were apprehensive lest it should embarrass rather than facilitate the conduct of the war. General Scott and General McClellan shared this fear. Learning of the anxiety of Mr. Lincoln, Senators Wade and Chandler called upon him and so expressed themselves as to completely relieve his mind. The committee, if composed of weak or unwise men, might have proved a ruinous agency, but it was, instead, of incalculable service. It stood between the President and war department, on the one hand, and congress on the other, preventing the interference of the latter and giving it confidence that would not else have existed. It made investigations and collected information which could not otherwise have been obtained, and placed these at the service of Mr. Lincoln and his secretary of war. It investigated the causes of disasters and means of preventing them, and contributed to the *morale* of the armies by hunting down cabals and disaffection, and fixing responsibility therefor. With no cumbersome machinery, it sustained the authority of the executive by the sanction of congress and promptly secured needed legislation.

The *entente cordial* between the committee, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Cameron and later, Mr. Stanton, was never broken.

West Point irreconcilables and their comrades who found legitimate investigations inconvenient, were loud in their outcry against "civilian interference," but the committee, almost continually in session, found the President's door always open and the secretary of war was often present at its meetings and made free use of its papers.

It is impracticable to say more of the minute work of the committee, but an important act of Mr. Chandler, to which his place as one of its members led him, cannot be passed.

When General McClellan was appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac, the Michigan senator shared in the confidence and hope that led the President and secretary to assign him to the command. How that confidence was betrayed and that hope disappointed; how the precious months of a vast army were wasted, with a vastly inferior army within crushing distance; how thousands of valuable lives were sacrificed to the miasma of Virginia swamps, victories won and wasted by inaction—all the history of inglorious warfare with shovel and pickaxe, which, with superhuman ingenuity, denied victory to our splendid soldiers, is known.

This knowledge came to the committee on the conduct of the war, sooner than to the people at large, for that committee was not deceived by the artful *claque* inspired by political managers and reënforced by sympathizers with secession. It became convinced that McClellan's failure was due not alone to incompetency, but to faint heartedness, and that the army was full of his

sympathizers and would never be what it should be until purged of him and them.

When this became evident, Mr. Chandler resolved to assail McClellan in the senate. He postponed his speech, at the request of Mr. Stanton—who entirely sympathized with the plan, until the conclusion of the current campaign, but after the battle of Malvern Hill his hands were free. He set himself deliberately to the task of collating the matter bearing upon McClellan's series of abortions, from the voluminous records of the committee, which included immense masses of matter unknown to the people at large or to congress, and when he was prepared to support every proposition with original and credible evidence, deemed himself ready for the assault. When all was prepared, he submitted his points to a friend and then said :

"Knowing all these facts, what is my duty?"

The answer was :

"Beyond all question these facts ought to be laid before the country, for the knowledge of them is essential to its safety. But they will create a storm that will sweep either you or McClellan from public life, and it is more than probable that you will be the victim."

"I did not ask your opinion of the consequences, but of my duty," said Mr. Chandler.

"The speech ought to be made," was the response, "and and no one else will make it."

It was made that day, the sixteenth day of July, 1862. Mr. Chandler followed Mc-

Clellan's campaigns minutely, pitilessly, day after day, and week after week, describing the magnitude of his means, the inferiority of his antagonists and the absolute nothingness of his results. Here are but a few sentences, though it is almost unfair to quote from a speech so compressed and interdependent :

"This is called strategy ! Again, sir, I ask, why is this great Army of the Potomac, with three hundred and twenty thousand men, divided ? Human ingenuity could not have devised any other way to defeat that army. Divine wisdom could scarcely have devised any other way to defeat it than that which was adopted. There is no army in Europe to-day that could meet the Army of the Potomac, when it was two hundred and thirty thousand strong, the best fighting material ever put into an army on the face of the earth. Why was that great army divided. * * *. If the one hundred and fifty-eight thousand men that were sent to General McClellan had been marched upon the enemy, they could have whipped all the armies the Confederates have and all they are likely to have for six months. One hundred and fifty-eight thousand men are as many as can be fought on any one battle field. One hundred and fifty-eight thousand men are a vast army, a great deal larger army than that with which Napoleon destroyed six hundred thousand Austrians in a single year. One hundred and fifty-eight thousand men, ably handled, can defeat any force the Confederates can raise ; and that is the force that went down to the Peninsula. But, sir, it lay in ditches, digging, drinking rotten water, and eating bad food, and sleeping in the mud, until it became greatly reduced in numbers and, of those that were left, very many were injured in health. Still they fought, still they conquered in every fight, and still they retreated, because they were ordered to retreat."

It required courage of a high order to make such a speech. It caused a profound sensation. Many of those who doubted McClellan, condemned it as unwise and demoralizing ; McClellan's friends were enraged, but Chandler was unmoved. He rated the McClellan speech as the most important of his

life ; students of history go further and place it, by virtue of its effects, among the most important of the war period.

Enough has been said to indicate the nature and suggest the extent of Mr. Chandler's war services, and this must suffice. Save the President and one member of the cabinet, no civilian took a more constant, general and actual part in the prosecution of the war. In wise zeal and earnest devotion, he was second to none.

Mr. Chandler threw himself into the Michigan campaign of 1862, against the reactionary movement caused by the draft and by unsatisfactory military conditions, with all his energy. The opposition had formed a fusion of all the available elements from "Copperheads" to weak Republicans, and made an especial point of the "radicalism" of Mr. Chandler. He took his stand squarely upon the platform of radicalism, defended every one of his acts and utterances, as well as emancipation and confiscation ; urged that there were but two parties—traitors and loyalists—and won upon these lines, though the majorities were reduced and one representative in congress lost. He was reëlected to the senate by an unanimous vote. At the same time six states, Republican in 1860, gave Democratic victories, and, in ten states which, in 1860 gave a total Republican majority of two hundred thousand, the opposition majority was thirty-five thousand.

In the presidential campaign of 1864, Mr. Chandler performed a service of great value and extreme delicacy. While the tide of war had evidently

turned and Mr. Lincoln's hold upon the majority of Republicans was secure, there was strong disaffections among the leaders of the party. In some cases this was due to personal rivalry, in some to disappointment in office-seeking, but the largest and most respectable element was composed of men who did not deem his policy sufficiently radical and aggressive.

During the month of April there met at Cleveland a convention of radical Republicans, which bitterly condemned the administration for its methods of prosecuting the war, its attitude toward slavery and other matters of policy, and nominated John C. Fremont, for President, and John Cochrane, of New York, for vice-president. Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass were among those who signed the call for this convention, and Horace Greeley for a time gave it his countenance. It developed no strength, however, and would have passed almost unnoticed, had not a serious disagreement arisen between congress and the president, involving the question of reconstruction. Mr. Lincoln had issued an amnesty proclamation and announced a basis of reconstruction, under which Louisiana and Arkansas reorganized and elected senators and representatives. This was bitterly condemned in congress as intrinsically objectionable and as usurping legislative prerogatives. The recognition of the reconstructed states was prevented and, on the last day of the session, a bill was passed prescribing a radically different system. From this the President withheld his signature.

On the eighth day of July he issued a proclamation explaining his reasons for not signing the bill and this so incensed Senator Wade of Ohio, and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, as to cause them to unite in a manifesto which strongly assailed what it characterized as the presumption and usurpation of the President. No men in congress were ever more undoubtedly loyal than were the signers of this paper, and its effect was immediately seen in the new spirit of the opponents of Mr. Lincoln.

It seemed evident to the most thoughtful men of the party, that the political choice lay between Lincoln and the Union, and disunion, represented by the discredited nominee of the Valandigham-ridden Chicago convention; that the Wade-Davis branch and—consequently—the Fremont ticket, threatened Lincoln's defeat, and that a peace must be effected.

For this difficult service Mr. Chandler was selected. He was a radical and had opposed the reconstruction policy of Mr. Lincoln, yet he respected him, favored his election and possessed his confidence. He was a warm friend of Wade and of Fremont, and knew Mr. Davis well. Setting about his work, he went to Jefferson, Ohio, and saw Mr. Wade at his home. Mr. Wade saw the logic of circumstances and agreed to withdraw his opposition and aid the Lincoln canvass, if the President would yield to the radicals the retirement of Mr. Blair from his cabinet. Thence, Mr. Chandler went to Washington and procured this concession, to which Mr.

Blair had announced his readiness to cheerfully bow ; thence to Mr. Davis, securing his concurrence, and finally to New York, where he compassed the very difficult task of securing the withdrawal of the Cleveland nominations. He then hastened to Michigan, and spoke almost daily until the close of the campaign.

Immediately after the assassination of President Lincoln, Mr. Chandler, with other members of the war committee, called upon Mr. Johnson. He had been a member of their committee, and they were all upon terms of personal intimacy. Their principal errand was to urge upon him the advisability of making a salutary example of some of the prominent leaders of the Confederacy. They found him irrational and vindictive in his rage against Davis and his associates, and for several weeks they feared he would bring discredit upon the government by some act of ill-judged severity. How he gradually cooled and at last permitted all the guilty men to escape, the world knows. His subsequent desertion of his party and quarrel with congress ; the impeachment and its failure, are also familiar. Mr. Chandler began to suspect Johnson, when he so suddenly veered about in the matter of the trials for treason. When he became convinced of his essential bad faith, he waited upon him at the White House, told him, in good round terms, how he regarded his action and left him forever. The failure of the impeachment was one of Chandler's bitterest disappointments.

The election to the presidency of

Ulysses S. Grant, to which he largely contributed, again opened relations between Mr. Chandler and the White House, upon his return to Washington to take the senatorial oath for the third time. The friendship and respect of the men for each other, different as they were, was a matter of daily growth, and continued unbroken until Mr. Chandler's death.

His service in the senate during Grant's presidency, was largely connected with the detail of important business, but such as throws no additional light upon his character—matters of finance, southern relations, and the like. He supported the civil rights bill and the fifteenth amendment, served upon several commissions to investigate Ku-klux outrages, and carefully contested the efforts of pretended Unionists, who were actual Confederates, to push war claims upon the government. Incidentally to this, he performed a valuable service, during a recess of congress, by purchasing upon his own responsibility and with his own money, for the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, a vast quantity of the archives of the Confederate government. These he subsequently transferred to the United States government for the price he paid, and, by their evidence, assaults upon the treasury which would otherwise have drained it of enormous sums, have been defeated. It is almost unnecessary to say that he promptly returned the corrupt "back pay" which had been voted against his earnest opposition, but, unlike many others equally punctilious in the return of the money, he re-

quested that the fact of his doing so be kept secret.

The year 1874 was everywhere a hard one for the party in power, the prevalent depression in business being very illogically deemed to reflect upon its administration. In Michigan a trying campaign was made more difficult by a coalition between the Democrats and the opponents of prohibition, who wished to secure a license law. In spite of these obstacles, Mr. Chandler's consummate leadership carried the party to success, by a majority of 5,969. Three of nine representatives were elected by the Democrats, and there was a joint majority of but ten votes in the legislature.

Mr. Chandler's term was to expire March 4, 1875, and he was a candidate for reelection. He could not have done his duty for eighteen trying years without making enemies, and these, taking courage from the small majority, determined to defeat him, if possible. Several did not go into the caucus, which gave him fifty-two votes, against five divided among three other candidates. His opponents, however, made a compromise with the Democrats and liquor men, agreeing upon Isaac P. Christiancy, one of the judges of the supreme court, whose Republicanism had not been too strict to prevent Democrats from accepting him, and, upon proceeding to an election in the legislature, six Republicans voted for Mr. Christiancy and elected him.

Mr. Chandler took his defeat, which was both a surprise and a disappointment, manfully, simply announcing that

he would again be a candidate for *that* seat. Shortly afterward he went to Washington to arrange his affairs for removal, after his long residence in that city. As was to be expected, his name was freely connected with various appointive offices—among others the secretaryship of the treasury and the Russian embassy, probably with a degree of foundation in some cases. In September, Columbus Delano resigned his post of secretary of the interior, the resignation to take effect October 1st. In spite of Mr. Delano's personal honesty, his department had fallen into evil ways; President Grant felt that a strong man was needed to set it in order and, so feeling, tendered the place to Mr. Chandler, who, after some hesitation, accepted. His commission was dated October 19, 1874, and his work began at once.

His ideas of honesty and of business exactness were strict, and he soon encountered matter for thought and for the heroic remedies so characteristic of him. He appointed Alonzo Bell chief clerk, Charles T. Gorham of Michigan, assistant secretary, and Augustus S. Gaylord of Saginaw, attorney-general. He discovered evidence of such corruption in one of the rooms of the department, that he was convinced that any person engaged there, who was ignorant of the wrong, was too stupid to serve the government, and, quietly dismissing every clerk in the room, put in charge, a colored porter, who could not read, with orders to keep the room locked until a new force could be procured. He discovered the fact that a large num-

ber of purely fictitious names were on the pay roll of the patent office, and discharged right and left, until he deemed it purged. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was preëminently corrupt, and he discharged a number of clerks, against the protest of the commissioner, who declared that the office could not go on without them. Neither competency nor political influence weighed at all with him against deliberate wrong doing.

His reforms were not confined to dismissing clerks, but extended to the cloud of hungry parasites which hung about the various bureaus—Indian attorneys, and others of that ilk. He consolidated sub-departments, cut off an abuse here and instituted an economy there, stopped all discoverable leakages, whether of fraud or extravagance, and made the department thoroughly respectable; served those who did business with it more promptly and cheaply than ever before and earned the respect of every one, in or out of his department, for his vigorous administration of its affairs. With it all, he was, as in every relation of his life, kind, helpful and patient, with honest effort; his startlingly sudden and severe retribution fell only upon deliberate wrong, and for such there was no forgiveness. To this day Mr. Chandler's administration of the department of the interior is spoken of as the best in its history.

In 1876 Mr. Chandler was made a member of the Republican national committee and was chosen its chairman.

Many years before he and James M. Edmunds had founded the congressional committee, and his many years of ser-

vice upon that committee had peculiarly fitted him for the surpassingly difficult task before him. Early in the campaign, success was expected to be easy, but, as the weeks rolled by, the effect of Tilden's wily work and the absence of any positive strength in Mr. Hayes, made the result look doubtful. New York, Indiana—even Ohio, Mr. Hayes' own state, promised to be lost, unless immediate effort was made. The committee worked indefatigably, Mr. Chandler supplying or collecting funds for every need. When Indiana was lost in October, every effort was concentrated upon the Pacific slope, and against the agencies of intimidation in the south. Mr. Chandler knew that at least five southern states were rightfully Republican. Of these he hoped that Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida, having Republican state organizations, might be saved, and to this end he worked. Immediately after the day of election, he telegraphed, "Hayes has 185 votes and is elected." To this view he clung, during the long and bitter contest which followed, never faltering in his belief that Hayes was lawfully elected or in the determination that he should be inaugurated. He gave every support to the successful effort to secure justice, and there are many shrewd authorities who believe that, but for the counsel and assistance they received from him, Mr. Hayes would not have been inaugurated. The policy of President Hayes in the south never received Mr. Chandler's approval.

Mr. Chandler retired from public life with the outgoing of the Grant admin-

istration. After remaining a few weeks in Washington, he returned to Michigan and devoted himself to his private affairs, largely to the great marsh farm of 3,160 acres, near Lansing, which he bought, that he might by experiment prove the feasibility of reclaiming such lands, of which Michigan possesses an enormous area. He spent great sums to this end and, though he did not live to see the full fruit of his costly work, was convinced that it would in the end prove successful.

In 1878, Michigan was menaced with grave consequences, from the growth of the greenback mania. In 1876, Peter Cooper, greenback candidate for President, received but 9,060 votes. At the township elections held in April, 1870, the vote of that party exceeded 70,000.

The Republican party decided to stand of fall for sound money and the platform adopted at its state convention made no concession to the inflation error. Mr. Chandler presided at the convention, and was placed at the head of the state committee. He had then decided upon a trip to Europe, and his friends urged him to make that fact and his chairmanship of the Nation Republican committee excuses for declining to serve upon the state committee, thinking it unfortunate that he should stake his political reputation upon so unlikely a cast. He had, however, "enlisted for the war," and responded to this suggestion: "If Michigan Republicanism goes down, I will go with it." He made such a fight as is rarely made in an "off year," and spoke in every leading city, as did James G. Blaine, James A. Gar-

field, and Stewart L. Woodford. The fallacies of greenbackism never received a more thorough exposure and derision, and the effect was shown on election day—the Republicans carrying the state by forty-seven thousand plurality, electing every congressional representative and winning a large majority in the legislature.

Mr. Chandler's personal reward was at hand, though he did not suspect it. During the winter of 1879, Senator Christianity's health failed and he announced that he must resign his seat. Mr. Hayes thereupon tendered him the appointment as minister to Lima, which he accepted, and on the tenth of February his resignation as senator was laid before the Michigan legislature. On the eighteenth day of the same month, Mr. Chandler regained "*that seat*" by virtue of the vote of every Republican in the legislature.

He took the oath of office on the twenty-eighth day of February, and at once resumed his place in the deliberations of the senate, with the utmost interest. He spoke to several questions, from day to day, but on the second day of March made one of the grand speeches of his life. On February 28, a bill was passed providing for the extension to veterans of the Mexican war of the provisions of the law passed in 1878, giving pensions to soldiers of the war of 1812. This legislation was somewhat inconsiderate, and, on the evening of the second of March, a reconsideration was moved and carried, and an amendment then offered excluding persons who served in the Confederate army, or

held office under the Confederacy, from participating in the benefits of the bill. This amendment was defeated and Mr. Hoar offered an amendment specifically excluding Jefferson Davis. Then followed a debate in which Southern Democrats spoke of Davis as "a battle scarred, knightly gentleman," a man of "excellent character," "preëminent talents," "a statesman and a patriot," whose motives were as "noble as ever inspired the breast of a Hampden or a Washington." The Republican response was weak, until a friend in the gallery sent Mr. Chandler a note, suggesting that he was "the man to call Jeff. Davis a traitor." Then he arose in his place and began :

"Mr. President : Twenty years ago tomorrow, in the old hall of the senate, now occupied by the supreme court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the constitution of the United States. Mr. Jefferson Davis came from the cabinet of Franklin Pierce into the senate of the United States and took the oath with me, to be faithful to this government. During four years I sat in this body with Mr. Jefferson Davis and saw the preparations going on from day to day for the overthrow of this government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips, he took the oath to sustain the government he meant to overthrow."

From this simple but terrible beginning he went on to arraign Davis as few men were ever arraigned before. The words were few and the time of their utterance was short, but they compressed unto themselves a damning accusation that carried Mr. Hoar's amendment and condemned Davis before a jury in which, as a previous vote had shown, the Confederate cause had a majority. It was made late at night, but it drew every

member and *attache* as an eager listener, it echoed through the land from end to end, and brought its utterer scores of messages of thanks from strangers, as well as from friends. No act of all his life did more for his reputation.

During the remainder of the regular session and the extra session, called for the eighteenth of March, Mr. Chandler was not especially prominent until the last, when he delivered a forcible arraignment of the Democratic party, of which thousands of copies were printed and used as a working basis for the following campaign. The extra session closed at midsummer, and with it Mr. Chandler's senatorial career.

His Davis speech and his able "arraignment" had given him a wider repute and a higher standing than ever before. He received invitations to speak from a score of states. Many of these he accepted, speaking at various points in Maine, Wisconsin, Ohio, New York and Massachusetts, everywhere to great audiences, which he moved to high enthusiasm.

There began to be much quiet suggestion as to his availability as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, coming from leading politicians and journals throughout the country. In Michigan the movement had taken strong and definite shape. Mr. Chandler deprecated it. He said to a friend, "No! No! Men recover from the small-pox, cholera, yellow fever, but never from the Presidential fever. I hope I will never get it."

He reached Chicago on the thirty-first day of October, 1879, and that evening

delivered a powerful speech before the young men's auxiliary Republican club. He had taken a slight cold, but otherwise seemed in better health than earlier in the campaign, when he had shown signs of great fatigue. After the meeting he returned to the Grand Pacific hotel and talked entertainingly with friends, to the last of whom he said "good night" about twelve o'clock. In the morning, as he had ordered, he was called at seven o'clock, but no answer came. A glance over the transom showed something unusual. The door was opened and he was found with his coat about his shoulders, quite dead.

The announcement of the fall of the great and just statesman caused sincere and universal sorrow. No man ever had more or better friends; even his opponents respected him officially, while they feared him, and gave to him as a private citizen their friendship and esteem. The mean and low, the dishonest and treacherous, hated him, for he was their enemy.

The President of the United States issued an appropriate announcement of the event, and ordered fitting mourning and the closing of the departments on the day of the funeral. The governor of Michigan made a proclamation to the same effect, and from every quarter came messages of sympathy and sorrow.

On the morning of Sunday, November 2, the body was borne to the railroad depot with an escort of military and citizens. The casket was placed in a car in charge of a committee of prominent men of Michigan. At Niles, Kala-

mazoo, Marshal, Jackson and Ann Arbor the train halted and many persons came to see the well known face for the last time. At Detroit the funeral train was met by a throng of sorrowing citizens of all conditions, who fell unmarshaled into line behind the hearse and marched to the home that had been that of Zachariah Chandler. There the casket lay but for a short time, while immediate friends passed by it, then it was given to the people and carried to the city hall where it lay in state, and for five hours a double file of mourners filed past it. It was removed again to the family residence and thence, after the funeral ceremony, to Elmwood cemetery, whither it was escorted by the militia of Detroit and from other parts of the state, civic societies, many distinguished citizens from Michigan and other states, and thousands of the people of Detroit. At Elmwood, in the afternoon hours of the fifth of November, 1879, the great senator and the good man was laid at rest.

His wife, Letitia Grace Douglass Chandler, for whom he had the greatest affection and with whom he had lived most happily for more than thirty years, and his only child, Mary Douglass Chandler, wife of the Honorable Eugene Hale, now United States senator from Maine, were the only members of his immediate family present.

Very little has been deliberately said in this sketch of the personal traits of Mr. Chandler, for, unless the work is ill done, it must suggest the man. He had his share of faults, but not one spotted his private life or public honor. His

most heated opponent never imputed to him the slightest deflection from the plain line of duty for any private good. He did great things because his effort

was to do right things. His heart was kind, his hand was free and his conscience clean.

WALTER BUELL.

PIONEER MEDICINE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

VIII.

Just east of Cleveland, in the town of Collamer, there settled in 1820, a young physician named Elijah Burton. He had come on horseback from Manchester, Vermont, his saddlebags filled with medicines, seeking a location in the west. Reaching Collamer, out of money, he offered himself as school teacher. Since two candidates sought the position, they decided between themselves to toss pennies for it. Luck favored Dr. Burton, and thus he began his labors, teaching school days and visiting patients out of school hours; and it was not an unheard of thing, after being up with a patient all night, for the doctor to drop his book through falling asleep in his chair.

The schoolhouse in which the doctor taught was built of logs. The smoke from the fire poured out of a hole in the roof just above it. He had some of the hard experiences incident to school teaching in those early days, among which was a tussel with a troublesome boy of six feet, which resulted in the boy being landed in the log fire.

Before coming to Collamer, Dr. Burton had read medicine three years with a physician in Manchester, and

had also attended one course of lectures in Castleton, Vermont.

After teaching and practicing combined during one winter, he opened an office and gave his attention to a practice which extended over some ten miles.

In 1834, while caring for Job Doan, who had the cholera, Dr. Burton was seized with the disease, and was violently sick for three days, during which time he treated himself with calomel, and fortunately recovered. In one of his rides to the vicinity of Doan's Corners, after a birth, the whisky for the jollification incident to such an event was lacking, and further than this, any suitable receptacle in which to bring it was also wanting. The doctor was proven equal to the emergency, for seizing a young pig, he "pulled its skin," as it is called, and tying up the holes for the neck and legs sent the skin to be filled from the nearest source of supply. This being returned, served to regale the assembled friends.

Dr. Burton was a colonel of the local militia and took much interest in their pageants. During his convalescence from the cholera he was visited by the

company. He was also a leading Democrat and, as has been previously related, exercised a large influence in political campaigns and was consulted as to their probable termination. Dr. Burton was a man of native force and marked characteristics, and many stories are still told in the section where he practiced showing the energy and wit of the man. He died in 1854, at the age of sixty-one. His son, Dr. E. D. Burton, was associated with him in practice after 1846.

Scattered along the lake shore east of Cleveland were a number of physicians at an early day, concerning whom we have been able to collect very little information. Some of them were men of considerable ability and reputation. Of these, so far as we know, the first to settle in Painesville was Dr. John H. Mathews, who came to that place in 1808 or 1809. He was born in 1785 in Hoosac, New York. His wife, whom he married in 1813, was a daughter of Governor Samuel Huntington. He died in 1862.

Dr. William Harmon settled in Painesville in 1814, but only lived till 1820. He was born in Rutland, Vermont, in 1785, and studied medicine in Castleton, Vermont.

Dr. Storm Rosa had lived in Centreville, Geauga county, for two years before coming to Painesville in 1818. He was born in Cocksackie, New York, in 1791, and died May 3, 1864. He was a man of powerful frame and great endurance, and had a large practice

during many years. In 1841 he abandoned the old school of practice and went into that of homeopathy, in which school he held a prominent position, having held professorships in the Eclectic College of Cincinnati, and the Western Homeopathic College of Cleveland. Dr. Merriam used to tell a story of him that once when out squirrel hunting together, Dr. Rosa proposed to visit two sick children. The latter measured out doses of antimony which Dr. Merriam said would have been very large for an adult. Not long after a member of the family came running after the doctors, saying the children had both died. Merriam used to say that he considered it fortunate for the public that such a man should adopt the practice of homeopathy.

Dr. C. P. Livingston settled in Painesville in 1826, and remained there till the time of his death, August 30, 1847. He was born in Poughkeepsie, New York, May 18, 1794. Having received his education and practiced a short time in the east, he removed to Kaskaskia, Illinois, but was obliged to abandon practice in this place on account of malaria. He then returned to the east, where he married Miss Eliza Brewer of Poughkeepsie in 1825. Starting west the following May, it was his intention to settle in Cleveland, but his wife was so very sea-sick that they left the lake at Fairport. Having left his wife with friends at Painesville, he came on to Cleveland intending to secure a house and office. Finding the opening less favorable than he had anticipated,

and thinking the opening in Painesville more advantageous, he decided to return and settle permanently in that place, where he spent his life as a useful and respected citizen.

Dr. George W. Card settled in Willoughby in 1819, where he remained until 1842, when he removed to Painesville. He was a man of large influence, and it is said that through him Dr. Willoughby was persuaded to give money for the establishment of a medical school at what was then called Chagrin but was afterward named Willoughby in honor of its benefactor.

Dr. Andrew Merriman, one of the earliest physicians in Madison, was a man very highly respected by his patients and esteemed by his confreres. A peculiar circumstance gave him an opportunity to study medicine, though it is said he had previously shown predilections in this direction. A neighbor had cut his foot seriously, and in spite of the dressings placed upon it the bleeding was so serious as to threaten the man's life. Though but twelve years old at this time, young Merriman concluded that it would be harder for blood to run up hill than down, and thus placing the man on his back held the wounded foot as high in the air as possible. The controlling of the hemorrhage in this manner so pleased the physician on his arrival that he insisted that the boy, who seemed to be a natural born physician, should go home with him. The physician also promised to give him medical instruction when

he should have reached a proper age. Dr. Merriman was the son of a farmer, being born in Dalton, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, July 14, 1795. He had a common school education, and also pursued the study of Latin for some time under the parish minister. Having studied medicine several years with Dr. Dorance, he terminated his studies by attending a course of medical lectures in New York. He came to Madison, in 1817, at the age of twenty-two, and established himself there in practice, remaining until the time of his death.

As has been said, Dr. Merriman was highly esteemed by his fellow-practitioners. This is a fact which is remembered by some of the older physicians of to-day. It is also attested to by his being called as far as Austinburg to consult in a difficult case with Drs. Hawley, Allen and Coleman. Dr. Merriman was active in other fields than that of medicine, being a leader in all matters of public welfare, whether pertaining to religion, education or general improvement. On the day of his funeral an old citizen said: "A few years ago there was not a bridge within a circuit of ten miles that Dr. Merriman did not help build, or a bad piece of road that he did not contribute largely to repair." It is also known he was active in the conduct of the underground railroad.

An obituary notice prepared by Dr. E. L. Plympton says: "Dr. Merriman had a genial nature, which never failed to draw to his side kind and true friends. He possessed also an unblemished Chris-

tian character." Dr. Merriman died July 23, 1867, at the age of seventy-two.

Dr. Stephen H. Farrington was a physician much respected in Ashtabula, where he practiced from 1824 until a few weeks before his death, on May 8, 1875. He was born in Winchester, New Hampshire, January 10, 1800, and graduated from the school of medicine at Castleton, Vermont, in 1823.

Dr. Farrington was a thorough scholar and a careful and successful practitioner, enjoying in a high degree the esteem of his fellow citizens, not only for his professional abilities, but also for the sympathetic and conscientious manner in which he cared for his patients. In 1848 he was elected a member of the state legislature.

Dr. Hiram Webster began the practice of medicine in the year 1825, at Kingsville. He was born in Lanesborough, Massachusetts, May 17, 1800. Five years later his father removed to Franklin, New York state, but remained only a short time. From there he came to Ashtabula. In 1809 he settled permanently in Kingsville. Dr. Webster, after receiving his medical education, commenced practice at the age of twenty-five. He continued in Kingsville until 1854, when his son, Dr. E. M. Webster, relieved him.

Dr. Edwin W. Cowles, who was born in Bristol, Connecticut, in 1794, came with his father, Rev. Dr. Cowles, to Austinburg, in 1811. He received his preliminary education at the Academy of

Farmington, Connecticut, and later studied medicine with Dr. O. K. Hawley of Austinburg. He began the practice of medicine in Mantua, where he remained until 1832, when he removed to Cleveland. After two years spent here he went to Detroit, but remaining only four years returned to Cleveland, where he spent the rest of his life.

That Dr. Cowles was a man of marked courage is shown by the attention he gave to the passengers of the ship *Henry Clay*, which reached here, infected with cholera, in 1832. The citizens of Cleveland had previously voted that no infected ship should be allowed to land her passengers here. There were only two dissenting votes, and these were those of Thomas P. May and Dr. Cowles. On the arrival of the ship Dr. Cowles was summoned, and since the ship was compelled to leave he bravely volunteered to accompany her to Detroit, which he did, rendering any service within his power to the unfortunate passengers.

Dr. Cowles was an enthusiastic anti-slavery advocate, and active in the support of the anti-slavery party, being also a member of the "old Liberty Guard," and he aided many a fugitive to gain his freedom. Another in writing of Dr. Cowles has said of him :

In all walks of life he was distinguished for his moral rectitude, honesty and incorruptible integrity. As a gentleman of general information he rarely met his peer. He never forgot what he read, and it was this gift that made him the remarkable conversationalist and controvertist that he was. He was a devout and active member of the Congregational church, and one of its most valued supporters.

He died in June, 1861, at the resi-

dence of Mr. Edwin Cowles of Cleveland.

A prominent physician in Conneaut was Dr. Greenleaf Fifield. Born October 27, 1801, in Vermont, he came with his father to Ohio in 1814, but later returned to Vermont for the study of medicine, and graduated at Castleton in August, 1822. Coming to Ohio he settled in Monroe but remained there only one year, after which time he removed to Conneaut, where he pursued his profession until the time of his death, June 27, 1851.

Dr. Fifield was a man of unusually fine personal presence, and above the usual height. He carried on an extended practice, and was looked upon as the leading surgeon of his section. Many stories are remembered of him, but there is one which has been widely told, and which we have heard as long as we have known his name.

A lake captain, Alanson Tubbs, had by the doctor's order applied to his hairy chest a hemlock gum plaster. According to the habit of plasters, this clung especially closely. Not being able to remove it, the sailor applied to Dr. Fifield one day concerning it, as the latter was driving along one of the chief streets of Conneaut. While the sailor was standing behind the doctor's gig the doctor carefully examined the plaster, and having detached it sufficiently to get a firm grasp, he quietly started his spirited horse. The fast flying steed was followed by the sailor in a vain attempt to escape the pain caused by the rapidly advancing doctor. But the

horse was too rapid, and the plaster came off, much to the discomfort of the patient and the amusement of the bystanders. The captain used to tell the story, and added that the joke so hugely enjoyed by his friends was the cause of a large outlay for drinks on his part.

It is said that Dr. Fifield was a man full of kindness to his patients, and that he practiced much selfdenial in their service. He was especially lenient in his collections. He was followed in practice by his son, Dr. Amos K. Fifield.

That portion of the western reserve lying west of the Cuyahoga river was not settled at so early a day as that east. Those who settled there previous to the war of 1812, were greatly disturbed at the surrender of Hull at Detroit. As a consequence the settlement of physicians in this section was more recent than that of those further east. So far as we can ascertain, the first physician to locate in Lorain county was Dr. Daniel J. Johns, who came to Wellington about 1818, where he is still living at about the age of eighty-nine years. He was born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and received a good education in the common schools and an academy. His medical studies were first with Dr. Humphrey of Saulesbury, Connecticut, and later in the medical department of Yale college during the season of 1817-18. A sensation was created in the latter place by the securing of some anatomical material, and it was alleged that Dr. Johns was connected with the affair. The laws upon this subject were very severe, reaching even to disfranchisement. Fortunately

for Dr. Smith, the officer who was to make the arrest sent him word in advance so that he had an opportunity to escape, and at this time he removed to Ohio and settled in Wellington, being the first white man to locate in the township. Yale College afterward forwarded to him his diploma.

Dr. J. W. Smith of Wellington, in writing of Dr. Johns, says :

He has very distinctive characteristics, of much more than ordinary intellectual capacity and alertness to perceive and compare, with habits of industry, and a strong, loyal heart for the interests of humanity a phenomenal memory and a long life, he has been in a high degree a useful man. His powers of endurance have been great and his ride has extended all over and beyond the county lines. Of the hardships endured no one can adequately speak. His kindness of heart, unending deeds of charity, courage in searching his patients by day and night, have made him a central figure in this region, and one on whom more thoughts and hopes have centered than any other man. Other needs of the community than medicine have found in him potent aid, and the interests of education, religion, good order and sobriety have been conserve by him.

One of the earliest physicians of Norwalk was Dr. Daniel Tilden. Concerning him we have been able to obtain few facts. If we are properly informed, he was not a young man when he settled in Norwalk. After practicing there for a time, he removed to Sandusky. Associated with him in practice was William F. Kittridge, who married Dr. Tilden's daughter in 1834.

Dr. Kittridge was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, being descended from a family of distinguished physicians. Shortly after his birth, his parents removed to Pittsfield, where the old family mansion still stands. Where he re-

ceived his medical education we are uncertain, but think he was a graduate of Berkshire Medical college. Soon after his graduation, at the age of twenty-one, he removed to Norwalk. This was in 1825. As we have already said, he entered into partnership with Dr. Daniel Tilden. The two did a large practice, their ride extending from Fremont on the west to Oberlin on the east, and Shelby and Mansfield on the south.

On the prairie land west of Norwalk malaria was then very prevalent, as it was first subjected to cultivation, and sometimes there would be scarcely a house without one or more sick, and it was with difficulty a sufficient number of well people could be found to care for the sick.

The doctor's first wife died shortly after their marriage, leaving a son. In 1837 he married Laura Tilden, a cousin of his first wife. Dr. Kittridge's health failed in 1850, and soon after he gave up active practice. In 1854 he married Mrs. Caroline Benedict. Removing to Cleveland, he resided there several years, but returned to Norwalk and died there in 1877, at the age of seventy-four years.

Dr. George G. Baker was born at Montville, Connecticut, December 19, 1798, being the eldest of eight children. At the age of sixteen he entered the Academy of Plainfield, then noted in eastern Connecticut. To show the difficulties under which he acquired his education, he used to tell of his weekly journeys on foot from Plainfield to his home in Montville, "a distance of thirty

miles," for the purpose of saving himself the expense of paying for his washing and mending.

After leaving the academy he taught school in winter and worked at home in summer, until he decided upon the study of medicine. He pursued his studies first at New Haven, and later at Bowdoin college, Maine, where he took his degree in 1821. In 1822 he came to Ohio in company with Mr. Joseph Otis and located at Berlin Heights, a township then called Eldridge. Dr. Baker immediately commenced the practice of medicine, sometimes walking, or, when one of Mr. Otis' horses was not in use, riding it, sometimes carrying, on a pillion behind him, Mrs. Otis, his cousin, that she might aid him in caring for some sick one. His practice increased so that he was soon able to purchase a horse of his own. In Vermillion he became acquainted with and, in 1826 or 1827, married a Miss Ann Crane. For a time he had his office at the house of her father, Esquire Crane, but in 1830 built a good residence at Florence Corners, having bought a farm of one hundred and fifty acres. In the spring of 1837 he sold his farm and removed to Norwalk, where he continued practice until 1846, at which time he went abroad. In 1857 he was appointed consul at Genoa, and in 1861 he received from President Lincoln the appointment of consul at Athens.

Returning from Europe in about 1870, he sold his residence in Norwalk as a site for the Presbyterian church, and removed to Norwich, Connecticut, near

his old home in Montville, where he remained until the time of his death, April 27, 1877. His wife lived until 1880.

An old acquaintance of over forty years' standing, in writing us concerning Dr. Baker, says :

He was a man of fine presence, very quick in all his movements, prompt and active both in mind and body, very successful in his practice, a shrewd business man, and a success financially. His friendship was invaluable, true and reliable. Under all circumstances he despised dishonesty, trickery and humbug in every form, and was not content when becoming assured of it himself until he had exposed the authors, and in their presence revealed his knowledge of them, whether they liked it or not. He was a good and true friend to the poor and needy, never exorbitant in his charges, and always ready by word and deed to relieve their necessities. His accounts and notes against his creditors were often liquidated by a receipt in full whenever he learned that a misfortune had overtaken them.

Dr. A. B. Harris came to Milan about 1827-28 and remained there until his death in 1844. He was a man highly respected and much beloved, and his funeral was largely attended, especially by the poor. We have been unable to obtain any further facts concerning him.

Another prominent physician in the vicinity of Norwalk, was Dr. Moses C. Saunders. Born in Milford, Massachusetts, in 1789, he removed with his parents to Saratoga county, New York, while still a youth. Having acquired a good English education, together with some knowledge of the construction of Latin and Greek, he commenced the study of medicine, and later attended lectures in New York, gradu-

ating from the university at a time when Dr. Valentine Mott was at his prime. He commenced the practice of medicine in Galaway, but in 1818 removed with his father to Peru, Ohio, in which place, with the exception of three years spent in Norwalk, he passed the remainder of his life. He married Miss Harriet Thompson, who lived but eleven years, dying in 1829 and leaving him with three children, one of whom is Dr. J. C. Saunders, now of Cleveland.

After Drs. Kittridge and Baker retired from active practice, Dr. Saunders was strongly urged by the citizens of Norwalk to move to that place. He did so, but remained there only three years, preferring, as soon as his son could take his place, to return to his old home in Peru. Dr. Saunders' second marriage was in 1831, to Mrs. Pearly C. Douglas of Elyria, who survived the doctor some ten years.

Dr. Saunders was for many years one of the censors of the old Western Reserve Medical College of Cleveland and served one term as representative in the state legislature. He was a man distinguished by many admirable qualities. A lover of nature, his garden produced the earliest and choicest fruit and flowers. Fond of music, he led for many years the choir in the Presbyterian church, of which church, during the latter part of his life, he was a member. He also played the violoncello. The new country in which he practiced made it necessary for him to endure many hardships, but he did so cheerfully, caring for rich and poor alike. As an instance of this, when lost in the

woods one dark, rainy night, he unsaddled his horse and, leaning against a tree and making a roof of his saddle, waited for the dawn.

Dr. Saunders was a man of high character and sterling attainments, being universally esteemed. After a sickness of six weeks he died May 18, 1856. A professional associate of Dr. Saunders, in writing of him, says:

Dr. Moses Saunders was undoubtedly the equal, if not superior, of any other physician in Norwalk or vicinity in the estimation of all his professional brethren. As a physician he was eminently honest; as a counselor, very suggestive, and his suggestions usually valuable. Drs. Saunders, Baker and Kittridge were the leading men in the profession in their day.

A prominent figure in Poland, Mahoning county, for almost two generations, has been Dr. Eli Mygatt. Having had a large practice, and being a man of marked personality, he has been widely known. A rare story-teller himself, he has also been the subject of many more. Only a few months before his death we visited him and, with several friends who were well informed in pioneer events, enjoyed a long conversation with him, finding his mind active and his memory remarkable for recalling facts, dates and names.

Dr. Mygatt was born in Canfield in 1807. In order to pursue his studies he went to Hudson, where he received instruction from a Rev. Mr. Hanford, who had previously been in Canfield. This was before the establishment of the college at Hudson. In 1824 he received an appointment as cadet at West Point. Here he was a classmate of Jefferson Davis. The doctor was fond of telling

anecdotes of Davis, whom he said was "a waspish little fellow," and the quick temper of both was the cause of frequent ruptures between them, and the doctor used to say he had often thrashed Davis.

The doctor remained at West Point but one year, leaving there with the hope of receiving an appointment at Annapolis. Failing in this, he made two trips to England before the mast, in 1825 and 1826, and this, he says, was enough to cure him of all desire to follow a seafaring life.

Dr. Mygatt began the study of medicine with Dr. Fowler of Canfield. In the winter of 1826-7, as well as the following winter, he attended medical lectures at the medical school of Fairfield, New York state, where there were about two hundred and fifty medical students, beside other departments of instruction, raising the number of students in the small town to about five hundred. Here he was under the instruction of Professor De Lamater, who was then professor of theory and practice. Dr. Mygatt began practice in Poland in 1829, Dr. Kirtland sending for him at the time when the latter was to attend the session of the legislature at Columbus. Dr. Mygatt received word to come on Saturday. He reached Poland and visited one patient with Dr. Kirtland on Sunday, and on Monday Dr. Kirtland took his departure. The two were associated together until 1835. Dr. Mygatt continued in practice in Poland until a

few years before his death. He received an honorary degree of M. D. from Western Reserve Medical college in 1850.

Among the many stories which Dr. Mygatt used to tell was one illustrative of early practice when emetics were in vogue. Being called to a woman who said she could not take an emetic, he quite agreed with her that it was unwise for her to do so. At the same time he gave it, and when it began to act, said he must give her something more to stop it. Thus continuing his medicine to stop the nausea, he succeeded in administering a dose which was quite satisfactory to himself, if not to his patient.

In speaking of charges, Dr. Mygatt said he used to get from three shillings to fifty cents a visit in the village, and furnish medicines. Dr. Manning used to charge two dollars to come from Youngstown to Poland in consultation.

In the old brick store in Poland no story-teller received a more attentive hearing than the doctor. Quick at *repartee* and of sharp insight, all were afraid of provoking a sally of his wit at their expense, while his fine intellectual powers and wide information made him a man of large influence. Practicing over a period of more than fifty years, he acquired an experience such as is possible to few, and he will long be remembered as one of the most prominent figures that ever lived in Poland.

DUDLEY P. ALLEN.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM FROM THE EARLIEST COLONIAL PERIOD
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IN the very earliest settlement of what is now the state of Michigan, St. Joseph and Michilimackinac were the first military stations, the latter being the principal post. Detroit was the first post designed by the French to become a permanent town. Trade, mechanics, farming, and some few other industries soon started up. Of course some sort of courts had to be established, and the colonial authorities appointed judges or commissaries. The intendant of the post seems to have been at the head of the ordinary judicial system, and his delegates were probably the principal local judges wherever they were sent. French law prevailed. There is no record yet come to light showing the early existence of any court at Detroit. The first sign of any civil magistrate residing is that of Robert Navarre, royal notary and sub-delegate of the intendant who came about 1730. The scanty records indicate that there were some other gentlemen who exercised judicial functions. Pierre St. Cosme is spoken of in the Pontiac diary as former judge, succeeded by Mr. LeGrand. Both were gentlemen of high social standing.

After the English rule was permanently established by the treaty of 1763, justices of the peace were early appointed as examining magistrates. Such courts as existed were provisional and

given a very limited jurisdiction, and there was great complaint on account of the lack of judicial facilities. The local commander was invested with supreme local power. The merchants formed arbitration boards for the settlement of difficulties among themselves, and criminals were sent to the seat of government in Canada for trial. Judges seem to have been appointed for this region, but none ever came. Capital punishment was inflicted in three cases under sentences of Philip de Jean, a justice of the peace. He was subsequently indicted by the Canadian authorities for the murder of these men, but he was captured in the Kaskaskia and Vincennes expedition under Governor Hamilton and held in close custody by the Virginia authorities, and seems never to have returned to Detroit.

The celebrated Quebec act of 1774 provided that the civil law of Paris and the criminal law of England should prevail in this region. In 1788, at the close of the American revolution, this region was formally included in the district of Hesse, and Detroit was made the seat of justice. William Dummer Powell was the first judge who presided over this court, and afterward was chief justice of Upper Canada. From this time on the courts sat regularly. Besides the first court there were courts

of common pleas and quarter sessions. The common pleas judges were all reputable laymen, and the court was held in high esteem. Louis Beaufait was the first chief judge, and James May, Patrick McNiff, Charles Girardin, and Nathaniel Williams were associates. All were old citizens familiar with French and English, and allied by marriage or blood with the French inhabitants. Things continued in this shape until Jay's treaty went into operation, in 1796, when the British courts were removed to the other side of the river.

Then for the first time the country came under the control of American institutions. Michigan formed a part of the Northwest Territory set apart under the famous ordinance of 1787. Under it the governor and three judges, appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate, were made a legislative board and were given judicial powers. Winthrop Sargent, acting governor, set apart Wayne county, which comprised northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and all of Michigan and eastern Wisconsin which contained settlements. The judicial system of the Northwest Territory became operative, and included the supreme court, common pleas, probate, and orphans' courts and quarter sessions. Annual sessions of the supreme court were held at Detroit by one of the territorial judges. The common pleas court and quarter sessions continued substantially as before, and with the same judges and justices, who also performed probate duties. Under all the territorial systems all the local officers

were appointed by the governor until the latter days of the territory.

Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush were the earliest members of the bar who came to Detroit. Both came from Ohio. Mr. Sibley filled various important positions, being twice chosen delegate to congress, and was also judge of the supreme court during the latter years of the territory. He was one of the wisest and ablest men that ever lived in Michigan. Colopel Brush was territorial attorney-general. In the early part of 1805 the territory of Michigan was formed, and for the first time we find a course of civil administration that left its mark on the subsequent career of the state. The features of the French system became gradually extinguished, and the whole judicial system became fashioned in accordance with the common law in England.

The supreme court was the only one created directly by the territorial organic law. Justices tried small civil cases, and district courts had general jurisdiction and also looked after probate proceedings. Four districts were created, and a court held in each, at first presided over by a judge of the territory and afterwards by lay judges, a chief and two associates. In 1810 the district courts were abolished and their jurisdiction divided between the supreme court and justices of the peace. Detroit was incorporated before the creation of Michigan territory. It was made a city in 1806. The reign of the governor and judges was distinguished by persistent and disgraceful quarrels among themselves. Judge Witherell was the

only one who retained public respect. This state of things continued under Governor Hull's administration, but was somewhat improved under that of General Cass.

The court displayed learning and ability in its action and decided some important cases, among others one relative to the status of slaves held before Jay's treaty within the territory. Under General Cass the political system was steadily modified towards an American mode of procedure. County courts, with original jurisdiction, were established, having one chief and two associate justices, who were usually (although not required to be) laymen, and and who were invariably business men. These courts were generally esteemed. In 1817 a court of quarter sessions was created, composed of the county judges and justices of the peace, and required to look after county business, such as assessing and raising taxes, and organizing townships, the latter to be sanctioned by the governor before becoming operative. In 1818 the people by a popular vote decided against having a territorial legislature. County commissioners appointed by the governor afterwards superseded the quarter sessions.

In 1823 a radical change took place. Congress decreed that there should be a territorial legislature in the form of a territorial council. Eighteen persons were to be elected, from which the President was to choose nine, who were to be confirmed by the senate. This body was clothed with general legislative powers. In 1827 the people were

allowed to elect their own council without the intervention of the President. In 1823 the building of a court house was begun in Detroit, under an appropriation of lands made by congress. This was built by Thomas Palmer, father of our present senator, who took the lands for his pay. The building was used by the territory as a court house and council chamber, and by the state without any apparent authority as a capitol, to the exclusion of the courts. After the capital was removed to Lansing it was used for school purposes, the first union school in the state being held there. The present Detroit high school is located on its site.

The judges of the territorial supreme court as finally established by congress, running from 1824 to the time of the admission of the state, consisted of James Witherell, Solomon Sibley, John Hunt, Henry Chipman, William Woodbridge, George Morell of New York, and Ross Wilkins of Pennsylvania. When the state was admitted into the Union Judges Sibley, Morell, and Wilkins composed the court.

In 1828 circuit courts were created with appellate jurisdiction over the county courts, with concurrent original jurisdiction up to one thousand dollars and exclusive beyond it. Both had criminal jurisdiction. A judge of the supreme court held the circuit court of each county. In 1833 a new system of circuit courts was created, having a circuit judge, who was required to be a lawyer, and two associates, who might be laymen. Any two might act except on trials of felony, when the circuit

judge must be present. The county courts were abolished. The old circuit, courts presided over by supreme court judges, were retained and called superior circuit courts with appellate jurisdiction over the new ones. Chancery powers were also given to the supreme and circuit courts. The statute conferring this power was drawn up under the direction of Elon Farnsworth, the subsequent chancellor. In 1835 the office of register of probate, which had exercised some probate jurisdiction, besides recording deeds, was abolished and the powers divided between judges of probate and county registers.

No further changes were made in the judicial system of the territory.

The first legislature under the new state constitution met in November, 1835. At an adjourned session in February, 1836, laws were passed to organize the supreme and circuit courts and a court of chancery to come into existence after July 4, 1836, when the jurisdiction of the territorial courts was to cease.

When the constitution of 1835 was adopted, the territory of Michigan had received so large an increase of population from other parts of the United States that the whole public system had become orderly and adapted to all the conditions of local self-government. Counties, townships, road, and school districts, and all the judicial machinery corresponded substantially with what might be found in New York or New England. In the main, things had been patterned after New York, from which the largest immigration had come. But

the territorial officers were always inclined to perpetuate their own early institutions, and as they were of various origins, the result naturally followed that here were some incongruities. New York and Massachusetts were followed more than all the other states, and there are still easily detected systematic portions of legislation traced to those separate sources. Particular statutes were borrowed from all sources.

It became necessary at various times during the territorial period to gather together the scattered laws, which had become confused by the careless methods of the first period of governor and judges, and still more so by the independent way in which Judge Woodward and his ally, Judge Griffin, disregarded all laws which they did not fancy. Between the organization of the territory and the adoption of the state constitution there were five different collections published, and of these none prior to 1827 was complete. In 1806 a collection was made, including thirty-four laws passed in 1805, which was accurate as far as it went, but which gave no light concerning the old laws in force. The condition of things was not very favorable for enabling the people to understand the laws. There were very few in the territory who understood English. There were no newspapers, and no other means of spreading intelligence. This volume was printed in Washington and was not published until many more statutes had been adopted, some of which materially altered the former ones. Between this time and 1816 the changes became numerous and

the conflicts and inconsistencies very great. Of this new legislation much was never published at all, and remained unknown. Most of the acts were not brought to public knowledge for long periods, and many were repealed before any one ever heard of them. Eighty were never put in print, so far as known, until 1884, when they were published in a supplementary volume to the recent reprint of territorial statutes. Nothing but the healing power of time and the operation of limitation laws has prevented the ignorance of some of these enactments from making mischief.

In 1816 a synoptical arrangement of the substance of the laws supposed to be in force in that year was printed. Very few provisions were printed in full, and several statutes were not found.

In 1820 the condition of affairs was brought to the attention of congress. That body appropriated twelve hundred and fifty dollars, and required all laws in force to be published together under the supervision of the territorial authorities. At that time William Woodbridge was secretary—afterwards judge, governor and state senator. The result was a well edited compilation—then supposed to be complete—of existing laws, known as the compilation of 1821. The legislative council, which held its first session in 1824, caused the session laws to be published regularly, but it was discovered that acts still existed which were not in print, or not known, and litigation frequently arose which brought out surprises. To put an end to this mischief, it was determined to

supersede all the existing volumes by a new and complete revision.

On the twenty-first of April, 1825, a resolution was adopted appointing William Woodbridge, Abraham Edwards, John Stockton, Wolcott Lawrence and William A. Fletcher a commission to revise the laws. Asa M. Robinson was afterwards put in place of Mr. Woodbridge, who resigned. The resolution very carefully indicated what rules should govern the work, which were in substance these: All acts concerning the same subject were to be digested into one act. The commission was authorized to follow the principles of existing acts or to make such alterations and additions as should be deemed expedient. Unnecessary acts might be left out, and the deficiencies supplied. The result was to be certified to the legislature for consideration.

The commission prepared what is now known as the revision of 1827, in which, while conforming in most things to the old system, nearly all important measures were put in the shape of new separate enactments, drawn with skill, and leaving out very few things of consequence. It was enacted substantially as reported, and in order to prevent any further evils from ignorance, it was provided that all acts not therein specified should be repealed. The territory thus had for the first time a complete code of all its existing laws. In 1833 a smaller compilation was published, including some later statutes and some reprints of older ones. Most of the legislation after 1827 was special, but

some general laws were passed, the most important of which was a ten-years' limitation law, applicable only to existing cases, and containing no saving clauses. The previous laws had failed to cover the whole ground, and antiquated land claims, with no particular equities, had been used in some cases for extortion.

The first legislature went actively to work to get the new state government into working order.

The courts of record which were provided for were the supreme, circuit and probate courts, with substantially the same powers as the old courts except in equity. A separate court of chancery was established, from which an appeal lay to the supreme court. Pending cases were transferred to the new courts. The judges and chancellor were appointed by the governor and senate for periods of seven years.

The first supreme court consisted of William A. Fletcher, chief justice, and George Morell and Epaphroditus Ransom, associate justices. Each was assigned to a circuit. Wayne, St. Clair, Lapeer, Michilimackinac and Chippewa, with the country attached to each, formed the first circuit, presided over by Judge Morell. Monroe, Lenawee, Washtenaw, Oakland, Saginaw, Jackson and Hillsdale formed the second circuit, allotted to Chief Justice Fletcher. Judge Ransom held the courts in the third circuit, consisting of Branch, St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Kalamazoo, Allegan, Calhoun and Kent, with attached territory. One term of the supreme court was held annually in

Wayne, Washtenaw and Kalamazoo. Terms of the circuit court were held once or more, annually, in each county. Two associate judges were elected in each county every four years to sit in the circuit court, but in case of their absence a judge of the supreme court could sit alone. These associates were not generally lawyers.

Judge Sibley, for personal reasons, did not desire an appointment to the state bench. He was a man of great ability and wisdom, and had universal confidence. He lived to an advanced age.

The chief justice was an old resident of the territory, who had held judicial offices and had done most of the work of compilation of 1827. Judge Morell had been nominated by President Jackson, with Judge Wilkins to succeed Judge Chipman and Woodbridge in 1832. He was a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, but received most of his legal training in New York, where he was a fellow-student with Governor Marcy and Chancellor Walworth, and where he obtained a good reputation at the bar and in various offices in public life. He was one of the most thoroughly trained common lawyers in the state, and transacted business with readiness and accuracy. His circuit was the most laborious of all, and his work was promptly and well done. Upon the resignation of Judge Fletcher, in 1842, he was made chief justice for the remainder of his term. Judge Ransom came to Michigan not far from the close of the territorial period, having been a successful practitioner in New England. At the close

of his first term in 1843 he was made chief justice to succeed Judge Morell, and continued to fill that office until he became governor, January 1, 1848. He was much respected for ability and uprightness and exercised his judicial functions acceptably to the people and the bar. He was a man of good common sense as well as legal sufficiency, and had great personal popularity.

Judge Wilkins was appointed district judge of the United States for the district of Michigan several months in advance of the admission of the state, and did not become a member of the state judiciary. He remained in office until 1870, when he retired on full pay, having reached and passed his threescore years and ten, and having served thirty-eight years on the bench in Michigan. He was a member of the constitutional convention which in 1836 rejected the proposition of congress to give up the disputed territory to Ohio in exchange for so much of the upper peninsula as was not within the state boundaries. He was also one of the persons who called shortly thereafter the irregular body known as the frostbitten convention, that undertook to accept the congressional scheme on their own responsibility, and got the state into the Union through the back door. He took an interest in most public matters, and was a very useful regent of the university. In private life he was genial and humorous.

The first chancellor, Elon Farnsworth, was admirably fitted for his office. He was a thorough scholar as well as lawyer, with cool judgment and intimate knowledge of men, and an enlightened

sense of justice. Under his careful administration the equity system became well adapted to the necessities of the community and divested of unreasonable conditions and vexatious delay. Very few of his decisions were reversed, and still less ought to have been. He belonged to the same class of wise and sensible jurists as Chancellor Kent, whom in character and attainments he closely resembled. He gave up his office before his term expired, and was succeeded by Randolph Manning, who himself resigned in 1846, upon the action of the legislature looking to the abolition of the court, and Chancellor Farnsworth reluctantly accepted a reappointment in the hope at the bar that his popularity might induce the restoration of that tribunal. The tide, however, has set in another direction and could not be turned. Chancellor Manning was an able and upright judge, who had filled other offices usefully and made an excellent chancellor. Unfortunately during his term there was great occasion for severity in dealing with a good many frauds and corporate insolvencies, growing out of the general business disasters, and he became more or less obnoxious to some influential persons, who opposed him strenuously. With all his firmness and positiveness he was a warm-hearted and generous man, who was held in the strongest esteem by those who knew him best.

The system of practice was slowly simplified and rendered less cumbrous. Judge Morell and Chief Justice Fletcher were both thoroughly trained under the

old systems, and were quite averse to serious innovations. Fortunately, it happened about this period that the English courts adopted a series of rules for the simplification of pleadings and practice, and after a sharp struggle the new methods were introduced here. The process has gone intelligently on until our present system is quite free from defects of any sort.

One of the first things to which the attention of the legislature was called was the necessity for a revision of the laws, and Judge William A. Fletcher was appointed for that purpose. His report was submitted and adopted in November, 1837. It was unfortunate. There were many important changes and omissions which were not noticed at the time by the legislature. In some cases the positive instructions given the reviser were disregarded. He had, for instance, been distinctly directed by the legislature to provide for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. He did nothing of the kind. In many other things he followed his own inclinations and ideas, and thus introduced many important changes. The arrangement and printing of this code was assigned to two commissioners appointed by the governor—E. Burke Harrington and Elijah J. Roberts. Owing to the ill health of the latter, the former really performed the work. It was issued just before the legislature of 1839 assembled, and much of the time of that body was spent in rectifying the mistakes and supplying the omissions of this unfortunate revision. The session laws of 1839 bear witness to this work.

In 1838 it was found necessary to enlarge the judicial force and Charles W. Whipple was added to the supreme bench, and a fourth circuit was created, over which he presided. Alpheus Felch succeeded Judge Fletcher in his circuit, and Daniel Goodwin took the place of Judge Morell. Judge Felch and Judge Goodwin are still among us in the full vigor of their mental powers. Judge Felch, who had previously been auditor-general, was, during his judicial term, elected governor, and then United States senator, and still later commissioned to investigate land titles in California, and in all of his life has been distinguished for diligence, capacity and fidelity. Judge Goodwin, who has also filled several important Federal and state offices by appointment or election, resigned his position on the supreme court bench after a comparatively short service. He was afterwards president of the second constitutional convention, judge of the district court of the upper peninsula till it became a circuit, and thereafter circuit judge through various terms, retiring at the last judicial election after a long and honorable service seldom equaled. The old supreme and circuit court system continued until the constitution of 1850, Judges Warner Wing, Abner Pratt, Sanford M. Green, George Miles, Edward Mundy and George Martin at various times forming parts of it. Judge Mundy, the first lieutenant-governor, was appointed as a fifth judge in 1848. In 1849, by a constitutional amendment submitted and in due time adopted, the office was made elective, and George Martin was the

only member of that court who was elected and not appointed.

In 1846 Sanford M. Green was appointed to make a new revision of the laws, which he did in a very careful and symmetrical manner. The legislature in adopting it, however, interfered very seriously with its harmony of arrangement. Among other important changes introduced were the abolition of the court of chancery and the creation of elective county courts with first and second judges, having original civil and criminal jurisdiction. The chancery business was transferred to the circuit courts. The effect of this sudden change at the time was very bad, as the common law business was given the preference and the important and numerous equity cases encountered prolonged and serious delays. The chancery practice had also been a very distinct one up to this time, and a few lawyers devoted themselves to it, while the larger number of members of the bar had no special acquaintance with this branch. Every clerk of the court was also made by these changes a register in chancery, and this added to the confusion. It took a long time to get the mixed practices into working order. The county courts, as a body, also turned out badly. In spite of the good work of some excellent judges, there were no lamentations when these courts ceased to exist.

Capital punishment was abolished by the revision of 1847, and then, as now, there was much division of opinion upon it.

In 1849 a constitutional amendment

was adopted providing that all judges should thenceforward be elected by the people.

The constitutional convention of 1850, which adopted our present constitution, contained a very large number of members zealous for novelty. It also had many of the most experienced and statesmanlike citizens of the state. A natural result was that some very radical changes were made, but little, if anything, which could be called revolutionary affected judicial matters. The most unpleasant features were a too great attention to details in grants and limitations of power, which have on some occasions endangered the public welfare for lack of discretionary authority in the legislature. Attempts to fix salaries and some other things which depend very much for their adequacy on changing circumstances, have led to some evil. But a thing which struck many persons unpleasantly was the number of provisions which seem to indicate that it was supposed the people could not trust their agents and representatives. There are few constitutions which have created so much litigation concerning the validity of legislation. Much of this difficulty has been modified or removed by the lapse of time and the instinctive adaptation of popular ways to their surroundings. It has, as a whole, been a useful instrument. The evident unwillingness of the people to give it up entirely for a new one, shows that it is thought better to amend than supersede it. There are two important provisions which bear upon the statutes. One forbade the passing of

laws with double objects or misleading titles, confining every act to the single purpose suggested by its title. This was an excellent rule, and prevented some frauds and much needless legislation. The other prohibited revisions of the statutes and authorized compiled reprints of existing laws when needed. Such a compilation was authorized and carried out by Judge Cooley in 1857, whose excellent arrangement, based on the revision of 1846 as far as possible, was adopted in the second compilation of 1871 by Judge Dewey. A private enterprise since of Judge Howell's, on the same plan but annotated further, is in general use and well executed.

The repeal of the constitutional requirement of presentations of crime by grand juries has led since to a practical abandonment of that system, although not absolutely abolished. The present generation can hardly appreciate either side of the argument. The assaults made upon the system as inquisitorial are in direct variance with the fact that it has been generally insisted on as a safeguard against official oppression. The average American freeholder is not the stuff inquisitors are made of. It is certainly a questionable policy which makes the prosecution of criminals depend on the will of a single justice of the peace and a prosecuting attorney. In many cases it probably is not of much importance. But experience has shown that there are some classes of crimes and some classes of criminals against which the public itself requires the aid of a substantial and fearless tribunal of accusa-

tion. There are powerful single and banded criminals against whom injured parties are afraid to complain before a magistrate, and who are known in every large community to count on their immunity from prosecution. Crimes against the election laws, which are the most dangerous of all in their public tendency, are of very frequent occurrence, and are very seldom complained of. The inefficiency of such grand juries as are now and then summoned is chiefly due to their inexperience. If the law required them to be summoned often enough to make their duties familiar, they would be a very great help to putting down crime, and inspire a wholesome caution in presumptuous wrong-doers.

The provision which allows cases to be heard by judges without juries, where parties do not choose to ask them, has never been complained of. There are many cases where a jury would be of no service. The right to demand one ought never to be denied, and there are cases where the intervention of a body of ordinary men, dealing only with facts, is essential to justice.

There is one constitutional provision which has never been carried out, and which deserves serious consideration. That is the provision which declares that "the legislature may establish courts of conciliation with such powers and duties as shall be prescribed by law." It seems to have been supposed that so long as parties can arbitrate, they need no other friendly tribunal. But when courts of conciliation exist it may be, and frequently is, made obligatory to

resort to them in the first instance—even if parties should not be absolutely bound thereafter to abstain from further litigating, and a fair decision once made will have an effect in bringing parties to reason.

Those who have watched the course and causes of litigation, know that a great share of it arises from misunderstanding. This is particularly so in matters arising out of agreements and larger or smaller business relations. We do not appreciate the fact that while no rule of law can have more than one true meaning, it is not only possible but common for men to enter upon business relations with each other without having in their minds any complete identity of understanding. While courts and the state cannot under ordinary circumstances release anyone from the obligation of informing himself what the law is, yet in law, as in all other sciences, definitions are apt to be understood in the light of previous impressions upon the meaning of words and phrases, and the same maxim does not present the same idea to all minds. The most important advantage of the jury system is that juries understand and apply rules as they are commonly understood by the mass of society, and so harmonize legal obligations with the general sense of mankind. The beauty of the common law is that it is not abstract, but is found in practical applications of right and duty.

The necessity for such a remedy has been found most commonly where numbers of people have similar interests and employments. It has existed in France

for a long time, and has been applied to several classes of cases. The members of these tribunals are there called *prud' hommes* (men of experimental knowledge). As long ago as the time of Philip the Fair, in the thirteenth century, a council of twenty-four *prud' hommes* was formed to decide controversies between manufacturers and traders dealing in their wares. The first French republic created similar boards to dispose of ordinary differences between masters and workmen or apprentices. In 1806 provision was made in like manner for the important manufacturing city of Lyons, with power to extend it to other industrial towns. Several of these bodies were organized in Paris from 1844 to 1848 for metal workers, weavers, chemical works and builders. The maritime towns have for a great while without legislation had such tribunals among the fishermen. The modern French councils are said to be composed of representatives of employers and employed, chosen by their orders. One-third go out of office annually. Their duties are confined to questions relating to the business. The old fishery boards are supposed to have suggested the others, and are said to have been first known in the southern ports. It is quite likely they were regulated by the ancient sea laws. These arrangements, with perhaps some variations, seemed to be regarded as desirable.

Analogous bodies are found in other countries. They are thought to be better and more satisfactory than temporary and voluntary institutions, and ex-

perience in the difficulties and grounds of difference among particular classes is of great value in enabling them to decide fairly. The effect of the permanent reference committees in our boards of trades in preventing commercial litigations in the courts of this state has been very marked.

Courts of conciliation properly organized to settle the differences of employers and employed, could hardly fail to remove any rational cause of complaint of unfairness in their mutual relations, and would have the double value of doing justice and of putting captious persons in the wrong. Sympathy would be given where it is deserved, and the common sense of the community would justify withholding it where it is not deserved. When public sentiment knows where justice lies it will not be profitable to provoke it.

With this exception, the constitution has been fairly carried out. The methods of procedure and jurisdiction were not materially disturbed from what they had been. The state was divided into eight circuits, with judges elective for six years and sitting without associates. They were then brought together in one body, and when sitting thus together constituted the supreme court. This continued until 1857, when the present independent supreme court was established. There are now twenty-eight circuit courts, besides various municipal tribunals, in Detroit and some other of our larger cities. The number of judges now sitting in common law courts is four times as great as in 1851. Business has multiplied, and there is a

perceptible increase in the prolixity of important trials.

Since 1851 there has been an important change in the law of testimony. All personal disqualifications affecting witnesses on account of interest or character have been swept away, some rules preserving confidences in families and professional advisers being wisely retained. One class of laws has given occasion for much contention—that relating to the condemnation of property for various easements and corporation uses. This grows out of too frequent changes and too little uniformity. The power is a necessary one, but should be strictly guarded. It is a question, also, whether litigation is not unduly encouraged, under our present system, by imposing no restrictions on appellate proceedings.

When the constitution of 1850 went into effect and the circuit judges and district judge of the upper peninsula were first elected, all of the existing judges of the supreme court were chosen as circuit judges, and Judge Goodwin, a former member of that court, was elected for the upper peninsula. Judge Sanford M. Green, the reviser of 1846 and judge of the supreme court under the old constitution, still presides at the circuit and still retains undiminished respect and confidence. Samuel T. Douglass and David Johnson are the remaining survivors of the first bench of circuit judges, which was made up of very able and excellent jurists. Five of them resigned during their term to return to practice. Many changes have been made since on the circuit bench and

most of them for the same reason. The state has been very well served by its circuit courts.

The supreme court as now organized of judges having only appellate duties was provided for by the legislature of 1857, and sat first in January, 1858. George Martin, of the old bench, was chief justice, and Randolph Manning (former chancellor), Isaac P. Christianity and James V. Campbell associates. Judge Manning died in 1864 and was succeeded by Thomas M. Cooley, who resigned in 1885, and was succeeded by Allen B. Morse, now in office. Judge Martin died in 1867, and was succeeded by Benjamin F. Graves (who had been chosen to the circuit bench in 1857), who retired at his own desire at the end of his term, and was succeeded by John W. Champlin of the present bench. Judge Christianity was elected United States senator in 1875. Isaac Marston succeeded him and continued in office till March, 1883, when he resigned and Thomas R. Sherwood, the present incumbent, was elected in his place.

During the existence of the state, which finished its half century of judicial experience on the fourth day of July, 1886, there has been nothing striking or startling in its court records. No judge has been removed from office or convicted of misconduct. No capital sentence has been pronounced or carried out. No person has been tried for a political offence. No court has been prevented by violence from enforcing its orders. Few conspiracies to do mischief on a large scale have created local and none general disturbance. The four years of war in which our citizens played a heroic part left no legacy of disorder, and returned soldiers have been the best guards of law and order, and have filled and are filling the most responsible offices of peace, and have shared most liberally in the administration of justice. It is perhaps one of the most comfortable assurances of public prosperity that our long judicial history is uneventful.

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

MICHIGAN JURISTS.

THOMAS MCINTYRE COOLEY.

Thomas M. Cooley was born at Attica, New York, on the sixth day of January, 1824. His family was one of long New England residence, his first American ancestors having settled in Connecticut as early as the year 1640. His father, Thomas Cooley, was a farmer, born in Massachusetts, who removed to western New York in 1804. The elder Cooley was not a rich man, but his means sufficed to give his many children fair educational opportunities, and the subject of this sketch, endowed as he was with unusual power of mind, made effective by great natural capacity and love for work, came out from his work in the common school and the academy with a thorough mastery of the studies he had pursued, and probably a better equipment for future self-culture than had most of his fellows. His pupilage he supplemented by a valuable service as teacher of a neighboring country school—a form of post graduate training so commonly found as an element in the education of successful men. At the same time, while a pupil and teacher he was mastering the rudiments of education, he was working during every interval upon his father's farm, and accumulating the capital of health and physical vitality which has rendered possible the vast and unsparing labor of his later years.

In 1842, when not yet nineteen years of age, Mr. Cooley removed to Palmyra, Wayne county, New York, and entered the office of Theron K. Strong, later a distinguished judge of the supreme court of the state of New York, where he began the reading of law. A year later he removed to Michigan, where he continued and completed his law studies in the office of Tiffany & Beaman of Adrian, holding, meanwhile, the posts of deputy county clerk and deputy register in chancery. In January, 1846, at the age of twenty-two years, he was admitted to the practice of the law, and in December following, married Mary E. Horton.

The earlier years of Mr. Cooley's professional life were marked by many changes of residence, association and occupation. It was not the kind of life from which an on-looker would be apt to anticipate the winning of distinction or of pecuniary success. He began his law practice at Tecumseh, in January, 1846, in partnership with Consider A. Stacy. In 1848 he returned to Adrian and became a law partner of the Honorable F. C. Beaman, the firm name being Beaman & Cooley. Shortly afterward the Honorable R. R. Beecher was admitted to the partnership, the style of which was changed to Beaman, Beecher & Cooley.

Mr. Cooley was in those days a Free-

soil Democrat, and, upon his return to Adrian during the Presidential excitement of 1848, he assumed the editorial charge of the Adrian *Watchtower*, and very ably conducted that paper, in the Van Buren interest, until the close of the campaign.

In the year 1850 he was elected circuit court commissioner and recorder of Adrian; at the same time he was secretary of the Lenawee County Agricultural society, with which he maintained his association for many years. His interest in scientific agriculture has always been keen and has not been confined merely to theory. About the time of his first official connection with the agricultural society, he and his kinsman, David Horton, esq., purchased a farm of one hundred acres near Adrian, and there, in the intervals of professional and official labor, Mr. Cooley renewed his youthful familiarity with his mother-earth, and put in practice the advanced ideas which he advocated in the society.

In 1852 he removed to Toledo, intending to make it his home, and, as one biographer says, to abandon the practice of the law. Be this as it may, he was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the bench of the district court, and remained in Toledo but two years, returning to Adrian for the third time, in 1854, and forming a partnership with C. M. Croswell, who had studied law in his office, the firm being known as Cooley & Croswell. This relation continued until the year 1859, when Mr. Cooley removed to Ann Arbor, where he has since resided.

During these years, the practice of the firm was large, lucrative, and of the highest class. It has been said that scarcely an important cause was tried in the county, in which Mr. Cooley did not appear upon one or the other side. He had before made a reputation as a clever and industrious lawyer, but now he came to be recognized as a great one—marked in all his work by rare power of analysis and grasp of principle and a capacity for clear, logical and convincing statement, which gave to his natural powers their fullest effect.

An honorable recognition of his high position came to him in January, 1857, when he was chosen by the legislature for the nice and difficult duty of compiling the general statutes of the state. With characteristic energy he at once addressed himself to the task, and within a year had completed the compilation which bears his name. It was the first of the kind made, and his own first important contribution to legal literature in Michigan, but subsequent compilers have seen no cause to depart from the lines he laid down, and his work has served as a model for its successors.

With the opening of the year 1858, the supreme court, as now constituted, was organized. Mr. Cooley was made state reporter. Here again he set a standard very difficult to attain. The eight volumes of reports which bear his name are equal to any like productions ever published, and have won him wide recognition in other states, as one of the few reporters who never mistake or

misrepresent the court and whose *syllabi* may be safely accepted as correct statements of facts and law.

In 1864 the Hon. Randolph Manning died, in the midst of his term as judge of the supreme court, and Mr. Cooley's service as reporter was cut short by his election to fill the vacancy. He was subsequently elected and re-elected to the office, serving until the month of September, 1885, when he resigned, having still before him one term of the court before the expiration of the period for which he was elected. His first election to the bench was against the candidacy of the venerable Alpheus Felch; his second, in 1869, over the late David Darwin Hughes, an eminent lawyer, whose biography Judge Cooley contributed to the collections of the Michigan Pioneer society in 1884, and in his third candidacy he was opposed to the Hon. Henry T. Severens of Kalamazoo, now upon the bench of the federal court for the western district of Michigan.

Of Judge Cooley's judicial services it is difficult to speak in terms of exaggerated praise. He combines in himself qualities that are rarely given to one man—unerring judicial instincts, quickness of judgment, wonderful facility of expression, and a tireless capacity for work, all ornamented and directed by a learning at once wide, minute and profound. When he retired from the bench, the bar of the state purchased a magnificent portrait of him from the brush of Ives and hung it in the court room.

In the course of twenty years of judi-

cial life it has fallen to him to pronounce the judgment of the court in very many cases of the first importance, among which may be instanced, as the most striking and conspicuous, that of the *People vs. Township Board of Salem*, in which the validity of railroad aid bonds was denied, and a ruinous financial policy, which the Federal supreme court and the courts of nearly every state in the Union had countenanced, was checked. Others are *Sutherland vs. The Governor*, denying the power to control the executive by mandamus; *Youngblood vs. The Sheriff*, distinguishing a liquor-tax from a license system; *Stuart vs. Kalamazoo School District*, maintaining high schools as part of the common school system supported by taxation; *Park Commissioners vs. Common Council*, asserting the right of local self-government against a legislative attempt to compel a municipal appropriation for the purchase of a public park; *People vs. Mahaney*, sustaining the legislative establishment of a metropolitan police; *Newcomer vs. Van Deusen*, discussing the liability of a keeper of an insane asylum for detaining a sane person whom he believes to be crazy; *Allen vs. Duffie*, distinguishing church subscriptions from ordinary Sunday contracts; *Weimer vs. Bunbury*, showing that due process of law may also be summary; *Swart vs. Kimball*, declaring the right of any person accused of a penal offense to be tried in his own neighborhood; *Benjamin vs. Manistee River Improvement Company*, upholding the right to levy toll upon a navigable stream; *Macomber vs. Nichols*, protecting the

use of steam machinery in the public highways ; *Ryerson vs. Brown*, denying the protection of the doctrine of eminent domain to the flooding of lands for the benefit of water-power mills ; and *Gregory vs. Wendell*, and *People vs. Weithoff*, defining the dealing in grain-options and the keeping of a pool-room, as gambling. And from the drift of his opinions and other writings, he has come to be conspicuous as a strong judicial champion of constitutional rights, of local self-government, and of the freedom of the press, and in some sense as a guardian of the agencies of commercial progress and internal development.

Throughout his long service upon the bench Judge, Cooley spared himself in nothing. The duties of the high position which he held are in themselves sufficiently arduous, when stripped of every labor which the judge may properly delegate to others, but to these essential duties Judge Cooley voluntarily added the drudgery of office. He was always his own amanuensis, writing his opinions with his own hand, and often giving the court reporter the syllabus which should precede his opinions as officially published. Even when copies of his decisions or opinions were requested, they came from his pen, and every reasonable demand for an address before any public society or upon any occasion of public observance, was met with cordial acquiescence and a prompt fulfillment of his promises. He also found time for many contributions to the periodical literature of the day. Altogether, had he been less distinguished

as a judge and less fascinatingly brilliant as a writer, he might well be remembered as a man of phenomenal industry and endurance. Many years before the school of political science was created, the academic seniors in the university of Michigan asked him for a course of lectures on constitutional law, and he gave it ; the alumni of the law school requested him to act as the treasurer of their organization for a time, and he did so ; and when he was reporter, he furnished the newspapers with summaries of the opinions filed. Once, when a circuit judge was sick, the governor, who happened to be his old law partner, Crosswell, exercised for the first and only time in the history of the state, the statutory power of designating an appellate judge to hold the lower court, and in doing so, chose Judge Cooley for the duty. The judge held a term between terms of the supreme court, and, it may be added, experienced the instructive mischance of being reversed in the latter tribunal, for a ruling in the circuit, and that by a judge who had been one of his early pupils in the law school.

When Judge Cooley removed to Ann Arbor, it was to accept the Jay professorship of law in the then recently organized law department in the University of Michigan. This chair he held until the spring of the year 1884, and gave to the service of the school much of the ripest and best effort of his life. During the whole period of his connection with the law department, he was associated in the work with James V. Campbell, the distinguished senior judge of the su-

preme court, whose learning and culture have so strongly impressed the hundreds of students who have gone out from the university during the many years of his preceptorship. The law department has been singularly fortunate in securing and so long retaining the services of two great legal scholars, each in his way, so preëminently qualified for his post.

In 1881 a school of political science was established in the academic department of the university, and in this Judge Cooley took the professorship of constitutional and administrative law. He also delivered courses of lectures in 1878-9, at the law department of Johns Hopkins university.

As a teacher Judge Cooley holds an especially high rank, as he adds to great acquirements the rare tact of successfully and impressively transmitting his knowledge ; of interesting the mind and charming the taste ; of awakening even dullness and sloth to an appreciation of the beauties of legal science. As a result, his pupils have gone out into the world with a legal education founded upon the grand underlying principles of the law—an education far higher and better than the petty technical mastery of rules and precedents which marks the case lawyer.

Judge Cooley's special topics in the law school have been the law of real property, of negotiable paper, of uses and trusts, of wills, and domestic relations, eminent domain, constitutional limitations and the police power of the state. To speak of so wide a range of important topics as in any sense "special," seems absurd, yet in Judge Cooley's

case they deserve the word, not only for the reason that he has devoted to them his principal attention as a lecturer, but that he has thrown upon each so liberally the light of original thought and research. An industrious plodder might extract from the pages of text writers and reporters a very respectable and even valuable lecture upon any one of these subjects, but Judge Cooley's work was never that of a mere collector. With a wide view of all the field of the law from the high place where he himself exercised an "eminent domain," he wrote and spoke as one having authority, and every lecture of all the vast production of his twenty-five years as a teacher, is a substantial, valuable and original addition to the literature of the law, not alone fitted to enlighten the mind of the youthful student, but well calculated to enrich the learning of the leader of the bar.

Mr. Henry A. Chaney of Detroit, in an appreciative biography of Judge Cooley, to which the writer of this sketch is largely indebted, thus records a striking peculiarity of his subject :

In the quarter century of its existence, the school has sent out many hundred graduates, who are scattered throughout the Union, and with whom the judge, with his tenacious memory for individual peculiarities, retains his acquaintance to such an extent as to enable him to count among his personal and familiar friends very many of the lawyers in all parts of the country. His power of ready recognition is illustrated by the possibly fabulous story of his having once met in the street of a western town a former law graduate, who was in the dignified stage of intoxication, and who, as the judge extended his hand, protested that under any other circumstances he should have regarded the judge's recognition as the greatest honor of his life, but as it was, he preferred to be overlooked. Occasional monuments of

the affectionate regard in which he is held by his students, are the dedications to him of various works, published by some of those who have won an honorable standing in the literature of the law.

From Judge Cooley's service as a law lecturer to the work he has done as a writer upon legal topics, is an easy and natural step. I have told of his completion of the statutes of Michigan. During the earlier years of his judicial life he made up, largely for his own convenience, the first Michigan digest. This was published in 1866, and in 1872 was incorporated in a later digest the work of his son, Edgar A. Cooley, who had reached prominence at the Bay City bar.

In 1868 Judge Cooley first appeared as a text writer, publishing a work on 'The Constitutional Limitations upon Legislative Power' in the several states of the Union. This work was published in 1868, and has since gone through six editions. It is perhaps his best known work, and finds a place as a standard authority upon the shelves of every well equipped law library.

It was followed in 1872 by 'Cooley's Blackstone's Commentaries,' the third edition of which has been lately issued. In 1874 he published an edition of 'Story on the Constitution,' and several years after he wrote, as did also Judge Story, a short summary of constitutional law; in 1867 he published a work on 'Taxation,' and in 1879 another on 'Torts.' As associate editor of 'Appleton's Cyclopædia' he wrote the law articles for the last edition of that work, and he has at least a nominal connection with the *American Law Register*,

upon the cover of which he has long been named as one of the editors. His contributions to this and other periodicals and reviews are in themselves so frequent that few judges could find time for them, even if they had no other literary occupation. His contributions to general literature have usually related to some existing political or governmental problem. In 1874-5, when the country was watching the intestine quarrels between Louisiana and Arkansas, and the Federal government, in the effort to keep order, was sometimes trespassing upon state rights, he gave, in the *International Review*, his idea of "The Guaranty of Order and Republican Government in the States." This discussed the Arkansas complication, and was followed in the *Southern Law Review* by a powerful presentation of "The Aspects of the Louisiana Case." These articles were direct arraignments of the government, and so plainly defined the rights of the states as to attract the approval of many who believed they had been overstepped.

In 1884 Judge Cooley contributed to the series of 'American Commonwealths,' edited by Horace E. Scudder and published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company of Boston, the work on Michigan, which, though necessarily concentrated into small compass, and treating its subject in outline, fills exactly the mission for which it was prepared, that of giving to the stranger and casual reader, at small cost of time and trouble, a trustworthy and intelligible view of the processes through which the great peninsular state attained its pres-

ent stature. The story is told in the simple and fascinating English of which Judge Cooley is a master, and its very compression gives the historical relation a vividness that a more discursive treatment would gravely hazard. No volume of the series has received or deserved a better recognition.

The similarity of the careers of Judge Cooley and the distinguished Judge Story has been often remarked. Both were teachers in celebrated schools, both were incumbents of high judicial places, both were widely distinguished as masters of legal science, both wrote voluminously upon legal topics and both gave their supreme efforts to the study and expounding of constitutional law. That Judge Cooley gained by the work of his great predecessor in many common fields, he would be the first to admit, but that his work is original and independently distinguished, every lawyer knows. His advantage in literary workmanship, and clearness of statement over Judge Story, must be obvious to every person who has even casually read the works of the two masters, and is forcibly illustrated by the criticism attributed to an eminent lawyer in the cabinet of President Cleveland. Desiring light upon some question of constitutional law arising in the line of his duty, he went to his library and took down a volume which he supposed to be 'Story on the Constitution.' Turning to the desired heading he began to read and, though he had always been impatient with Story's involved style, was surprised to find himself reading on delighted, even

fascinated, for the mere pleasure of the limpid English and the lucid exposition of ideas. At last he looked at the title, to find that the work he had been reading with so much delight was Judge Cooley's.

It would be quite amiss to dismiss Judge Cooley's legal career without some mention of a field of work which he was one of the first to enter, and in which, without precedent or former experience, he at once made for himself an eminent reputation.

I refer to his participation in the unusual and difficult task of advising leading railway companies upon the perplexing question of differential rates. The main trunk lines of the United States have repeatedly had great trouble in fixing a satisfactory schedule of freight charges. These lines are controlled by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central. After several methods had been agreed on and abandoned, and two or three exhausting "wars of rates" had occurred, the roads settled upon a system which apparently discriminated against Boston and New York, in favor of Philadelphia and Baltimore. This, of course, occasioned complaint, and in January, 1882, the presidents of the companies named, selected Senator Thurman, Minister Washburn, and Judge Cooley to act as an advisory commission upon "the difference in rates that should exist both eastwardly and westwardly upon all classes of freights, between the several terminal Atlantic ports." The commission met in New York, Philadel-

pnia and Baltimore, collected statistics, heard arguments from boards of trade and chambers of commerce, considered the problem of moving freight in connection with considerations of distance, cost of carriage, and the laws of competition, and in July reported that it was not clear, from such information as they could obtain, that the existing system was then inequitable. The report is said to have been written by Judge Cooley, and in any case the knowledge of railroad methods thereby acquired may have led to his subsequent clear and very conclusive exposition of the principles of pooling, which somewhat later appeared in the *Chicago Railway Review*.

His work in this direction has fixed his position as a leading authority upon a very difficult class of questions.

Judge Cooley's long tenure of judicial place, his conservative views upon constitutional questions and his manifold labor have combined to set him aside from active partisan politics. Had he chosen to make the effort, there is slight doubt that he might have attained prominence as a partisan leader and have reaped a substantial reward in place and emolument. His name has been often mentioned as that of a man whose character and ability fit him for a high, even the highest place. A letter is in existence—written several years ago by an observant Republican, who has since become a well-known judge, and who had excellent opportunities to know the drift of feeling in the southwest—in which the opinion was expressed that

the time had come for the Republicans to nominate an eminent constitutional lawyer to the Presidency, and that the fittest as well as the most available candidate would be Thomas M. Cooley. And in the spring of 1884, when it seemed evident that there would be difficulty in choosing a Republican ticket, the *Toledo Blade* suggested the same name. Whether or not there is anything in the fact, it is somewhat curious that neither of the great political parties has ever selected for its candidate a man who has reached judicial distinction, though for twenty-five years there has been scarcely a campaign when each might not have appropriately taken some such leader from among its conspicuous favorites.

The claim of the United States to the aid of this learned jurist in its highest court has also been presented more than once, but especially on the resignation of the late Judge Swayne, when strong petitions that he should be appointed were submitted to President Hayes by the *Northwestern bar*, and the representative law journal of the east repeatedly urged it.

The short interval since Judge Cooley's retirement from the bench has been passed in comparative quiet. He has accepted some of the many calls upon him to act as counsel in important cases; he has done much for the interest of the university, an institution very dear to him, but, for the most, he has studied, written, traveled and, for the first time in many years, followed the bent of his own tastes, untrammelled by official cares.

In his personal appearance the judge is of middle height and slender; his face in repose is grave and somewhat stern, but in conversation its expression changes with the current of his thoughts and becomes kindly or humorous with the occasion. He is not a talkative man, and yet he is by no means taciturn; he expresses himself in speech with the simplicity, ease and directness that belong to one who can use language without effort. There is nothing commonplace in what he says nor stereotyped in his way of saying it, nor, on the other hand, is there anything original or quaint, if those words imply oddity. He looks a little like Lincoln, as his portrait shows, but the resemblance to the great President is even more striking in his faculty of expressing himself clearly and felicitously; and in the ready and incisive humor which, on due provocation, reveals itself sometimes in his opinions. In the streets he walks with rapidity and seems on the whole to prefer walking to riding. He has no more fear of muscular effort than of the drudgery of writing, and does not shrink from carrying a heavy bundle of briefs and records with him, if that is the quickest way to get it where he wants it. His physical and mental endurance is the more amazing, because he can neither eat nor sleep as most men have to. During terms of the supreme court he, for weeks together, habitually went without dinner; and for many years his inability to sleep has given him opportunity for obtaining familiar acquaintance with current lit-

erature, in which not even novels are overlooked. Littell and the Eclectic are favorite night-caps, and he seems to care as little for quiet as for rest, food or sleep, since for many years he liked to carry on his work in the common sitting-room of his family, with his household about him, apparently undisturbed by their work or play.

Judge Cooley is still in the prime of his intellectual manhood, with physical powers so well preserved as to give promise of many years of useful labor. If, however, he should soon be called away, his reputation rests securely upon substantial service to the world, well and lastingly done, and the variety of his work would justify the inscription upon his monument which Dr. Johnson wrote for Goldsmith's tomb: "*Qui nullum fere scribendi genus non tetegit nullum quod tetegit non ornavit.*"

SOLOMON L. WITHEY.

As a current of living water flowing from a river into the sea freshens, purifies and invigorates it, so the current of New England life and character has flowed out into our western civilization and everywhere left its impress upon the lives, characters and works of the people of our newer states. The bleak climate, sterile soil, rugged hills, severe religious tenets and discipline of the northeastern states were to some extent a repetition of ancient Spartan conditions and sent forth to the westward a race of men whose influence has been felt from Portland to Puget sound; from Boston to the Golden Gate.

In business enterprise, in education,



S. L. Mithen

in politics, law and religion their leadership has been conspicuous, and in the biographical sketches of the prominent men of every northern state, New England is named as the birthplace of a very large proportion.

The state of Michigan is not an exception to this rule, and the high place it has already taken in the Union has been due not more to its rich and varied resources than the character of those men who were its pioneer citizens, who had a large share in its industrial development and in framing and founding its political institutions.

The subject of this sketch, the late Solomon L. Withey, for many years one of the most active and eminent men of Michigan, was a New Englander, having been born at St. Alban's Point, Vermont, April 21, 1820. His grandfather was a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and Judge Withey's early life was passed upon soil made historic as the scene of some of the most exciting events of the great struggle for independence. His early life was the usual, quiet, eventful one which the people of that frontier locality led at that period, and his early education only such as could be obtained in the common schools of the time, supplemented by a brief experience at a neighboring academy. It was a period of emigration and adventure, and when he was fifteen years old, his parents, partaking of the common spirit, turned their faces westward, and after the usual hardships and struggles, paused and remained for a year at Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, and then pushed their way into the forests of

Michigan, then just organized as a state. During the sojourn of the family at Cuyahoga Falls, young Withey had an opportunity to pursue further his studies at the institute at that place, for a portion of a year; but when the family journeyed westward he found employment for a time, first as a clerk in a store near Chatham, Canada, and afterwards at Ann Arbor, Michigan. His father, General Withey, settled with his family at Grand Rapids, Michigan, which, at that time, was a mere hamlet. He was a very active, useful and fearless man, and was soon placed in positions of public trust, being commander of the state militia and sheriff of the county.

To Grand Rapids for the first time, at the age of about seventeen, upon a visit to the family, came the son. The time, the circumstances, the surroundings, were all well calculated to inspire in the breast of an ambitious young man a desire to become, as soon as possible, an active factor in the development of the new country. As yet the western part of Michican was sparsely settled. People were finding their way from the shores of the great lakes into the interior by means of the rivers, and then cutting trails and roads from settlement to settlement. But though few in number as yet, it was already manifest at central points, like Grand Rapids, that there would soon be a great population in western Michigan.

Young Withey realized at once that the legal profession would be as sure a means of reaching usefulness, position, and honor in such a country as any

other, and he further realized the necessity of thorough education as a preparation for professional success ; but the means of obtaining a liberal education at that day were seldom urged upon worthy young men, and endowments and scholarships in the popular colleges were very few in number, but with his usual force he made his way back to the Cuyahoga Falls institute, where he labored very hard until August, 1838, and may be said to have completed all the learning of the schools which he ever had. He returned to Grand Rapids, and at the age of eighteen opened a select school. In this he was fairly successful. But it is difficult to deal with such preliminary work of his early years in the space allotted us in a manner to interest the general reader, since a sketch can hardly arise to the dignity of a biography ; and the early years of a man's life, while important at the time when the habits and character are being formed, are, after all, seldom productive of noteworthy results ; and results are most eagerly accepted by the general reader as the test of a man's greatness.

After a year's experience as a schoolmaster, Mr. Withey, then nineteen, began the study of law in the office of Rathbone & Martin at Grand Rapids, and afterwards continued with Hon. George Martin, but was not called to the bar until May 17, 1843. Like most young men of that day he was largely dependent on his own resources and obliged to work his way while he was engaged in his legal studies. During part of his service as a law student he was a deputy in the Grand Rapids post-

office, and it is quite likely from his general disposition, that he did "with his might whatever his hands found to do," which would be of benefit to him in education, business experience, or pecuniary means. He was greatly given to reading and advanced rapidly at this period in literary and general culture. He was perhaps too intent in his zeal for advancement and his thirst for knowledge for his physical welfare. He was not a genius unless indomitable perseverance is a type of genius. If his mind was not as active or his preceptions as acute as in some others, his will force was such that by persistent labor he ultimately arrived at equivalent results and with more lasting benefit to himself.

He remained in Judge Martin's office for a year after his admission to the bar, familiarizing himself with the principles of the law, and as far as possible acquainting himself with that which in the profession is comprehended in the term "practice."

In the spring of 1844 he entered upon the practice of the law with the late Hon. John Ball, the firm being Ball & Withey. Mr. Ball was many years his senior, and a man of extensive travel, solid attainments, and excellent abilities. The partnership lasted about two years under that name, when the Hon. George Martin, his old preceptor, was admitted to it, and the firm then became known as Ball, Martin & Withey.

Mr. Martin, a man of great ability, was afterwards called to the bench and the firm dissolved, but at subsequent periods Mr. Withey had associated with him in the active practice of the profes-

sion Hon. E. S. Eggleston, still of Grand Rapids, and Colonel George Gray, both men of great ability as lawyers, the latter of whom obtained an enviable celebrity at the Michigan bar and has since distinguished himself in broader fields of practice.

Judge Withey's success at the bar as an active practitioner was more than ordinary. He was not an easy speaker, and perhaps did not attain at any time remarkable success with juries as an advocate, but he was a very studious man, a thorough worker, careful and methodical, but above all he was a man of great force of character. More brilliant men were glad to lean upon him; more acute men were willing to give way to his good judgment and intense convictions. Thus he was always a positive quality, and though many things might have militated against him as an active practitioner, yet such were his habits and natural qualities that he could hardly fail of success, and he did not.

In 1848 he was elected to his first office, that of judge of probate, and held that office till and including 1852. The nature of this office in Michigan is such that it does not greatly interfere with a lawyer's practice, and Judge Withey continued his active work in the profession with unabated vigor. In 1861 he was elected to the state senate, of which he was a member for two years. These being the early years of the Rebellion, much was required of the legislature, and the record of Michigan in that struggle was in some part due to its governor, at that time, and the legislature, in which Senator Withey was a

leading spirit. It was a time which called for strong, positive men; and if he had physical infirmities which prevented him from active service in the field, he was possessed of a dauntless spirit and courage of conviction, which was a creating, strengthening and sustaining force to those whose privilege it was to take part in the struggle.

The state of Michigan had made such rapid progress that it became expedient to create the western part of the state into a new judicial district, and congress accordingly took action to that effect in 1863, and Solomon L. Withey was selected and appointed by Abraham Lincoln as its first judge. He was in no sense an aspirant for the position, but was the choice of the bar, as well as of the representative men of the Republican party, with which he allied himself on its first organization, and of which, during the remainder of his life, he was always a member in high standing. Judge Withey never believed anything by halves, and hence his Republicanism was of the uncompromising type; but in all the stirring scenes of partisan, political strife, from 1863 until his death, no man can truthfully say of him that he took any part in politics unbecoming the dignity of the position he held on the bench, or that in any judicial act he was for an instant partisan. His sense of fairness was very keen and strong; his appreciation of judicial dignity, while not overstrained, was ever high, and no one could complain that, as a judge, he cared more for one party than another. Early during his career on the bench he gave evidence of that

intense application of effort and unflagging perseverance which had theretofore characterized him at the bar, but which is too often abandoned by lawyers when they are invested with the judicial ermine. Many men in like circumstances have ceased to increase their store of legal learning or expand their intellectual powers upon leaving the bar for the bench, probably for the reason that they regard their positions as thenceforward secure; but Judge Withey was as regular and faithful to duty as the sun in its course, and he grew as a lawyer and jurist every day he was upon the bench.

The constitution of Michigan needed changing in some important particulars, and provisions were made for a constitutional convention, with elective delegates, in 1867, and this Judge Withey—who never shirked responsibility and who never sought for more than his share of the pleasures of life—found time to attend. He was chairman of its judiciary committee, and the impression he made upon the members of that body—a body of thoroughly representative men of the state, without doubt far beyond the average of legislatures in experience and ability—was a profound one. He was, in many respects, the most influential member of the convention, though he seldom occupied or consumed much of its time with speech-making.

But the crowning honor of his life was still in store for him. In 1869 he was appointed judge of the sixth federal circuit, composed of the states of Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee.

His commission was made out and sent to him by President Grant. It was an honor which almost any lawyer in the land would covet, and to accept which men have retired from the President's cabinet and the United States senate; and undoubtedly it required a strong effort for him to decline it. But Judge Withey was a man of domestic attachments and exceedingly domestic in his habits; he had a family of children growing up about him, and believed that they needed his paternal care to a greater extent than he could give it if away upon the circuit, as must needs be the case if he accepted the position. He was also painfully aware of the delicacy of his health and his physical infirmities, and feared that they might prevent him doing that complete justice to so great and widely extended a work as must be his as a circuit judge, and so, in obedience to his judgment, he declined a great honor. In similar cases the number who decline is very small. But Judge Withey was one of those who could say, "No!" in obedience to the dictates of his own judgment, if all the world and even the feelings of his own heart constrained him to say, "Yes!"

The constitution framed by the convention of 1867 was not ratified by the people when submitted to them, and in 1873 the legislature provided for a commission, to consist of two members from each of the nine congressional districts of the state, to be appointed by the governor, the duty of which commission was to prepare a new constitution. Judge Withey was selected as one of the members of that body, and became

chairman of its judiciary committee. Again he distinguished himself in the labors of that body.

Indeed, it may be said of him that while he undertook much, more perhaps than his health warranted, whatever he undertook was always thoroughly and well done. Nor were his labors confined to his judicial position. He was one of those men, very rare in these days, who seemed to be sought after in widely divergent avenues of life, and he was most unwilling to refuse active assistance to any one in need. He was an excellent and very thrifty business man, and from that fact he was for many years selected as president of the leading bank in western Michigan, and was generally regarded as a safe counselor and a tower of strength to its directorate. He was prominent in church affairs, having become a member of the Congregational church in 1848 and ever remaining a prominent member of that denomination in the state as well as beyond its boundaries. He was very consistent in his daily life as a Christian man, and perhaps to his efforts as much as to those of any layman was due the leading position that denomination has taken in the state of Michigan.

It was the privilege of the writer to be very near him for several years, and to observe closely his labors at chambers and upon the bench during an important period of his career as a judge. It was impossible to be thus situated without being impressed with the many strong traits of character which his daily life evidenced.

His health continued delicate; he

was unable to indulge in much physical exercise, and this no doubt had its effect upon him, for under the pressure of many cares and duties he was sometimes stern, almost severe, and those who did not understand the circumstances were often misled as to the general character of the man. But notwithstanding this seeming impatience and severity, there were few better hearts with warmer sympathies and kindlier and more charitable feelings toward all mankind, than that of Judge Withey.

He was one of the most merciful men in his sentences upon those who had offended the laws of the land, and his consideration for their welfare and possible reformation was such that it seemed sometimes as if he carried his humanitarian views and feelings to excess.

His integrity as a judge was never the subject of even momentary suspicion. He kept his ermine spotless. Probably few men ever labored more perseveringly and honestly to know all there was in a case and to decide it correctly. As before remarked, his sense of fairness, by nature large, had been cultivated with such care that it was as near perfect as men can expect in their fellows. He seemed to have no strong pride of opinion, and would often remark from the bench that he had none, and was willing to change his views at all times when convinced of error and receive light from any source whatever. He had a good fund of practical common sense, and was better pleased to use it than to indulge in fine-spun theories or hair-splitting distinc-

tions. The bar, as well as the jurors called to serve in his court, generally understood what was going on in his mind from the words which fell from his lips. He was not particularly graceful in his diction, and never seemed to trouble himself to make use of high or fine sounding language. His opinions were largely sustained by the court of last resort in this country, and his services were eagerly sought after as judge or referee from outside the district and the state. One very noteworthy case of this kind was that of the famous Tennessee railroad bond cases, wherein over one hundred and forty millions of dollars were involved, and where a large number of the most eminent men in the United States, including Charles O'Connor, Stanley Matthews and Governor Hoadly, agreed upon him to hear the case. It was very intricate as to the points of law involved, and voluminous almost beyond belief. In this case he bore himself in such manner as to obtain the confidence and respect of all, and the result he arrived at was afterwards confirmed by the supreme court of the United States.

During the last year or more of his life his health failed steadily. In the hope of receiving benefit from a change of climate and complete rest, accompanied by his devoted wife, Marion L. (Hinsdill) Withey—a woman of great ability and many noble traits of character, who had been his companion and the sharer of his vicissitudes, labors and triumphs since their marriage in 1845—he sought the Pacific coast. For a time it seemed

as if change of air and complete rest from his cares and labors were benefiting him, but it afterward became apparent that they would not accomplish the desired result. Easter day, 1886, had been celebrated by the Christian world as a memorial of the rising of the Master whom he had served so long and so faithfully. On the evening of that beautiful day, with his wife and daughter at his side, at San Diego, California, Judge Withey quietly and peacefully entered into rest. He had enjoyed the day; he had taken supper at the dining table of the hotel; was seized with a momentary feeling of weakness and pain about the heart; was assisted to his room, and died sitting in his chair, with scarcely a struggle.

As it was everywhere said of the Master on that day, "He is risen," so on the eve of that day might it have been said of Judge Withey.

The bench, the bar, the press and the people of Michigan united to pay tribute to the memory of a good man, an eminent citizen, an able, fearless, just and honest judge.

His life and public services reflect honor upon the state in which he was born, and were an ornament and a blessing to the state of his adoption. His example was worth more than books to the profession of his laborious love, and to his family he left, in addition to ample means, a legacy of honorable reputation, worth more than mines of wealth.

J. H. S.

OHIO IN HISTORY.

I PROPOSE to present the briefest possible outline of that Ohio field of biography and history which it would be both pleasant and profitable for all Ohians especially to explore. That territorial and state history relates to historical events and historical men. Some of these far-reaching events, worthiest of our particular study, are the first permanent settlement at Marietta in the spring of 1788; the second settlement at Columbia, near the site of Cincinnati, in the autumn of the same year; the establishment of a territorial government with General Arthur St. Clair as the first and only duly commissioned governor; the formation of the first four counties in the territory, with the noble Revolutionary names of Washington, Hamilton, Wayne and Adams; the disastrous defeat of General Harmar, by the Indians, in June, 1790; the more disastrous defeat of Governor St. Clair, November 4, 1791, in that western Ohio county since appropriately called "Darke;" the inspiring victory of General Anthony Wayne in August, 1794; the enactment of needed laws by the governor and territorial judges; the assembling of the the first territorial legislature on September 24, 1799; the ceding by Connecticut of her claims to all that territory called the Western Reserve of

Connecticut, on May 30, 1801; the formation of the first state constitution at Chillicothe, in November, 1802; the first general election under that constitution, in January, 1803; the transition from a territorial to a state government in February and March, 1803; the Burr conspiracy, with the state's vigorous action in suppressing it, in 1806; the gallant defense of Fort Stephenson and Perry's splendid victory on Lake Erie during the war of 1812; the establishment of the permanent seat of government at Columbus in 1816; the beginning of the construction of the great canals of the state at Newark, in the fitting presence of Governors Jeremiah Morrow, De Witt Clinton and Senator Thomas Ewing, July 4, 1825; the creation of the noble institutions of charity, benevolence and learning and of the system of public schools, which so honor the state in all succeeding years; the construction of the first and the other great lines of that network of railways which has done more than any single agency to advance the material interests of the state; Ohio's preparation and part in the war for the Union; her action with respect to the latest and best amendments to the national constitution, and her courageous course in the prolonged contests for a sound currency with coin resumption, and the

maintenance, untarnished, of the state's and the nation's credit and faith.

Turning from events, some of which can be treated in essays, others only in volumes, to the meritorious men identified with Ohio's history—men whom we all ought to know more about, much more than the libraries can teach us—we can not omit from the historical list General Rufus Putnam and Dr. Manasseh Cutler, so worthy to be the founders of a great state; General Arthur St. Clair, who passed from the presidency of the American congress to the governorship of the Northwestern Territory, remaining our territory's executive chief through successes and defeats for fourteen years; Dr. Edward Tiffin, president of the convention which framed the first constitution of the state and first governor of Ohio under that constitution; Return Jonathan Meigs, the first cabinet officer that Ohio furnished the republic, whose grave is one of the objects of historic interest in old Marietta; Judge Jacob Burnet, the western Lyncurgus, who gave our confused mass of laws consistency and adaptation; honest old Jeremiah Morrow, the last and the best of the governors of the pioneer stock; faithful Peter Hitchcock, for twenty years in the legislature and in congress, and for twenty-five chief justice; William Henry Harrison, the pure patriot of highest virtue, whose political triumph in 1840 was not greater than his earlier triumphs over our Indian foes; Justice John McLean, who combined the manners and graces of the old school of jurists with the learning of the new; Samuel F. Vinton, the able and dignified Whig

leader who preferred his dignity to his existence in office; the brilliant and eloquent Thomas L. Hamer, who sent Grant to West Point; Judge Bellamy Storer, alike popular on the bench and on the stump; Hocking Hunter, every inch and in every fiber a lawyer, Henry Stanbery, the perfect type of a courtly gentleman, and Charles Hammond, one of the strongest and greatest of the members of the American bar.

Especially should we of this generation learn more about the two most distinctively representative historical men of Ohio, Thomas Ewing and Thomas Corwin, the one the embodiment of all the robust strength, physical and mental, of the giant west, declared to be at the period of his death the ablest lawyer in the United States; the other, in the concurrent judgment of all who have felt the spell of his matchless eloquence, as great a natural orator and as marvellous a wit, mimic and master of the passions of men, as this continent has yet known.

Passing from these two extraordinary men, who taught the great men of the later period what it was to be great—but not forgetting in passing the high-minded and massive-minded Chase, liberty-loving Joshua R. Giddings, bluff Ben. Wade, brainy, burly Brough, and the strong but gentle Tod—we reach that race of native historic men whose lives touch ours—we might almost say, whose lives preserved ours—Grant, the peer of the modern world's first soldiers—Marlborough, Von Moltke, Wellington and Napoleon; Stanton, the creator of armies and god-like forger of the

thunderbolts of war; Sheridan, who turned retreats and defeats into advances and victories and rode with the swiftness of the wind to fame; Sherman, the only soldier or statesman in American history who refused in sincerity the honor of the Presidency when it was thrice within his reach; Hayes, who called around him the ablest cabinet the nation has had, and whose administration of the national government was so acceptable to the people that they voted for another politically like it; Garfield, the most learned President (not excepting John Quincy Adams) who has filled the executive chair, the pathos of whose death touched all hearts in all lands; and tenderly-loved McPherson, whom death alone deprived of equality with the greatest.

And in what more fitting connection can we refer to those two peerless living Ohio statesmen, similar in name and fame, Sherman and Thurman, the one greatest as a financier, the other as a lawyer, both of highest distinction in the making and in the administration of law, and each honored for his public services by the discriminating, everywhere.

Conspicuous for their eminent abilities as are Rufus P. Ranney, William S. Groesbeck, Samuel Shellabarger, John A. Bingham, Jacob D. Cox, Thomas Ewing, George H. Pendleton, Chief Justice Waite, and Associate Justices Woods and Matthews, among living Ohians, we must not forget in our biographical studies other useful or brilliant men who have passed away, leaving honored names worthy of long remembrance within and beyond the

limits of their own state. It will not, I trust, seem invidious to call to mind George E. Pugh, Caleb T. McNulty, Elisha Whittlesey, Samuel Lewis, Joseph R. Swan, William Dennison, Samuel Galloway and William Allen, or such benefactors as James G. Birney, Dr. Daniel Drake, William Woodward, Lyne Starling, Nicholas Longworth and William Probasco.

Such born jurists and gentlemen as Justice Noah H. Swayne and Judge H. H. Leavitt are everywhere held in honor, as will also long be revered the names of those eminent divines, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Bishop Philander Chase, Bishop McIlvaine, Bishop Edward Thomson and Presidents Finney of Oberlin, and Andrews of Marietta. There are other Ohio names that are too prominently connected with the history of the nation to overlook, among which are those of Generals McClellan, McDowell, Quincy A. Gillmore, Steadman, Schenck and the McCooks; the great inventor, Edison, the Arctic explorer, Dr. Hall, the astronomer, O. M. Mitchell, and the director-general of our national centennial exhibition, Goshorn.

What are Ohio's honored names in literature, intelligent readers of course know all about; and while her sons may have accomplished less, perhaps, in that field than in war, politics or art, one can safely say that Artemus Ward and Petroleum V. Nasby, compare favorably with the first humorists of the nation, William D. Howells with the foremost novelists of his day, while Charles Hammond, Samuel Medary, E.

D. Mansfield, Joseph Medill, Henry Read, Samuel Read, Richard Smith, Murat Halstead, and the present editors of the New York *Tribune*, the New York *World* and the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, have yielded or are now yielding as large a measure of influence as had fallen to the lot of any American journalists. Buchanan Read, William D. Gallagher and William H. Lytle have done nobly all that they attempted to do at all, and Will Carleton, John James and Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt and Mrs. Kate Sherwood are making poetry and fame just so fast as the muses will permit.

And while it would take many essays to show what Ohians have accomplished in art, none can afford to be ignorant of the lives and works of the world-famous Thomas Cole and Hiram Powers, or of the achievements of America's first animal painters, James H. and William H. Beard, or of the noble works which adorn so many cities, of this country's greatest sculptor, Quincy Ward, whose "Indian Hunter," "Shakespeare," "Washington" and "Equestrian Thomas." will live a thou-

sand years after all that is now mortal has crumbled into dust.

I close this appeal for the study of our state's history by reminding the reader that Ohio can lay full or partial claim to four Presidents of the United States, Harrison, Grant, Hayes and Garfield; to one vice-president by birth, Hendricks, and one speaker of the house, Keifer, to two chief-justices, Chase and Waite, and four associate justices, McLean, Swayne, Matthews and Woods; to one secretary of state, through fourteen years' residence, Cass; to five secretaries of the treasury, Ewing, Corwin, Chase, Sherman and Windom; to three secretaries of war, McLean, Stanton and Taft; to three secretaries of the interior, Ewing, Cox and Delano; to two attorney-generals, Stanbury and Taft, and to three postmaster-generals, Meigs, McLean and Dennison.

If all these men have not done enough to command your interest and studious attention, citizens of Ohio, set to work to do something to honor the Buckeye state yourselves!

JAMES Q. HOWARD.

ART AND ARTISTS IN OHIO.

III.

ART IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF OHIO.

There are now recognized three lines of work which are developed simultaneously—in many of the public schools of Ohio.

Construction drawing, or the kind necessary for the workmen to work from in the construction of objects. These are commonly called working drawings, architectural drawings, machine drawings, etc.

Representative drawing, or the kind necessary for the pictorial representation of objects, and

Decorative drawing, or the kind necessary for the decoration and embellishment of objects; in other words, the study of industrial design, its principles and their application to wall-papers, carpets, furniture, pottery, iron work, stone work, etc.

A graduate of the schools of to-day, where this course is fully developed, should be able to sketch, pictorially, any simple object he may see or form in his mind; he should be able to make a working drawing to a scale, so he or any workman could construct the object from the drawing; and he should also be able to design the ornament for the object.

Such is the nature of the art education—**industrial art education**, it should

properly be called—in the public schools of Columbus and other cities of Ohio.

Cincinnati has been noted, more or less, for the work in drawing in her public schools. They have made a change in the last two years in the plan pursued, which is more or less similar to that pursued in Columbus, but not so fully developed. Good work is being done. The Cincinnati schools also made an exhibit at the New Orleans exposition, and the character of the work may be judged from the fact that the French commissioner of education requested and received the entire exhibit in this branch for the Paris Pedagogical museum.

At Cleveland, Toledo, Dayton, Springfield and eighty-one other towns in the state of Ohio, drawing is one of the regular subjects of study in the public schools, according to report of the state school commissioner.

It is impossible to estimate the influence this study will exert on the rising generation, especially if, as in Massachusetts, the instruction could be under proper and efficient direction. Then there is the Massachusetts Normal Art school, with a thorough four years course, and supported by the state. They have discontinued the position of state director of art education, but em-

ploy the best talent, under the name of state agents, for the promotion of industrial art education. Their business is to travel over the state, hold institutes, lecture, issue circulars of information, and otherwise advance the object. In Ohio much of this instruction is poor and aimless, for want of knowledge and proper direction.

Hon. John Eaton, commissioner of education, writes me :

Art in schools has been for several years a prominent subject of discussion in the principal educating countries of the world. Drawing and modelling enter into the elementary course of training in nearly all the countries of continental Europe.

The British royal commission on technical education especially recommended the introduction of drawing and modelling into all elementary schools.

With reference to the course to be pursued in elementary and intermediate schools, Philip Magnus, a member of the commission, director and secretary of the city and guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education, and long acknowledged as an authority on the subject, says, in an address before the Society of Arts :

"On every occasion on which I have had the opportunity of speaking on this subject, I have called attention to the neglect of drawing in many of our public elementary schools, which is the more to be regretted seeing that the majority of the children trained in these schools are destined to commence life in occupations in which the ability to draw is quite as useful to them as the ability to spell. I am inclined to think that it is partly in consequence of the examination and inspection of drawing being placed under a different department of state from that which superintends the general work of elementary schools, that this subject, important as it is, comes to be regarded as an extra rather than as an essential element in primary instruction. Adequately satisfactory results are not likely to be obtained until drawing shall have been made an obligatory subject, both in girl's schools and in boy's schools, subject to the same rules of examination and inspection as reading, writing and arithmetic.

In learning drawing, the pupil generally commences by copying from the flat to the flat, he then proceeds to copy from the solid to the flat, and

lastly, he is engaged in rearranging materials previously studied, and in original design. In the teaching of modelling, the opposite is followed ; the pupil begins by imitating in relief what he sees in relief, and then proceeds to copy in relief what is presented to him in the flat ; and lastly, by aid of mere sketches and suggestions or original conceptions, to project into the solid form the pictures of his mind.

Wherever in our own country drawing has been introduced and properly taught, excellent results have followed. Massachusetts affords the best example of a practical effort in this direction, embracing the schools of an entire state, and the advantage of the training is already experienced in the improvement of various of her manufactures."

Why cannot we have an Ohio school of art ? We certainly have had a large number of prominent Ohio artists. Let us not forget what they have done for us. Cole, Powers, and others that are dead, even the veterans among the living, Beard, Whitridge and others. There are many like Andrews, Mosler, Neihaus, Weber, Barber, Witt and Griswold, and many others who are ripening with years into better and better work. It is by constant advances of talent, exercised at home and on home subjects, that a home art is created, and this is what is needed. Powers did not, unfortunately, leave anything behind him distinctly American with his "Eve," his "Greek Slave" and "Proserpine." But Ward's admirable "Indian Hunter and Dog" is a work of to-day. Ward has studied the red man, and made an Ohio or rather an American group in an American way. Farney of Cincinnati is a splendid delineator of Indians. When at the Paris exhibition, we were disappointed that our American artists had so few American subjects. They seemed to delight in Oriental scenes,

like Bridgman's, so much like his master Gerome. The critics of Europe all said, "when we enter English galleries we find England; we know when we are in Belgium; Italy may be weak, but she is Italy, but when we come to the United States, what do we see? Why, a mixture of all. Paint us an American landscape for Heaven's sake." The *Revue des Deux Mondes* articles had nothing to say about American art, because there was none. Of all the pictures we had there, only those few were noticed which smacked of the soil. Now that you know as much as your masters, why not go home and work out your artistic destinies in your own way." If we cannot have a distinctive Ohio art, let us have an American art, and when it is achieved it will be as eclectic and comprehensive as the American nation. We consider knowledge of art, taste for art, and even skill in art as necessary to culture—even indispensable to it. Art administers to the necessities of life, while in addition to this the fine arts address the imagination. Thus in civilized nations, in proportion to the development of the intellect and fancy, we find the fine arts entering largely into the ornamentation of even the most common as well as the greatest objects. An art idea is not a mere phantasm. It is as real, as vital as other formulas of human thought. The self-styled practical man, the man of figures, whose faith is in the tangible, looks upon life as a carefully worked problem.

Says one, "It is true there is much art that defies analysis. There are sub-

tle influences that cannot be explained. Can the scientist tell me why the sun and rain sweeten the fruit of the tree and not the rest? Nowhere can we escape mysteries. But if we study art by the right methods and in the right spirit, much of its seeming mystery disappears. We find that reason rules here, as in law or science. Blue and yellow make green as sure as two and two make four."

In the galleries of the Old World there is often too much of the nude and sensual. At the salon in Paris, in 1883, when we were there, it seemed as if one-fourth of the paintings were nude and sensual, because it was said the Parisians demand such exhibitions, and they sell well. Does not the magnificent delineation of natural scenery, the noble portraits of the greatest of men, the vivid representation of historic events, the statues of orators, sages and patriots of the world, the touching portrayal of domestic bliss, of its sorrows as well as of its joys, the wedding, the the christening, the grave, the purely ideal conception of beauty, are these not all refining? Vice is also so graphically depicted that the dissolute tremble while they look. Men are to be pitied who sneer at art and lovers of art; they lose one of the most delightful enjoyments of life by not cultivating the love of the beautiful.

The people's taste should be cultivated by having an opportunity to see fine paintings from the best artists of Europe and America. Then the work in our art schools, exhibited free to the people at their spring exhibitions, is a

great educator, and people will soon know better than to buy cheap daubs so frequently offered at auction, and photographs painted and offered as expensive water colors, and bought by the cord, as it were, because they are cheap. Patronize your home artist. He cannot work as he ought to work when he lacks means. He cannot attract your attention like a highwayman; you must approach him, and recognize the value of his gifts.

ART IN CINCINNATI.

In looking for the influences which have directly and indirectly helped to secure for Cincinnati the means of culture in the industrial and fine arts, we find, as far back as 1838, there was established in Cincinnati the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts, having for its object the mutual improvement of its members in the various departments of the fine arts. The president was John L. Whetstone; superintendent, T. W. Whitridge; among its officers were James H. Beard, Miner K. Kellogg and others; its membership was made up of both artists and amateurs. The Western Art union was established in Cincinnati in 1847. "The object of this institution is the encouragement of the fine arts." Every subscriber of five dollars a year is a member for one year, and is entitled to a copy of a highly finished original engraving, etc. All the funds of the society, after defraying expenses, are devoted to the purchase of American works of art, painting, sculpture, etc. Charles Stetson was president.

In 1854 an association of ladies was formed, called The Ladies' Academy of Fine Arts, which was formed under the earnest and intelligent leadership of Mrs. Sarah Peter (mother of Mr. Rufus King of Cincinnati).

Then the organization known as the "Associated Artists of Cincinnati" was instituted. The association opened its first annual exhibition in 1866-67, which was designed to further the interests of art and pave the way for the creation of a permanent art gallery. The president was C. T. Webber. Among its officers were T. D. Jones, J. Lucas Williams, William P. Noble, Henry Mosler, etc.

In 1868-69 "The Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts" was incorporated, with the object of cultivating the love of the beautiful and improving a taste for the fine arts. The first president was Hon. W. S. Groesbeck; officers, H. Probasco, George W. Nichols, Julius Dexter, Lewis E. Mills, Joseph Longworth, W. F. Force, C. T. Webber.

In 1874 the ladies of Cincinnati were called together by Mrs. General Noyes, centennial commissioner for Ohio. Through their efforts Cincinnati was represented in the display of women's work by a large exhibition from the School of Design. The amateur work in over glaze china painting by Cincinnati women was equal to any at the exposition. In January, 1877, Mrs. A. F. Perry was instructed by the women's centennial executive committee to prepare a definite plan to reorganize as an art association, and she read a paper giving an account of what had been

done in that direction in England and in this country. As a result the committee reported in favor of the organization of an art museum and training school, with the name of "The Women's Art Museum Association," and Mrs. Aaron F. Perry was elected president. Vigorous measures were adopted to make it a success by free lectures, loan exhibitions, etc. Mrs. Perry and the ladies of Cincinnati, by their intelligent and well-directed efforts, now rejoice in the grand Museum building, dedicated since this paper was prepared, and its collections thrown open to the public May 17, 1886; and in addition the splendid building for the art school being erected.

The Ladies' Academy of Fine Arts, formed in 1854, by means of membership fees and subscriptions, raised the sum of \$7,000. To this Mr. Charles McMicken added \$1,000 for the purchase of casts, which were to belong to the picture gallery till a school of design should be established in Cincinnati.

In 1854 Mrs. Peter went to Europe, and while there purchased a number of paintings—copies of the old masters—for the picture gallery, and also a collection of casts.

At this period the elements were concentrating which, in 1857, crystallized into the South Kensington museum. The awakening which in England led to the application of fine art (which had been so long fostered by the higher seats of learning in the kingdom, and by such collections as the British museum, the National gallery and others) to the industries of the country, had not yet

begun to stir the people of the United States. Mrs. Peter and her associates saw no art museum in the future, but they aimed to inspire a sense of the beautiful, and to raise the standard of taste in their own city. In the discouragements which overtook them, their work may have seemed to them a failure; but looking back through a third of a century, we see it take its place as one of the earliest expressions which, in one way and another, at one time and another, has gained strength and taken shape, until the Cincinnati school of design has an endowment ample for its maintenance, a liberal building fund, and, connected as it now is, with the Cincinnati museum, occupies a position for usefulness second to none in the country.

The paintings procured by the efforts of these ladies may not possess the highest artistic merit, but down to 1881, when Mr. Joseph Longworth gave to the museum the Lessing collection of studies and paintings, they were the only collection available for the use of classes, and, in connection with the casts provided by Mr. McMicken, they have been of value in forming the taste of the thousands of pupils of the School of Design. The ladies of the Picture Gallery association builded wiser than they knew, and are entitled to an honored place in the historic memories of the city.

It would seem that the plan of establishing a picture gallery did not result in a success. The pictures were exhibited for a time after their arrival, and were subsequently stored in one of the upper rooms belonging to the McMicken

estate, on the northeast corner of Third and Main streets. It came to pass after awhile, that Mr. T. C. Webber, artist, obtained permission of the ladies and of the trustees of the McMicken estate, to use the pictures and the casts, and the room, for the purposes of a class. The work of the class was encouraging, and the interest in it enlarged. Among those who saw possibilities of valuable results from this small beginning, were Mr. Joseph Longworth and Mr. Thomas S. Noble, and in course of time the class which had come to be called the school of design was united to the Cincinnati University. This institution was founded on a bequest of Mr. Charles McMicken, and was organized under its first regular corps of professors in 1874.

When the observatory on Mt. Adams was about to be removed to Mt. Lookout, Mr. Joseph Longworth offered to give the income of the ground on which the observatory stood, to the new school of design, if the observatory would waive its rights. This was accomplished and an agreement entered into by the city for the university, the observatory and Mr. Longworth, by which the income, about three thousand dollars, was secured to the school of design.

Sometime afterwards, Mr. Longworth gave fifty thousand dollars in United States bonds, or its income, provided the city would raise the income of the school of design to ten thousand dollars. This was agreed to. Mr. Longworth afterwards invested the fifty thousand dollars in ground rents, whereby the income was increased, including the

three thousand dollars, to seventy-two hundred dollars, leaving the city only twenty-eight hundred dollars to provide annually. The timely and intelligent help of Mr. Longworth can hardly be overestimated in its effect upon the taste and social habits of the people of Cincinnati. At a time when there seemed little encouragement to liberality in that direction, he established the school of design upon an independent footing.

The usefulness of the school has been more apparent from year to year. Large numbers of pupils are in constant attendance on its classes, and of the considerable number of persons here who have achieved some success in various branches of art, and especially in its application to the industries, nearly all have been its pupils. The influence of the school is a pleasing commentary upon the foresight and wisdom of Mr. Longworth's often quoted saying, that he did it "for the benefit of the idle rich, as well as for the industrious poor."

After the establishment of the Cincinnati museum, the scheme of which was broad enough to include training schools, Mr. Joseph Longworth, who had already done so much for the school of design and the museum, ardently desired to see the two institutions united under one organization, the one being the natural supplement of the other. This required the consent of the trustees of the McMicken university, and also some legislation, both of which were happily accomplished, and a few months after the death of Mr. Longworth the transfer was made, with an endowment by the heirs of Mr. Longworth, in accord-

ance with his known plans, of three hundred and seventy-one thousand six hundred and thirty-one dollars for the art school, the annual income of which will be about fifteen thousand dollars, which is to be devoted to the support of the art school.

Since my paper was prepared, Mrs. Aaron F. Perry, of the Women's Art Museum Association of Cincinnati, from its foundation in 1877, has, at the request of the association, edited a little book, which is just out, entitled, "A Sketch of the Women's Art Union Association of Cincinnati." I have therefore corrected some errors in the original paper and have given a more extended account of the early work toward art in Cincinnati. Mrs. Perry has kindly given me the liberty to use the facts gathered by her in her book, which is an interesting and valuable history of the grand work done in Cincinnati, a "triumph of feminine energy and Cincinnati culture."

A large and imposing building adjoining the Cincinnati museum building, for the art school and the school of design, is to be erected this spring in Cincinnati, to cost eighty thousand dollars, on the twenty acre grounds of Eden park, which is on a bold crest of Mount Adams. The building is to be of stone and entirely fire proof, 81x105 feet, with semi-circular projection for the west, making its extreme length one hundred and forty feet, and three stories high, with numerous galleries, halls and rooms, which will make it one of the most complete structures for the purposes required in the country. Mr. David Sinton, one of Cincinnati's most generous and public

spirited citizens, has donated seventy-five thousand dollars for the purpose. There is also twenty thousand dollars available for the same purpose from the will of the late Reuben R. Springer. It will be a grand and picturesque building, judging from the elevation. A few years ago there was not a city in the United States that had an art museum building. The centennial exhibition of 1876 seems to have given a fresh impetus to art and art institutions. Cincinnati seems to take the lead in its splendid gifts from its public spirited citizens to found art institutions, and to promote art by providing so liberally for their maintenance.

To Charles W. West and others Cincinnati is indebted for her splendid art museum. Mr. West offered to give one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of founding an art museum, if a like sum was raised for the same purpose. The late Joseph Longworth and Reuben R. Springer, with David Sinton and Julius Dexter, gave ten thousand dollars each, and the remainder—the entire sum of one hundred and sixty-six thousand five hundred dollars—was given in smaller amounts. To these sums, on February 2, 1882, Mr. West added one hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars more as an endowment fund, securing an income of ten thousand five hundred dollars for the support of the museum. Altogether about one million dollars has been given the Cincinnati museum, without including the original endowments. M. E. Ingalls is president of the board of trustees. Cincinnati will have the best endowed

and largest art buildings in the country. The museum already has large collections, nearly all gifts of the late Joseph Longworth, Governor Hoadley and others. The Women's Art Museum association has presented a historical collection illustrating the beginnings of ceramic art in Cincinnati. They have many other collections, and when the art museum and art school buildings are finished, I am sure Cincinnati will be the great art center in America. When we remember that in 1840 Cincinnati had only forty-five thousand inhabitants, and in 1868 the school of design in the university of Cincinnati had only one teacher and thirty students, and have now a thoroughly graded course of instruction with four hundred pupils, is it not surprising how much has been accomplished by her in literature and art?

Americans traveling in Europe are often told, "I should not like to live in America, you have no operas and art galleries." Let them come to the Queen City of the West and see their grand music hall, art museum and art buildings.

Cincinnati has educated (more or less) over thirty prominent artists who have gone to Europe or east. And she has for many years had a few public spirited citizens who have encouraged artists in various ways, and there are a number of valuable collections there, which would surprise one who is a lover of art. Among them are Judge Longworth, Henry Probasco, Governor Hoadley, L. B. Harrison, W. W. Scarborough and others.

Miss Louisa McLaughlin of Cincinnati, has discovered the difficult process of underglaze painting. The particular merit of her method is the rich and beautiful effect on the colors by blending them with the glazing. Her works are specially molded to order according to her own patterns. Her ornamentation is peculiarly beautiful, because she copies from nature strictly, making her own drawings from real flowers and leaves. She has taken a prominent position in art. Her ware has been called Cincinnati faience. At the exposition in Paris we saw some of her specimens, and we remember they attracted great attention, coming from a lady in America who had boldly set herself to the ambitious task of reproducing the brilliant and heavy painted Limoges faience; and she so far succeeded as to receive honorable mention from the jury on ceramic productions. Mrs. Maria Longworth Nichols, Mrs. H. D. Leonard and Mrs. William Dodd were also successful in the same line of work.

Our country is full of material for fine ceramic products as a bountiful nature could well supply, and Miss McLaughlin's genius and skill have no doubt laid the foundation from which American skill and enterprise ought to create an industry whose extent would, in the future, surpass any of our present conceptions.

Mrs. C. A. Plimpton led the way into a new field of decorative work, which, while not entirely original in its nature, is most interesting as showing the practical and ornamental uses to which our fine, varied and abundant native clays



W. H. Withington

may be put. Her work has been mainly in red and yellow clays. The process of decoration is a building up of the design upon the partly dried, unburnt piece of pottery, in damp clays of different or the same colors, which, through the process of firing, retain their relative colors. After firing, the glaze is added and the final firing given.

The French at Sevres, and the Eng-

ish at Stoke-upon-Trent, have shown the beauty of porcelain clays in the *pate-sur-pate* process, whose results rival in costliness and beauty the work of the cameo-cutter. In showing the fine results of a similar process of building up, modeling, and incising in the common clays of Ohio, Mrs. Plimpton has made an important advance in the ceramic art and industry of the country.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

THE WEST IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION, AS TOLD IN THE SKETCHES OF SOME OF ITS GENERALS.

GENERAL W. H. WITHINGTON.

At the conclusion of an evening's conversation, some topic of which may have called forth the thought, a man who in his own life might have found many illustrations of his idea, made use of the following words: "Have you ever observed the ease with which a man born and reared amid American influences can adapt himself to important changes of occupation? How in many cases he can devote himself to lines of business varied in their character, and command a fair success in them all? We see it in the every-day life about us; in the examples of many of our leading men. It is so in no other country in the world. Elsewhere one is drilled in his one pursuit, and take him out of that and set him at something else, and he is lost. I call this one of our national characteristics."

This thought has been recalled with

renewed force by a review of the life-record made by General William Herbert Withington of Jackson, Michigan, who has been a business man, soldier and legislator, and has won a high reputation in each of these varied lines of labor. From the office to the field; again back to the labors of peace; called again to public duties of another character, and again returning to the care of personal affairs—he has been the model citizen and modest man through it all; seeking no self-advancement, content to do his duty wherever it was found, and striving wherever placed to make the best use of the powers with which he has been endowed.

General Withington is descended from a family that has for years held its own for culture and strength of character, even in New England, where the personality of a man counts for more than it does in the less restrictive west. He

was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on February 1, 1835. His father, Rev. William Withington, who is still living at the advanced age of eighty-eight, is an Episcopal clergyman who traces his family line to English settlers who were among the earliest inhabitants of New England. The hardy and vigorous character of the family stock is shown by the fact that the father of the subject of this sketch has a sister still living at the age of ninety-four; while his brother, Dr. Leonard Withington of Newburyport, Massachusetts, died only last year, at the age of ninety-six. The latter, at the time of his death, was the oldest Congregational clergyman then living, and also the oldest living graduate of Yale college. Both brothers were of the brainy class of men, adding education, culture, high-minded character, and long years of experience, to a wealth of natural endowment. The uncle was the author of several successful and able works on theology, while the father was a scholar of rare breadth and thoroughness, whose range of study seemed to cover almost the whole field of human knowledge. As a mathematician, Harvard gave him the "big slate" for foremost standing. As a linguist, few men of his time equaled him in the number of languages mastered. To this day his favorite reading is Greek and Hebrew rather than English. While more gifted in acquiring than in imparting knowledge, he was a preacher of great power and eloquence on topics which especially interested him. In conversation he was like a cyclopædia, giving only what was sought but giving then the

best known on almost any subject. His few published works were those of a man who thinks by the yard and writes by the inch.

It was in this scholastic atmosphere that the early days of General Withington's life were spent. While the influences about him were of the highest and the purest kind, they did not, as might have been supposed, unfit him for the hard and practical side of life, but rather trained him all the better therefore. The retiring and unworldly character of the father threw the home responsibilities more and more upon the son—a burden that naturally increased as it was shown that he had the strength and courage for its carrying. He early learned the habit of self-reliance, and from his early training doubtless came that faculty that has ever enabled him to do a labor beyond his years. He was educated in the schools of Boston and afterwards finished his education in Phillips academy, at Andover. On leaving school he turned his attention directly to the practical realities of a business life, entering a leather store at Boston, as salesman. He soon became book-keeper for the North Wayne Scythe company, and in a short time was given full charge of the details of their extensive business. Some idea of his capacity even at this early age may be inferred from the fact that when but nineteen years of age we find his employers entrusting him with important missions to New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and other points at which they had large patronage.

While in this connection the young

man came into acquaintance with the large agricultural implement manufacturing concern of Pinney & Lamson, who had a contract for prison labor at Jackson, Michigan. The death of Mr. Lamson had left the whole responsibility in the hands of Mr. Pinney, who desired Mr. Withington to go to Jackson and give his services towards the righting of a set of affairs that certainly needed straightening out. The contract was made, and in 1857, when but twenty-two years of age, the young man went to Jackson, and assumed graver responsibilities than any he had yet borne. He found matters in chaos. The affairs were nominally in the hands of a son of Mr. Pinney's, but in reality had no head and no management. The bookkeeper had left some months before, while the office was in charge of a traveling man. There was full scope for the energy, enterprise and new life that had been sent to the rescue. It was not long before the effect was seen and felt all through the concern. The business was altogether new to the young bookkeeper from the east, and there was no one on hand to give him direction or even initiation into his duties. The one surviving partner, Mr. Pinney, lived in Columbus, Ohio, and was not in Jackson when Mr. Withington arrived. His first effort was to bring the books up from their arrears and entanglement. The pressure of affairs demanding immediate attention was enormous and such as might have appalled a man of mature years, trained powers and acquired knowledge in this business. The cor-

respondence, the oversight of sales, the purchase of material for manufacture and shop supplies, the control of foreman, the collection and payments, in short all the office work of a manufacturing business, employing one hundred and twenty-five workmen and six traveling salesmen, dropped at once on his young and inexperienced shoulders. It was the crucial test of the stuff that was in him. It wasn't simply that there were great responsibilities; the situation was full of perplexities and annoyances. The average young man would have said: "I didn't hire for this; I am not going to work fourteen hours a day." Not so this young Puritan of hero mould. He attacked the mountainous task before him with undaunted courage and unwavering determination and persistency. It was the key point to his future. Had he quailed and gone back to Boston he would have lived well on baked beans and brown bread, and no doubt gained a respectable business position, but he would have turned his back on opportunity and the fortune that waited upon it.

The financial panic of 1857 came on in its full force, and havoc and destruction fell upon thousands of business and manufacturing houses all over the land. Unwilling and perhaps unable to stand before the storm, Mr. Pinney committed suicide, and the burden that he had refused longer to bear had to be taken up by another. The labors that fell upon Mr. Withington were greater than ever. It was directed in Mr. Pinney's will that the business should be continued until the termination of the con-

tracts with the state then in force. The executor named in the will took charge, and the subject of this sketch was continued in responsible control as before. The time was a dark and difficult one, as no one could feel sure of anything for a day. Money was not even safe, as the western banks were then at their most dangerous and worse-suspected point. What was a thousand dollars to-day might be only a bundle of rags to-morrow.

The executor found the task too much for him and resigned. An administrator, *de bonis non*, with the will annexed, was appointed. This official was from Connecticut, unfamiliar with the business, and the chief labor therefore remained where it had been previously laid. A year after the death of Mr. Pinney the business was offered for sale, and was promptly purchased by the newly organized firm of Sprague, Withington & Co., composed of men already in the employ of the old company. The new life and power of personal application and interest, that was thus applied, soon became seen in results. The company took a high place in the manufacturing world, and has maintained it from that day to this. This company and its successors have continued the business to the present time, enlarging and extending its resources, until the products are now sold not only in every state between Boston and San Francisco, but through Europe and in Australia and South America. The company, now known as the Withington & Cooley Manufacturing company, of which General Withington is

vice-president and manager, was among the first American manufacturers to send goods direct to European markets, and to compete with England herself, on her own ground, in the production of agricultural implements. Some sixteen years ago the sending of goods direct to Great Britain commenced and has been since continuously kept up. The lightness, symmetry and excellent workmanship of the American goods soon found favor and created a steady market, after the conservative British mind had concluded that they possessed the requisite strength. The factory is the largest of its kind in the country, and one of its distinctive features is this European trade. In closing this reference to the main labor of General Withington's life, it may be pertinent to copy the following from a recent number of a Jackson newspaper. The *Times*, in March last, took occasion to say :

The shop and warehouses of this company now cover 83,855 square feet. In the forging shops there is a capacity of seventeen trip hammers, two hoe rolls and a proportionate equipment throughout. Their goods are sold on this continent from Maine to Oregon, and are almost as well known in Europe as in America. They have also an established and rapidly increasing demand for them from Australia and South America. It is but a simple truth to say that their goods have received their highest approval in the most critical markets, and that their customers of twenty years ago are largely their customers of to-day. In manufacturing and in dealing their motto is "Fidelity."

The new enterprise to which the venturesome young proprietors had given themselves, had only been a couple of years on the road to prosperity, when the long threatened war-cloud burst, and the life of the Union was placed in dire

peril. The subject of this sketch was among the first to offer his services and his life, if such should be demanded, in his country's cause. He had always taken a deep interest in military affairs, but not with the expectation that his training would ever come into practical use. While a mere youth in Boston he had become a member of the Independent Cadets, a distinguished military organization of that city that had been in existence even before the War of the Revolution, the young men of each generation taking the places therein that their fathers before them had held. After his arrival in Jackson he aided in the organization of the Jackson Greys, a local company in which great pride was taken in the city of its home, and of which he was captain at the breaking out of the war.

The alarm-sound was no sooner in the air than the young captain and his men sprang forward in patriotic answer. On the day of Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand men, the Greys tendered their services to Governor Blair, being the first company in patriotic Michigan to make the offer. The call of Governor Blair was made on April 16, 1861. On the day before, the fifteenth, the following order had been issued :

ARMORY OF THE JACKSON GREYS, }
MONDAY, April 15, 1861. }

You are hereby ordered to appear at the armory this evening at 7:30 o'clock, for special business.

A meeting for the election of officers to fill vacancies will be held on Friday evening, the nineteenth, at 7:30 o'clock.

Candidates and their friends are informed that no officer's commission or warrant will be issued to any one not ready to enter the services of the Federal

government in the present emergency, as soon as the company's ranks are filled.

By order of

W. H. WITHINGTON, Captain.

The Greys became company B of the First regiment of Michigan infantry—the first raised in the state, and the first body of western troops to reach Washington. Those who marched away in those days, in the first flush of patriotic devotion, who expected that the "compromise" that had been on the lips of politicians for a generation past would yet come to the rescue and peace be bought without the shedding of blood, or who began to understand something of the tragic solemnity of the era upon which the country had entered, and those who sadly but willingly stood by and let them go—can recall the scenes when this beloved company marched out of Jackson and off to the war. The farewell was given on April 29, with Godspeeds, and songs of patriotic love, and an escort of honor. A like scene was witnessed at Detroit, while receptions that were ovations welcomed them all along the way. I quote from 'Michigan in the War:'

The regiment reached Washington at a critical time, when Confederate troops plant their flag on Arlington Heights, claim defiant equality with the old banner of freedom floating from the National capitol; when rebel pickets patrol the banks of the Potomac, and bivouac under the old trees that shade the grave of Washington. Being the first regiment to reach Washington, its presence gave much encouragement to those in authority, and aided much in establishing confidence regarding the safety of the capitol, while the cheers of the loyal thousands greeted them as American patriots, and as friends in a time of need. President Lincoln received them amid an immense and interested concourse of people, and while he praised them for soldier-like appear-

ance, he complimented the state for patriotism, and through them thanked it for so prompt a response.

The regiment was assigned to the army of the Potomac, and on May 25 it crossed the long bridge in the first advance into Virginia, and in conjunction with Ellsworth's Zouaves from the water side, captured Alexandria, Virginia, where Captain Withington and his company are ordered, as he writes to a friend at the time, "to take possession of the City Hall. I did so, taking the colors, which I caused to be flung out of the window of the mayor's office." Event succeeded event in rapid succession, until the "holiday" part of the war was over, and a surprised and appalled north came face to face with Bull Run. War, earnest and deadly war, was recognized in its full meaning, and even the dullest began to understand that something more than words, and threats, and dress parades, lay behind and beneath it all.

I am not attempting a history of that fight, nor even a record of the brave First of Michigan, but only the memoir of one man. There was brave service and heroic endeavor on the part of many, and it takes nothing from the glory of the many to speak of the course of one. When, therefore, the news was flashed on to Jackson that Captain Withington was among the missing, and was probably dead, no one doubted for a moment that he had fallen as brave men die, and that he had done his duty to the last. From July 21 to August 8 no word was received from him, as the message he had sent from a rebel prison had been lost upon the way.

Only a few, among whom was his young and faithful wife, hoped against hope and believed that tidings would yet come. The Jackson newspapers printed such reports of his death as seemed to settle the matter beyond all peradventure. "He was seen," said one of these obituaries, "nobly doing his duty on the battlefield, one of his last acts being to bind up the wounded arm of Colonel Willcox; a few moments after he was struck in the breast by a ball, and fell heavily to the ground. A rebel trooper rushed up and attempted to bayonet him, when he drew his revolver and shot him dead. At this point our brave boys were swept back by overwhelming numbers, and he was seen no more." James O'Donnell, now member of congress from the Jackson district, in writing home, said of the missing captain: "The noble-hearted Captain Withington, I fear, is numbered with the dead. The feeling of the men cannot be described when they heard the loss of our brave captain. He had endeared himself to the boys, and no one can feel his loss more keenly than they. Captain Withington was acting major of the regiment, and shrank not from the performance of his whole duty. We all remember his last words as he smilingly said, 'Jackson Greys! Never desert your colors!' And they did not. I can state that no braver or better man was on the battlefield than our own gallant captain. We still hope that he has escaped death, but there seems but little chance for it."

The time of the First regiment had expired; it had been welcomed home

with every possible demonstration of pride and confidence, and many of its members had again turned their faces southward "for three years or the war," before a ray of light fell into the hearts of those on whom the young captain's loss had the most heavily fallen. On August seventh the following dispatch was flashed over the wires from Washington :

To Mrs. W. H. Withington :

I have just opened letters to you from your husband, dated twenty-eight ult. He is a prisoner and not wounded. Expects to be taken to Richmond as soon as Colonel Willcox shall be able to go. Is on parole of honor not to escape or take up arms until exchanged. I will mail letters.

H. L. SKINNER.

Word in confirmation of the above was soon received. He was alive and well, but a prisoner in the hands of the rebels. There he remained until January 30, 1862, when he was exchanged. On the day following he was mustered out of the service, the term of his enlistment having long since expired. He went directly to his home in Jackson, where he received such welcome as was due a hero of the battlefield, a sufferer in a rebel pen, and one who had been mourned as among the dead. "Long before the arrival of the train," says a Jackson newspaper in description of the event, "an immense concourse of people collected at the Central depot to greet the patriot and soldier. The members of his company, or rather those who are not in the army, marched to the depot under command of one of their number, preceded by a band of martial music, to welcome to his home their old commander. The train

was not long in arriving, and when the engine came in sight cannon boomed and cheers rent the air. The gallant captain stepped from the cars, and, after greeting the members of his company, passed through the line formed to the carriage. Here he was received by Governor Blair, who welcomed him to his home once more. . . . Captain Withington responded in a few remarks, saying that five years ago he landed at this same depot a stranger, and now this cordial welcome nearly overwhelmed him. He thanked the people for this manifestation of their regard, promising at some future time to narrate his experience while a prisoner of war. He was then driven to his home, preceded by the Union band, and followed by the Jackson Greys and a large number of citizens. Flags were displayed along Main street, while the hero was greeted with cheer after cheer from the concourse of people on the street."

Captain Withington was formally addressed by a number of the leading citizens of Jackson, who invited him to publicly describe to the people his experiences while in the hands of the rebels. He accepted the invitation, and on the evening designated the largest hall in the city was packed to overflowing. So many were unable to obtain admission that it was announced that the captain had consented to repeat his narrative on the following evening, which occasion also witnessed an immense attendance and the most intense interest.

The story was told with a simple directness and a manly modesty that

carried it to the hearts of the hearers. It is impossible here to repeat the whole address, interesting as it would be, but only the main thread can be picked out here and there. "The First went ahead, and soon saw their gallant colonel, and felt as though they could follow him anywhere. As it was, the regiment advanced further than any other that day. After the regiment was broken they reestablished their lines, and again advanced. The colonel was wounded, and I assisted him from his horse. In attempting to get back to the regiment we were captured by Colonel Preston." After the battle he was taken in company with Colonel Willcox to Richmond, where they were kept in close confinement and denied all but the very necessities of life until September 10, when came an order for their removal to Charleston. The trip occupied three days and as many nights. Charleston was reached on the thirteenth, where they were crowded into the common jail. On the eighteenth they were removed to Castle Pinckney, where they remained until January 18, when the advance of General Sherman caused them to be sent to Columbia. Life in a rebel prison in those early days was not, perhaps, what it became afterward when resources grew less and hearts harder, and Libby and Andersonville won eternal ignominy in the annals of human barbarity, but it was hard enough and stern enough at the best. But all its phases have been so often described that no details of Captain Withington's experiences while in the south are demanded here. His

reasons for not returning immediately to the front were set forth at the conclusion of his second address, in the following words:

One word in regard to myself, by way of answer to the inquiry frequently made as to whether I am going back. On the day before the battle, in common with most of the officers and a few of the men, I enrolled my name for the three years service. I did so in good faith, but it seems that that enlistment was considered informal, and by an order from the adjutant-general's office, the whole thing was dropped, and the reorganization commenced anew after the return of the regiment. Thus, on reaching Washington, I found my name was not, as I expected, on the three years roll, and I am out of the service. On reaching home I find that in consequence of one of my partners, Major Hopkins, having left for the war, our business demands my attention and presence. I also find that the regiments from this state are full, and my services are not particularly needed. Under these circumstances, although my disposition to return to the service is, I assure you, stronger than ever, and I hate exceedingly the idea of ending my military career in jail, yet I see no present prospect of re-entering the service.

It was not destined that his career should thus end. There soon came demand enough and room enough, and he responded willingly to the call. He was appointed to the command of the Twentieth regiment, and soon after transferred to the Seventeenth, which, under him, won such fame and was able to do a splendid service on more than one bloody battlefield of the war. The Seventeenth rendezvoused at Detroit on May 29, 1862, and left for Washington on August 27. Before its departure a Jackson newspaper said of it and its young colonel:

The Seventeenth regiment was mustered into service on Thursday. It is commanded by Captain Withington of this city. He has been transferred from the Twentieth to the Seventeenth. He is a soldier of pluck and ability, and while we regret to lose him

from among us, we are happy to see him again at his post. He has suffered much since this war began, and the circle of warm and affectionate friends who entertain a deep attachment for him have suffered more. He leaves again his wife, whose love kindled the hope of his existence when despair settled down upon the rest of the community. He makes the sacrifice once more of the comforts of private life and the endearments of a happy home for his country. The Seventeenth has secured a first-rate colonel and the country a faithful soldier.

On its arrival in Washington the Seventeenth was attached to the first brigade of the first division of the Ninth corps, and sent immediately into the Maryland campaign under McClellan. In less than two weeks after leaving Michigan it was fiercely engaged in the hotly contested action at South Mountain, on September 14, 1862, from whence it emerged with a loss of twenty-seven killed and one hundred and fourteen wounded. Of its conduct in that fight I quote the following from 'Michigan in the War,' written by one who was an eye-witness thereof:

Far up the mountain the enemy with their batteries were awaiting our advance. On the crest a line extended from the left of the road, and at right angles with it, flanked on each side by a strong stone wall; behind each of these walls on the left of the road and behind another on the right of the road, running at right angles with it, lay dense masses of rebel infantry, our immediate front being held by Drayton's South Carolina brigade. Our men having lain so long exposed to the fire of the enemy, without being able to reply to it, and having become somewhat accustomed to the noise of shot and shell, had grown impatient of delay, and the order to move forward and charge upon the enemy was received with shouts of enthusiasm. We moved out from our sheltered position through an open field and upon the enemy's position, exposed to a storm of lead from the stone fence in front and from the enemy's batteries on the right of the gap. Our regiment was the extreme right of Willcox's division, which was composed mainly of old troops, and our men moved upon the enemy as if jealous of the

laurels their veteran coadjutors might win. With cheer after cheer sent up in defiant answers to the rebel "yell," they advanced to within easy musket shot, when they opened a murderous fire upon the enemy, which was kept up for some time, the regiment steadily advancing, and its extreme right swinging around getting an enfilading fire upon the rebels entrenched behind the two walls on the left of the road. Unable to stand this murderous fire, the rebels broke in dismay, the left of the regiment charging with shouts of triumph over the walls and pursuing the fleeing remnants of Drayton's brigade over the crest and far down the slope of the mountain, thus gaining the key-point of the battle. After driving the enemy down the slope of the mountain, and capturing many prisoners (about three hundred), we formed in line of battle upon the crest and slept during the night upon our arms, expecting to renew the battle in the morning, but the enemy quietly retired from our front during the night, abandoning their wounded and leaving their dead in large numbers on the field. The gallant charge made by this regiment on the stone walls, behind which the enemy with his batteries was strongly posted, gave it the name of the "Stonewall Regiment," by which it was known throughout the army, and which has gone with it into the history of the war.

General Willcox, in his official report upon this battle, made use of the following:

I received orders from General Reno and McClellan to silence the enemy's batteries at all hazards. Sent picket report to Reno, and was making disposition to charge—moving the Seventeenth Michigan so as to cross the hollow and flank the enemy's guns—when the enemy charged out of the woods, on their side, directly upon our front, in a long heavy line, extending beyond our left to Cox's right. I instantly gave the command "Forward!" and we met them near the foot of the hill, the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania in front. The Seventeenth Michigan rushed down into the hollow, faced to the left, leaped over a stone wall, and took them in flank. Some of the supporting regiments, over the slope of the hill, fired over the heads of those in front, and after a severe contest of some minutes, the enemy were repulsed, followed by our troops to the opposite slope and woods, forming their own position. The Seventeenth Michigan, Colonel Withington, performed a feat that may vie with any recorded in the annals of war, and set an example to the oldest troops.

In commenting on this action, no less an authority than General McClellan himself, in his report, said :

General Willcox praises very highly the conduct of the Seventeenth Michigan in this advance, a regiment which has been organized scarcely a month, but which charged the enemy's flank in a manner worthy of veteran troops.

After South Mountain came Antietam, and the Seventeenth and its colonel won a record there equal in effective courage to that given above. The "Stonewall" regiment followed the fortunes of the Ninth corps and was commanded by Colonel Withington until March 21, 1863, when he resigned his commission and retired. On March 13, 1865, he was made brevet brigadier-general for "conspicuous gallantry" at the battle of South Mountain—when but thirty years of age, and one of the youngest men in the Union army on whom so high an honor was conferred.

On his return to Jackson, General Withington turned his attention once more to his business, and sought in all ways to do his duty in civil life as he had done it on the field. He made no effort to advance himself in any line of public service, but despite his quiet modesty has more than once been called into positions of public trust. He was elected to the legislature from the Jackson district in 1873, and served through that year and the one following. While in that position he performed a service that has given him the unofficial title of "father of the Michigan state troops." Seeing the need of action in that direction, and that no sufficient provision of law had been made for an organization

of state militia, he determined to see what he could do to remedy the defect. Bills had been introduced and urged session after session by those friendly to the object, but without success. General Withington accordingly framed a bill that he thought filled all the requirements of the case, and introduced it. It met with the usual opposition, but his energy and influence were such that he finally secured its passage with only fifteen votes against it. The law is the one under which the present effective militia system of Michigan was created, and by its provisions is maintained. The other measures to which he gave special attention while a member of the general assembly, were those connected with the state's prison, and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

The militia law provided for the organization of two regiments. When they came into being Governor Bagley tendered the colonelcy of the First regiment to General Withington, in July, 1874. He had never had a thought of a personal connection with the service in his efforts for the creation thereof, and the offer took him by surprise. His first impulse was to decline, but when it was represented to him that he could give direction and effect to the service during its inception and experimental stage, he reconsidered his purpose and gave the full benefit of his experience and knowledge to the state. When the state troops were organized in a brigade in 1879, he was made brigadier-general thereof, and remained such until he resigned in 1883. The reason of his withdrawal, with something of the estimation

in which he was held, may be found in the following general order that was issued at the time :

MILITARY DEPARTMENT, MICHIGAN, }
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, August, 13, 1883. }

Brigadier-General Wm. H. Withington, commanding the First brigade, Michigan state troops, in tendering his resignation to the governor, says :

"My military service to the state began in 1859. To that and to the service in the war have now been added nine years in the state troops. I feel that I have earned the right to resign and can do so without detriment to the service."

In addition to this he urges as a reason a press of business from which he cannot longer take the time which he considers necessary in commanding a brigade. The commander-in-chief recognizing and fully appreciating the gallant and meritorious service of General Withington to his country in the war, and his long and efficient command of the state troops, and the other reason, regrets the necessity which compels him to accept his resignation to take effect on October 15 next ensuing.

It is with the most sincere regret personally that he accepts his resignation, and he is at the same time in full sympathy with the troops and the state in this great loss.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

JNO. ROBERTSON,
Adjutant-General.

The efficiency and high character of the military branch of Michigan's public service is recognized by all, and to General Withington should a large share of the credit be given. Its quality has been tested in some critical cases, and has nobly stood the strain. The high character of the general was impressed upon the men, and the service was made what it should be from the very start. He taught his men that they had entered on no military parade or picnic, but that they should address themselves to the task before them in a serious mood, and become such soldiers as could be unhesitatingly depended on in any sea-

son of danger or trial. The key to his mind upon this point may be found in the following extract from one of his general orders :

The colonel confidently relies upon the character of the Michigan state troops as gentlemen, to make his responsibility for the preservation of good order and military discipline rest lightly. He also desires to impress upon his command the fact that this is a camp of instruction, and he trusts that the chief thought and ambition of every officer and soldier will be to gain the most military knowledge and training possible from the occasion.

The same idea is brought out in fuller force in another general order, issued at Kalamazoo, in 1880, in which he says :

This is a camp for instruction, and not a holiday picnic, and while the general commanding desires the encampment shall afford pleasure as well as profit to the state troops, he trusts that pleasure will be found in the military life in camp, and without departure from the behavior of gentlemen and citizen soldiers.

The consent of the commander-in-chief to the location of the camp in near proximity to a large village was obtained against his judgment, but in the hope that the refining influences of this beautiful town would be paramount to any evil influences. It will be discreditable to the state troops, and a great disappointment to those concerned in the location of the camp at Kalamazoo, if this hope is not realized. Let every soldier feel that the honor of the state troops is in his keeping.

General Withington has been of service to his home city and state in ways other than those detailed above. He was appointed trustee of the State Insane asylum at Kalamazoo, but after two years of service was compelled to resign the position because he could not give to it the time and attention he thought it demanded. He is president of the Union Bank of Jackson, and through his capital and personal interest has had an effect on the business affairs of the city in many ways that I

need not specify here. He has filled the position of president of the Jackson board of trade. In 1875 he was a member of the executive committee of the Citizens' association, established to promote and develop the business interests of Jackson. He has for years been one of the directors of the Grand River Valley Railroad company.

He was one of the founders and promoters of the Young Men's association, created for the benefit and improvement of the young men of Jackson, and was its president for six years. In 1877 he was a member of a committee appointed to raise money to pay off its debt, and to devise means to keep it alive, and became one of its managers when it was reorganized. When it and the school libraries were merged into the Public Library, he still kept up his interest in the association, and is at present president of the library board.

He is ever active in religious work, and is a member of the Jackson Episcopal church, and has been a vestryman therein for several years, and was for several years treasurer of the fund of the Episcopal church of the state, in which a trust of some eighty thousand dollars is under his control. He has also been chosen a delegate to the triennial general convention of the church in the United States, to be held in Chicago in October next. A member of the Grand Army of the Republic; a Mason; a member and stockholder and director in the Iowa Farming Tool Company of Fort Madison, Iowa; president of the Webster Wagon company at Moundsville, West Virginia; and at work

through other avenues for the general good, he has shown a usefulness already beyond the power of most men, and is yet in his prime, with many years of effort and success before him.

His qualities have not been unnoticed, nor has he been passed over in the search for fit and strong men to be proposed for positions of public trust. He has been urged again and again to allow his name to be used in connection with the Republican nomination for governor or congress, but has never given his consent. He was strongly talked of for governor in 1884; and one hears much of the same thing in the same direction in connection with 1886. Although he has a deep interest in public questions, with well-founded and fixed convictions of his own, and although he is a reader and student of political economy as applied to political affairs, he has no taste for the methods of politics, and has only taken part therein when he heard the call of duty too loud to be resisted. He has ever been a consistent Republican, but never a partisan. His large business interests have served to keep him from political affairs even at times when he would have been glad to take part therein. In 1876 he served as a delegate to the Republican national convention, in Cincinnati, that nominated President Hayes. He is a believer in hard money; and has earnest convictions upon the subject of civil service reform, believing that it has gone by the experimental stage, and has demonstrated its usefulness to the country, and the country's need for it.

While a business man in the main

purpose and occupation of life, and in successful control of most important interests, General Withington has found time and had the desire to keep up with not only the great moral and political questions of the day, but with its literature as well. He is educated and cultured, a deep reader and thinker, and a fine and strong conversationalist. His interest in the education of the public is shown by the care, labor and time he has given to the newly established public library. When that useful and promising institution was dedicated to the public use, in February, 1886, General Withington, as president of the library board, in his remarks to the mayor of the city, said :

Mr. Mayor : On behalf of the directors of the public library, I present to you, as the representative of the city, these rooms. They are for the public—a library and reading room free. The establishment of a free public library marks an epoch in the upward progress of this city, and it has seemed to the directors fitting that its opening should be dignified by these formal proceedings.

He then sketched the history of the movement from the beginning, and in conclusion said :

And now, attempting no generalizations of my own upon this event, but leaving those to your fuller thought and more ready expression, I desire further only to express the hope of the directors that the public will use these books and these rooms freely and use them well. Here may come all classes—the professional man and the business man, the laborer, the mechanic, the artist, the student—and find, we trust, something to add to their knowledge, to aid their research or to minister to their mental pleasure.

General Withington delivered the oration of Decoration Day at Jackson, in May last, and his address showed the patriot, the thinker, and the scholar. It was replete with beautiful thoughts and

sentences worth remembering—showing a lofty ideal, a mind set above the level of mere business achievements, and a purpose ready, if need be, in all seasons and at all times, to make sacrifices for the public good. The speaker took occasion to say some plain words to his fellow members of the Grand Army of the Republic—words that no civilian could well have uttered, but that came with added meaning and strength from one of their own number, whose service had been as theirs, and whose ambition might naturally be supposed to lie in the same direction as theirs. “It has often occurred to me,” said he, “that with all that is grand and noble in the purpose of our Grand Army and other soldier organizations, there were some temptations or tendencies which needed a word of caution, and that this word could best be spoken to soldiers by a soldier. . . . Partaking of the spirit of the times, we have our military societies, chief among which is the Grand Army of the Republic, standing out in unapproachable grandeur and historic position. . . . With organization comes power, and with power comes temptation, but there also comes responsibility. The temptation is to use the power of the organization to effect legislation in the interest or behalf of ex-soldiers. No one will deny this, and no one will condemn it within just bounds. The caution is that it be not allowed to go to undue bounds. . . . My caution is to guard with jealous honor the use that should be made of the Grand Army. Don’t let demands be made in its name which as individuals you would not approve.

Perhaps I am over sensitive, and may be called too nice about these things, but it is out of my admiration and high ideal of the volunteer soldiers of the war. I cannot bear that the glory of this service, its patriotism, its sacrifice, its heroic devotion, should be lowered or cheapened by clamorings at the treasury. We fought for country; not for booty! In saying this, my comrades, I do not say that the country has done enough for the soldier. It may never do enough. It can never do too much. But the soldier, pushed on by the counsels of selfish and interested men, may *ask* too much." In conclusion, he said :

To ourselves, to our inner selves, the qualities which made us soldiers are more than the fact that we were soldiers. The service is over and past, but the qualities of mind and heart which took you into the service, the patriotism, the courage, the self-sacrifice, the manliness, the faith in God—these are all things of real value to be held fast and exercised in every relation of citizenship and manhood.

The social side of General Withington's nature is strong and steadfast, and in his beautiful, hospitable and happy home he finds the companionship and rest that no other place on earth can give. He was married in 1859 to Miss Julia C. Beebe, daughter of Hon. Joseph E. Beebe of Michigan. Six children were born to them, of whom but three are living—Kate W., Philip H., and Winthrop.

Their home is one of the most hospitable, as it is one of the most beautiful, in a state where hospitality is the rule. Mrs. Withington is a cultured and accomplished lady, who is exceedingly happy in the entertainment of her guests; and

in this respect her husband is a most useful ally. They entertain with the greatest liberality, and whether it be in large or small companies, their friends are glad to accept all invitations to their home. Of General Withington it is needless to say, of one who has been so true and loyal in all the other relations of life, that his highest loyalty and deepest love have been given to those nearest to him, and that as son, as husband and as a father he has fulfilled every obligation imposed upon him, as a willing and pleasant service.

The best possible estimate of any man's character is found in the record of his deeds. Recognizing that truism, little need be further said concerning the subject of this sketch. That he has courage of the material kind has been well shown in his personal deeds on the battlefield. That he possesses that of a moral character, all his life goes to show. As a soldier he possessed the power of command, and won and held the respect and confidence of his men. A born soldier, he has made a model citizen. A business man, he has cultivated his mind to a high degree, and enriched it by a wide range of reading. Engaged in public life, he has kept his heart pure and his life blameless. Modest and quiet in demeanor, but full of a force and resolution that is felt, if not demonstrated very boisterously, he carries out the suggestion of the poet that

"The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring!"

He has, it may be added, the ability to interest audiences, and can express



Andres B. Knapp del.

A. C. Voris

himself on the platform with power and eloquence. A self-made man in every sense of the word, all that he has gained in wealth has been by the regular earnings of legitimate business, and none by speculation. Had he kept all he has made, his possessions would have been much greater than they are at present, but besides living comfortably and hospitably he has done a great deal in helping others, in starting them in business, and in other ways.

In General Withington we discover the typical American citizen—the kind of a man who can be grown on these shores alone. Seeking no publicity, he has been called again and again to responsible official position. A useful, charitable, and companionable man, he has already made a record of which any one could be proud, while no man can say what paths of opportunity may open before him in the future.

GENERAL A. C. VORIS.

Among the many soldiers that Ohio sent into the great war for the Union, and who fought bravely until the last hour of danger to the flag had gone by, and then quietly laid down their arms to take up and ably bear the duties of citizenship in a time of peace, General Alvin C. Voris, now an honored member of the Summit county bar, deserves a prominent place. Enlisting as a private and going into the service as a second lieutenant, he came back at the close of the war a brevet major-general—a long journey on a road that ever led upward, and where each promotion came because it had been earned. The

fame he has won and the success he has achieved came by no circumstances of fortune, but were hewn out of life by his own hands in many years of labor. His early days were spent amid the healthful and rugged pioneer scenes of Ohio in the earlier days of the century, and he was taught a self-reliance and a need of physical courage and endurance not called for in the young of the present day. He was born in Stark county, Ohio, on April 27, 1827. He remained in the parental home until he was eighteen years of age, when the desire for knowledge that had ever been within him found its gratification. He gave a year to study at the Twinsburgh institute, and then spent two more in Oberlin, where he took an elective course. As he was compelled to support himself, he found a part of the means for so doing in teaching school during the winter months, and in giving several hours each day at the shoe bench. In February, 1850, he made Akron his home, and his residence has been there ever since. He was appointed a deputy clerk in the common pleas court, which position he held for two years. In February, 1852, the first probate judge elected in Summit county under the new constitution being too sick to visit his office, young Voris was made his deputy, which position he held until the death of the judge in the August following. The entire business of the office was thus thrown upon him. That he performed his duties well and devised proper modes for doing the business of the office and keeping its records, is attested by the fact that they have been since followed;

and that he correctly and faithfully acted for some six months as *de facto* judge, is also attested by the fact that his acts in that behalf were never legally questioned.

Meanwhile he had kept steadily in mind the purpose of devoting himself to the law, and had lost no opportunity of gaining knowledge in that direction. He studied faithfully, and having a legal mind was able to learn much from the surroundings in which he was placed. His preceptor was General L. V. Bierce, and on his admission to the bar in June, 1853, he formed a partnership with that gentleman, under the firm name of Bierce & Voris. Entered thus upon a career for which he was fitted by natural gifts, supplemented by hard study, he saw success before him almost from the start. But he was not long left to his chosen line of labor. In 1859 he was sent to represent Summit county in the state legislature, where he soon took rank as a leader. He gave himself to the solid business of legislation, and was recognized as one of those who could be counted on to be present, and who knew the meaning and purpose of each measure before the assembly. Although young in years, he was counted even then one of the strong men of the body, and there is no telling to what heights he might have gained in civil events, had not the long-gathering cloud of war broken over the land, and the call gone forth for men to defend the old flag. Mr. Voris had no hesitation as to his duty. In September, 1861, he enlisted in the Twenty-ninth Ohio volunteers. Through no solicitation on his part, he

was appointed by Governor Dennison a second lieutenant, and detailed to the recruiting service. He was mustered into the United States volunteer service on the second of October following, for the organization of a regiment, of which he became lieutenant-colonel. The regiment went into the field in western Virginia, on January 19, 1862. Lieutenant-Colonel Voris became the chief instructor from the date of its organization on December 18, 1861, drilling and teaching the officers and men at such intervals as his other duties would permit. Higher responsibility soon came, and March 16 saw him made the commanding officer of the regiment; and on the evening of the twenty-second of the same month he took it into its first fight, against a reconnoissance of Stonewall Jackson before Winchester, Virginia, which was in fact the opening of the first battle of Winchester, one of the hardest fought infantry battles of the war. The brigade to which the Sixty-seventh Ohio was attached, was ordered out to repel this attack, which was on our picket lines to the south of Winchester, and Lieutenant-Colonel Voris turned out his command so rapidly that he took the lead of all the Union troops, and in one hour from the time he received his orders, was four miles from camp, and pushing the enemy, his being the first northern troops in the fight. He held the front the entire night. In the morning he was ordered to support a battery of artillery, which he did under a brisk fire from the enemy's batteries, till the infantry battle opened, when he was directed to make the attack. The

enemy was three-quarters of a mile off, and its lines were extended over a wide front, mainly obscured by woodland and hills.

Colonel Voris gallantly led his men at a double-quick pace, against a terrible fire of shot and shell directly in his front, and right for the point where the infantry fire appeared to be the fiercest. He formed his men immediately to the left of Colonel Tyler's brigade, which was lying on the ground in front of a rebel brigade, within point blank range. The latter was thoroughly protected by a stone wall. "Both sides kept up an incessant fusillade of small arms," says a graphic writer, in description of that fight, "neither daring to advance on the other, with the advantage all on the side of the enemy. The Sixty-seventh formed obliquely on the head and front of this wall, and not more than one hundred and fifty feet from the right flank of the rebel brigade, from which it got a deadly fire without being able to do much execution in return. Lieutenant-Colonel Voris held this position but for a short time, and not securing the desired results undertook to place his men so as to deliver an enfilading fire from behind the stone wall. While making this movement he was shot in the right thigh, getting a very painful though not a dangerous wound. The color-sergeant hesitating, Voris seized the colors, and supported by two men, one under each shoulder, notwithstanding his wound, called on his men to follow him, and placing them in such position that this wall afforded no protection to the enemy, the Sixty-Seventh

opened a most destructive fire upon them. Two or three volleys caused the rebels to waver, when he ordered a charge, which was executed with such impetuosity that the enemy broke in great disorder, and the Sixty-seventh dashed through their lines with a yell that was plainly heard above the din of battle. Tyler's brigade soon followed suit, and the whole left wing of Jackson's army was thrown into a disorderly retreat."

The military skill and courage shown by Lieutenant Colonel Voris in this engagement showed that he knew how to take advantage of the situation, and that he possessed military qualities of the highest character. He saw what there was to be done, and knew how to do it, and the above service is spoken of by those competent to know as one of the best and most timely of the war. His spirited attack on the flank of the enemy at a decisive moment, dislodging them from what was as good as a fort for protection, rendered their defeat possible, and brought it about—a movement that was decisive of the only Union victory that was ever gained over Stonewall Jackson.

Promotion to the colonelcy of his regiment came on July 18, 1862. In January 1863, he was transferred with his command to the department of the south, where he participated in the siege operations before Charleston, South Carolina, until the close of the year. He commanded his regiment in the disastrous assault on Fort Wagner, the night of July 18, in which he received a severe wound, that compelled him to go

north to recover. In two months he had again reported for duty, and was once more in the trenches before Charleston. In the spring of 1864 he was assigned with his regiment in the movement up James river, Virginia, with Richmond as its objective point. Thenceforth he was identified with the Army of the James, to the close of the war. "On the ninth and tenth of May, 1864," to again quote from the record above referred to, "with less than two thousand rifles and eight pieces of artillery, he successfully fought and repulsed Confederate General Ransom, with four times as large a force, some ten miles below Richmond. In this engagement he was specially conspicuous for gallantry and ability, and gained a brilliant victory. For this action Colonel Voris was recommended for promotion as brigadier-general of volunteers, but political reasons in his district prevented so well earned advancement. He was then suffering from his Fort Wagner wound, and was so prostrated by the fatigue and anxiety of the day that he had to be helped to camp."

On May 20, the gallant colonel again forced the enemy, at the Weir Bottom church, on the Bermuda Hundred front, retaking our picket line from which our troops had been forced; and in the same engagement he had the honor of capturing General Walker of the Confederate forces. In June, while in command of the picket line, as general officer of the day, he took the line of rebel works, by which General Butler had been "bottled up" on the Bermuda Hundred, capturing many prisoners and several

heavy guns. In an engagement at Deep Run in August, in one below Richmond in October, and in the same month in an attack on the outworks of the same city, he showed the possession of undaunted courage, a born power of command, and no small knowledge of strategy. In the latter part of November he commanded a division against an attempt of the enemy to turn the Union flank on the north side of the James. On April 2, 1865, he led the charge on Fort Gregg, at Petersburg, and after having been in the ditch of the fort, up to his neck in mud and water for nearly half an hour, he climbed up on its walls by the aid of a ladder made of guns with bayonets thrust into the walls, and was the first Union officer on the fort. This was the last Confederate fort taken by storm around Petersburg and Richmond. At Appomattox he was in the fight at the last ditch, and was wounded by a fragment of shell, on the left arm.

Recognition came in due form for these splendid military services. Colonel Voris was brevetted a brigadier-general in 1864, and was in the year 1865 made a brevet major-general of volunteers "for distinguished services in the field."

But the service required of General Voris was by no means over with the close of the war. His country had need of him in another direction. On the close of hostilities he was assigned to the command of the military district of South Anna, Virginia, embracing a territory of triangular form, one angle at Richmond, the other two in the crown of the Blue Ridge

—extending each way more than a hundred miles. The duties of his office were of a complex character, combining the civil and the military. There was no other governing power in all that district, all police and civil officers and offices being under control of the military. There was much in the situation to call for the greatest prudence and the exercise of the highest quality of judgment. The country under his control has just emerged from the horrors of civil war, and was in chaos. The colored people, just out of bondage, had to be especially cared for and protected. All the interests of society had to be looked after and conserved, the prejudices and cruelties of the system of slavery resisted and eradicated, a new system of labor inaugurated, the mutual distrusts of the whites and negroes allayed, and confidence created between the late slave-owners and freedmen. General Voris addressed himself to this task with a patriotic courage and most excellent judgment. He called meetings of all classes of people at the various county-seats and endeavored to instruct them as to their new duties and responsibilities, urging justice, equal rights, and freedom from all, and forbearance, fair dealing and honesty of purpose upon all. "To protect those who had been slaves," says one writer, in touching upon this portion of General Voris' life, "and especially the infirm, old, and little ones, from ill-treatment and want, he found it necessary to make and publish orders prohibiting all sorts of personal violence, and the turning off of

the infirm and helpless without adequate provision for their present support. In default of such provision, he directed adequate assessments to be made and collected by military power. He absolutely put a stop to the flogging of colored people, and permitted no penalties to be inflicted on them that were not visited upon white people for a like grade of offenses.

As illustrative of his direct way of putting things, we narrate the following incident connected with the administration of his district: When he first went to Charlottesville to organize for the civil administration of Albemarle county and parole and amnesty those who had been in open rebellion against the government, he was interviewed by a delegation of citizens as to what relations the freedmen would thenceforth sustain. This delegation was headed by the Hon. John Robertson—the peace commissioner appointed by Virginia in 1861 to South Carolina and the other secession states—to whom he replied, that the freedmen were hereafter to be recognized as possessed of equal rights of any Virginian, and that he had no doubt but that the general government would protect them in the enjoyment of such rights; that he would do officially all in his power to reconcile and harmonize any antagonism and differences between the colored people and the whites; but that the white people would be required to adjust their intercourse with them on terms of reciprocal equality and right, without regard to former social condition or race. A fiery planter not relishing this equality doctrine spoke up, "I

tell ye what it is, if my niggers don't do as I say, I will flog them." General Voris instantly replied, "If I was your 'nigger' and you undertook to flog me, I would take your life, sir."

The Episcopalian rector of the same place, and afterward a high dignitary in his church, came to the general to get indulgence from the military authorities to omit from the prayer of the church service, "The President of the United States and all others in authority, etc.," giving as reasons that such prayer would be insincere, and that his congregation could not, with their present feeling, join honestly in it. "Let us see," said the general, "is it because they look upon the President and those in authority as still being enemies?" It being admitted that this was substantially the situation, he replied, "I am not much of a Christian, and may not appreciate the gravity of the situation, nor do I know how your people regard the New Testament Scriptures; but, if you mean to set them a truly Christian example, I would advise you to do as Christ commanded in the sermon on the Mount, 'Love your enemies, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you,' instead of coming to the military authorities to get excused from obeying the commands of Almighty God. I will leave this matter wholly to your own judgment; you may pray or not for the President, as you please; he can stand the omission better than you or your people can." The recognized form of prayer before the war was used at the next service.

So considerate was General Voris in

the administration of his public duties, that he never had a matter appealed from his orders to department headquarters during the whole time he was in command, though every class of disputed right came before him, from murder down. He was mustered out of service in December, 1865, and returned to his old home in Akron.

The above will give some idea of the character and quality of General Voris as a soldier, although it does not fill in the details needed to show that character in all its noble completeness. As a soldier he never shirked duty or danger. He shared with the men under him all the hardships of a soldier's life, meeting dangers and privations, and never asking them to do what he was not ready to do himself. His watchfulness and strict attention to business caused him to be assigned to the command of his brigade when he was junior colonel in it. He was greatly beloved by his men, and one of the things that he holds among his most prized possessions is a magnificent sword, with sash and belt, that came to him at the close of the war as a token of the love and respect of his old regiment—each man having contributed something thereto. He always saw to it that the men had everything the commissariat and quartermaster's department could furnish, and ever stood up for the rights of every enlisted man. He was a strict disciplinarian, requiring exact and prompt discharge of duty from officers and men alike. He carefully looked after the character and standing of every man and officer in his command, not only as

soldiers but as men and American citizens. There was not a man under him but who felt free to approach him at all proper times, and on terms of friendly intimacy. His regiment won great fame during the war, much of which came from the character and high standing of its commander, who gave tone to all about and beneath him.

Although General Voris returned to the practice of his profession, it was pursued for a long time amid extreme difficulties and much suffering. The wound he received at Fort Wagner gave him a great deal of trouble. In November, 1873, he submitted to one of the most wonderful operations ever recorded in the annals of surgery. It has been thus described: The wound had apparently healed. The bullet which caused it was cut in two parts on his sword belt ring, the smaller part lodging in the circular abdominal muscle, and was removed by the surgeon at the time of the injury. The other part passed downward and backward in the abdominal cavity, and lodged on the crown of the bladder, and became impacted in the walls of that organ, till the fall of 1872, when it penetrated them and became loose within. Up to this time it had been a cause of great annoyance and bodily infirmity—the cause not being suspected even by General Voris. Now it became most torturing, giving constant and almost unendurable pain, so much so that his friends supposed that he must speedily die. His physicians did not suspect the nature of his disorder till early in the summer of 1873, too late in the season for a desirable operation. He

waited, under the advice of his surgeon, till the ensuing fall, when he underwent the lateral operation in lithotomy. Three fourths of an Enfield rifle shot was extracted, weighing one and one-eighth ounces. The great wonder is that he ever survived the first effects of this shot and then that he should carry it over ten years, and have his bladder perforated by it, endure the torture and derangement it caused, and not die, to say nothing of the surgical operation. Nothing but pluck of the best sort and an extraordinary constitution could have saved him. His physicians remarked that he was the coolest and most self-possessed subject they ever witnessed at the operating table. All the years of his life, since the eighteenth of July, 1863, have been weighed down by this injury, the pangs of which are still borne in nerves that never cease to ache.

The patriot on the battlefield became the good and faithful citizen, amid the demands of a more quiet civil life. From the close of the war, until the present, General Voris has devoted himself to his practice, and has sought to do his duty wherever and whenever it came to his hand. In the spring of 1873, he was elected a delegate from the Akron district to the Ohio constitutional convention, and although suffering terrible agony from his army wound during much of the time, he took a leading part in its deliberations, and was one of its most efficient and useful members. He was made a member of the committee on rules, on the opening of the convention, and thus had a hand in shaping the work of the body through all its deliberations;

while he became a member of the committees on Apportionment and Representation and on Corporations other than Municipal, under the permanent organization of the convention. Evidences of his good service and earnest attention to his duties may be found all through the records of the convention.

General Voris' experience in the reconstruction days led him to think deeply and earnestly of the means best calculated to give the colored people the rights to which they were entitled as human beings, whose domicile had been forever fixed among us by the overpowering will of the whites. The only power that he could see that could be bestowed upon them, in their then condition, that would be respected by their neighbors and the state was that possessed by equal citizens who had the right to exercise the elective franchise. The power of the elector is universally respected; and that thought led him to the policy of making the freedmen citizens, endowed with all the attributes of the American elector, for the two-fold reason that the power it gave them would stimulate their manhood and give them protection, and that accruing to the public generally by making them allies, instead of jealous, disappointed aliens.

When he went into the constitutional convention, a fundamental canvass, in his own mind, of the reasons for conferring the electoral power, very naturally had to be gone over, and in the light of his former reasoning and experiences, he could hardly forget that one half of the very best and most lovable

of the community were left out of all efficient recognition in the management of the state. He therefore most logically became an impartial suffragist. In other words, he favored woman suffrage. At his solicitation a special committee on woman suffrage was appointed, of which he was made chairman, and to which the question was referred. This committee reported in favor of impartial suffrage. General Voris opened the discussion on the subject, in a debate that continued two days. His argument was so frank and cogent in reason, and so manly in temper, as to lift the discussion into the realm of as dignified a debate on the merits of the great question, on both sides, as ever characterized the deliberations of any great body of statesmen. The debates of the convention, if referred to, will fully sustain this assertion. It has ever been a theory of General Voris that if one had a conviction that was worth being considered by others, the reasons for it could be advanced in such a way as to challenge a respectful consideration of its merits, no matter how much it cut across established views. This discussion fully sustained that opinion. It must not be inferred from the above that General Voris has made this question a hobby, nor that the work be performed in its support by any means represented his labors or usefulness in the convention.

General Voris was married September 21, 1853, to Miss Lydia Allyn, with whom he lived in mutual respect and happiness until death took her from his side, on March 16, 1876. She was a

devoted wife and mother. Three children were the fruit of this union. He was again married in February, 1882, to Mrs. Lizzie H. Keller, a lady who, to the most excellent qualities of head and heart, unites great taste and skill as an amateur artist, having of her own production many beautiful sketches and paintings, which are regarded by professional artists as exhibiting great merit.

General Voris is an ardent Republican, but is too fair-minded and patriotic to allow partisanship to warp his judgment or lead his opinions astray. He is an ardent advocate of a protective tariff, and his voice has always been heard for the advancement of home industries. His many campaign speeches on the protective policy were conceded by all who heard or read them to be masterly efforts, and were widely read and circulated. As a public speaker General Voris is frank, candid, earnest and eloquent. He never descends to abuse, but seeks to win the understanding of his hearers, and to command their respect while keeping

his own. He concedes to his opponents all that any fair-minded man can ask. Since the war he has plead whenever occasion offered for a sinking and forgetting of the war issues, and for peace of the best and highest character between the north and south. He is in frequent demand at the gatherings of the veterans, and both as guest and orator is always welcome and at home. As a lawyer he is deep read and logical, and possesses a remarkable influence with juries. He has a wide acquaintance with history and general literature, and is a lover of his books. His courage in moral and political matters is equal to that shown on the battlefield, and whatever he believes to be right, that he utters and stands by. Generous in his impulses and actions, strong in his likes and dislikes, true in his friendships, always ready to help those in need and to give his voice for the support of reform, he makes a model citizen, and does all that lies in his power for the advancement of his country and mankind.

J. H. K.

JOHN JUDSON BAGLEY.

MOST of men who leave their mark on society and institutions have features of character more or less peculiar. Few do it without strength of will and adherence to settled purposes. But the methods which strong-willed men use to do their work are not uniform, and each puts some part of himself into all that he does. It is well for mankind, as it is for one's memory, when pleasant associations and grateful recollections attend the name of a man who has labored effectually before he passed away. Governor Bagley's name will be remembered by many hearts that he lightened, and many for whom he made life more tolerable.

John Judson Bagley was born at Medina, Orleans county, New York, July 24, 1832. His father, John Bagley, was a native of Dunham, Green county, New York. He came from a New England family, of English descent, settled in New Hampshire. His grandfather, Captain John Bagley, and a brother, Cutting Bagley, moved into Greene county soon after the Revolution, and had farms on the eastern slope of the Catskills, a few miles from the Hudson, where his father grew up to manhood. His father's mother, Olive Judson (from whom he derived his middle name) was a relative of the celebrated missionary, Adoniram Judson, and his father's

grandmother was descended from Rev. Thomas Hooker, one of the prominent Connecticut divines of the seventeenth century.

Governor Bagley's father moved from Medina to Lockport while he was but a child, and in 1840 came to Michigan and settled in Constantine. He had been prosperous, but met heavy losses from the failures of others, and moved into this State to find the favorable prospects of a new country. He was a man of intelligence and strict probity, and his wife was a woman of good education and much force of character, whose influence upon her children was great and lasting. She was a devout member of the Episcopal church, and attached to it strongly.

Governor Bagley's school education, aside from his mother's teaching, was interrupted when he reached the age of fourteen, and, thereafter, he was constantly employed in some kind of work. His father moved to Owosso, in Shiawassee county, where John had already become an inmate of the family of Dr. Barnes, who had been an old friend in Lockport, and was a schoolmate of his children. Until he became sixteen years old he was employed as a clerk in the store of Dewey & Goodhue.

Being ambitious to find occupation in a larger place he came to Detroit in



Yours
Wm. D. Bagley

1848, where his letters written at that time show that he was moved by a more than ordinary share of youthful enthusiasm, and expressed his hopes and belief in the capabilities of the future in a way that is not uncommon, but which was evidently in him the indication of a resolute determination to succeed. He was well grown of his age, with large bright eyes and a countenance that made people disposed to like him. He had the singularly good fortune of striking at once the employment which was the chief business of his after life, and out of which in due time he made a fortune.

The tobacco industry was then hardly known in the northern cities west of New York. The tobacco growing states had not become as accessible as now, the system of railways being comparatively undeveloped, and capital being also very limited outside of the commercial centres. A small factory had been started, in 1840, by George Miller who was succeeded by his father, Isaac S. Miller, in whose hands the business began to grow to respectable dimensions. Nevertheless the industry was too small to furnish a great deal of trade by itself, and was combined with all the branches of an old-fashioned tobacco-nist's dealings. While going about the city and observing the varied scenes of the streets and shops, young Bagley happened to be attracted by something in Mr. Miller's windows, and stopped to look in, when the owner noticing it accosted him and made inquiry about him. The lad at once said he wanted employment, and Mr. Miller, liking his

ways, without further ado employed him. Here he remained until he reached majority. The limited scope of the enterprise enabled him to become familiar with every detail, and his habits of close observation and his retentive memory very soon gave to him a mastery of the whole range of processes, and an acquaintance with the markets, which already began to justify larger enterprises. While yet under age he engaged in and had principal charge of the outside business of the house, and traveled extensively in and out of the state. This made him acquainted with the business men in all quarters, and made him many friends who in his subsequent career did him great service. He became known everywhere as a thorough business man, of genial ways and correct habits, a good observer of men and public spirited even in his youth. In the west everybody was a politician.

During this period, as afterward, he had a strong love of reading, and made many sacrifices to purchase as he could the chief works of English and American history and literature. The books slowly acquired were thoroughly read and remembered. At this time the Detroit Young Men's Society was in active existence, and had a very good library. He became a member of this society and enjoyed eagerly the access which it gave him to the wide range of literature and science. His mother had always encouraged him to spend his time in this way, and through his life he was a great reader and uncommonly well informed on the subjects that interest intelligent

and cultivated people. Some of his private letters of those days of narrow means remind one a good deal of Lamb's humorous accounts of his book purchases among the old dealers, when his mind balanced long between mental and physical comforts. In the days of prosperity Governor Bagley's library was his favorite luxury, and he filled its shelves with taste and judgment.

As soon as he became of age he was able, with some advances from friends whose confidence he had gained, to start in business on his own account. Naturally and wisely he went into the same occupation with which he had become familiar, and built up an enterprise that was before many years one of the leading establishments in the northwest, and ultimately became one of the foremost in America.

Mr. Bagley's mature appearance and familiarity with men of all sorts brought him naturally forward earlier than his years would otherwise have warranted. He was then as he was to the last, an enthusiast, and only saved—as he was saved—from running into extremes by the regulating influences of daily business methods. He became intimate at that impressible age with some men who at that time embodied more than almost any others the active benevolent spirit of the community in the relief of distress and the systematic application of charitable work. Prominent among these was Samuel Barstow, who, though dying in the prime of life a year or two after Mr. Bagley began business for himself, had already left his mark upon the most important city institu-

tions as well as those of the state. He was a prominent lawyer of bright and discriminating mind and personal magnetism, who threw himself with zeal and devotion into all the undertakings which gave any promise of moral and intellectual advancement. He was the leading spirit in the literary associations of the city. He organized and carried into practical success a benevolent society whose members gave personal attention to all the details of investigation and relief. He was beyond all others the efficient organizer as he was a principal founder of the public school system of Detroit, which has been carried out on the lines which he traced, and which he lived to see successfully fixed in public esteem after a conflict of many years in which he was always at the front, and did his full share of giving and receiving attacks. With the warmest affections, and with excellent judgment, he was one of those fiery spirits whose enthusiasm

“Fretted the puny body to decay,”

and early death was almost inevitable. His last public effort was in bringing about the organization of the Republican party, in 1854, and as soon as that was accomplished he left home on a tour for rest and recreation and died a few days afterwards. With the energy and fire which attended all his doings he had been a very earnest member of the Whig party, and active in every campaign, and had become convinced of the necessity of organized action in meeting the encroachments of slavery in the territories, and, although the occasion which led to the general uprising

in the north had not yet come, he felt that it was but a question of time.

Mr. Barstow was very kind to young men, and Mr. Bagley naturally conceived a great admiration for a gentleman as enthusiastic as he was himself, and with whose views he was completely in agreement. The influence of this warm-hearted and wise friend was conspicuous in his after life, and he never ceased to think and speak of Mr. Barstow with emotion.

Soon after Mr. Barstow's death—during the same season—was the first campaign of the Republican party, and Bagley went into it with all the zeal of a young campaigner. He never neglected business, but there was leisure enough for politics, and he thoroughly believed in his cause. From that time on he was always a party worker in local and general politics, and one whose capacity for efficient activity was generally recognized. He escaped the danger apt to assail young politicians of giving up other interests for party spoils. Until he became governor he never held an office that had any semblance of profit in it—and that office, as all Michigan people know, involved great pecuniary burdens. The first office of any kind which he held was that of member of the Detroit Board of Education, of which his friend Barstow had been president till his death. This position was conferred upon him about a year thereafter. The union schools were just getting into efficient working order, and the whole duties of management came upon the members of the Board, who had no superintendent or other

agent to help them in their supervision. Mr. Bagley fell readily into the course of business, and was a valuable coadjutor to his older associates. At this time he became intimately connected with Mr. D. Bethune Duffield, who was then and after very prominent in school matters. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship and confidence, and Mr. Duffield is one of the chief managers of his estate.

Naturally the young politician tried his hand at city government and became a useful member of the board of aldermen. In various ways he identified himself with the growth and improvement of the city, and acted as a good citizen in furthering sound policy. He paid special attention to the improvement of police matters, and was afterwards instrumental in securing the present police system, which he did much to complete. He also had a good deal to do with the founding of the Detroit House of Correction, and kept familiar with its management. His intimate knowledge of the methods of that institution enabled him to act subsequently wisely as well as humanely in dealing with the troublesome problems of prison discipline, which few men ever understood better.

During the Presidential campaign of 1860 he took a very active part. He had been an admirer of Mr. Seward and felt the same disappointment experienced by many other Michigan Republicans when he failed of a nomination. But, like most members of his party, he was not slow in discovering that Mr. Lincoln was the best nominee

that could have been found, and became his enthusiastic follower. During the uneasy times which preceded the storm he had no misgivings, and when the war came he was lavish of money and personal exertion in supporting the government and contributing to the comfort of the troops and of the sick and wounded. His face was familiar in camps and hospitals, and he never visited either without a full supply of articles welcome to the men.

He served on several public boards, and made it a point to acquaint himself accurately with everything relating to the matters under their charge. In the various schemes from time to time adopted for the control of local interests in Detroit, his ideas were practical, and he was always willing to do his full part in carrying them out.

In 1872 he was nominated by the Republican party to succeed Governor Baldwin and was elected, and held office for two terms, from January 1873 to January 1877. His administration was very successful, and he not only introduced many new methods but carried out and elaborated the schemes begun by his predecessor, in some directions which were especially familiar to him.

No governor of Michigan ever surpassed him in skill or wisdom in the improvement of the penal and charitable institutions of the state. He had from his youth been a student of the methods of prisons, and knew their defects, and had shrewd ideas how they might be alleviated if not remedied. He devoted much time and patience to

the subject of juvenile offenders and dependent children, which interested him to such an extent that it would have been a hobby if his good judgment had not balanced his zeal. He was instrumental in having provision made for local agencies to look after children charged with crime, and thereby prevented much wrong and suffering. He spent a great deal of time and attention in perfecting and enlarging the work of the school for dependent children, founded by his predecessor, and at the continental exposition in 1876 at Philadelphia few educational exhibits excited so much attention as the explanation of this great charity given by his procurement at that place. Steps were taken during his administration to enlarge the state provision for the insane. The reform school, which had not been managed in all respects as it should have been, was changed in its essential features from a close prison to a refuge, which while losing nothing in good order, became much more efficient for reform and encouragement.

In the various changes which he introduced in the treatment of unfortunate of all kinds the most striking feature was his constant habit of giving scope to his sympathy. His heart was tender and he felt very keenly for all forms of suffering. His habit of keeping in mind the moral and social bearings of all his public conduct was his most prominent characteristic. Few men with his ardent temperament and ready sympathies could have been safely trusted with the control of school and prison management and social

reform. But while he was an undoubted enthusiast his careful business habits and experience saved him from rash action, and although he made some radical changes no case has been pointed out where it could be truly said that he lost his head. His changes have proved in the main, if not entirely, beneficial. His success in this direction was aided by his repugnance to putting any one in charge of responsible interests without regard to humanity and good feeling as well as honesty and morality. When kindness and humane conduct have once been recognized as necessary factors in dealing with children or dependents of any sort, or even with wrong-doers, it is impossible to go backward and disregard them. His messages and public utterances have at times been criticised as over-humanitarian and laying too much stress on these things, but there can be no doubt that he was right in regarding them. The men whom history commends to the love and admiration of mankind have been men of warm feeling and large hearts. Foremost in Mr. Bagley's chapter of uncanonized saints he always placed Abraham Lincoln, whose soul was as tender as his judgment was wise and honest. He often visited the prisons and never failed to speak to the inmates with fatherly kindness. He made them all feel that they were not regarded as brutes or outcasts altogether from sympathy.

Governor Bagley found his official experience of a good deal of value to him personally in giving him a more thorough appreciation of the true prin-

ciples of popular government. No man was a more devoted admirer of American institutions, and the questions made prominent by the war of the Rebellion had necessarily led him to a deeper study of affairs. But he had been brought into intimate social relations with some of the amiable and intellectual philosophers who have thought it was their mission to regulate human affairs generally, and while his steady good sense always kept him from extremes, he had more or less vague confidence that legislation could be wisely framed outside of the assemblies charged with that responsibility, and could be made an educating power for the people. Before he ended his term of office he discovered, as a sensible man under those conditions usually does, that legislation, which is not the outcome of experience, is invariably bad, and that it is wiser to advance gradually and secure results not perfect than to aim at immediate perfection and get nothing. One experiment, for which he was not himself responsible, although he favored it, indicated by its results the keenness of the popular instinct in detecting any departure from the principles of representative government. The constitution of 1850 has always been regarded as a somewhat awkwardly framed document, and in some things might certainly be, as it has been improved. But the people are wisely unwilling to adopt changes that they do not thoroughly appreciate, and any extensive revision must always be open to the difficulty of misconception. When the time prescribed by the constitution itself for submitting it to a

revision had arrived, a convention of rare ability undertook that work and performed it faithfully, but their project had been rejected by a great majority. During Governor Bagley's administration the legislature authorized the governor to appoint a commission to prepare amendments for the consideration of the legislature to be afterwards, if approved, submitted to the people. This body was made up of very able and experienced men, who under the form of amendments prepared what was in many respects equivalent to a revision. There was among thoughtful people a strong repugnance to such an interference with the methods of amendment prescribed by the constitution itself, and the result was that while these deliberations and schemes furnished good suggestions, the general conviction was that all legislation, whether constitutional or statutory, should come first and last through the people's representatives, and should not present too many things at once for digestion. In the main Governor Bagley's own suggestions were of this character, and his successful effort to substitute for the old prohibitory law, which was not enforced, laws which restricted the liquor traffic by substantial checks which were enforced, was an exercise of good sense in aiming at what is practicable.

He was fortunate in the time covered by his official service in more than one particular. The new capitol building, which had been wisely planned by Governor Baldwin, had been so far advanced that the corner stone was laid at an early period in Governor Bagley's ad-

ministration. He was also enabled to secure some enlargement of the appropriations to make the building more perfect than the cautious legislature that first acted upon it could be persuaded was requisite. It was also during his term that the centennial of the American union occurred, and he was enabled to see that the state was represented in the various public demonstrations and especially at the great exposition of Philadelphia, where Michigan interests were very well cared for.

His administration was in all respects creditable, and particularly so for the care given to the charitable and other public institutions. He took a lively interest in the educational advancement of the state, and obtained liberal appropriations for the university and other general establishments. He was careful and exact in the duties of chairman of the state boards, and his knowledge of business economics suggested various improvements whereby money was saved without parsimony. By a change in the form and style of the printed laws and documents, he made a very notable saving, combined with a decided improvement in appearance. In the early days of the state the public printing caused the chief leak in the finances, and how to get the work done properly without waste has taxed the ingenuity of many state officers.

Governor Bagley left the public service with the respect of the people and a well-earned reputation. His administration ranks with the best.

It is not easy to deal fully and at the same time safely with the details of

private life. The interests of home and family concern the modesty and reticence of the living as well as the pleasant memories of the dead, and while such examples of household harmony please all rightminded people, they are not meant for the common discussion.

Governor Bagley married, soon after he reached manhood, Miss Frances E. Newbury, then of Dubuque, Iowa, whose father, Rev. Samuel Newbury, had been head of one of the branches of Michigan university. They had a large family of children and their home was one of domestic harmony and liberal hospitality. The father was the playmate of his children as well their guide, and his household holidays were his great delight. The memory of one little daughter is perpetuated in the Kitty Bagley fund of one thousand dollars invested by Governor and Mrs. Bagley to furnish Christmas gifts yearly to the little waifs of the state public school. All of the city hospitals and charities received munificent aid from his contributions, and he visited most of them habitually and showed his warm heart in personal intercourse with the inmates. One of the most touching sights at his funeral (which was attended by immense crowds from beyond as well as within the city) was a large body of Catholic orphans in charge of the Sisters. He made no lines of belief in his donations or sympathies.

A feature already hinted at was his enthusiasm for America. It was one of his favorite recreations to visit the places connected with important events

in the history of the United States, and the tears were always near the surface if they did not reach it when he visited Concord, and Bunker Hill, and Plymouth—all of which were frequent resorts—as well as the historic places and battle-fields elsewhere. The sages of Concord looked upon him with a curious sort of affection and loved to visit his fireside in their western wanderings, but his reverence was more for the place where brave farmers gave the opening fire of the Revolution than for the less tangible field of subtle thought, and the burly form of the amiable giant brought their minds to pleasant realities.

The confinement of state business added to his own large enterprises produced some effects which caused uneasiness. With a large powerful frame and great bodily strength, Governor Bagley seemed the embodiment of health and cheerfulness. But there were some cardiac as well as pulmonary symptoms which after being neglected for a while admonished him to seek rest and change. He realized too late that while his life had been useful and he had spent it largely in cheerful enjoyment, yet he had never ceased to keep mind and body hard at work, and nature had not been fairly treated. With no positive breaking down, he admitted to his friends that he felt much weakened by weariness, and his public efforts and business exertions told heavily on him. In the fall of 1880 he began to refrain more systematically from fatiguing occupations, and in the spring of 1881 went to California where he died. His death was unexpected except by his

friends and produced a profound sensation throughout the state.

He had been successful beyond most men in honestly amassing wealth, and in fairly securing public honors. He had enjoyed a happy home, and was personally loved by many friends and associates, and by many more whom he had comforted in their adversity. In sorrow and in success his sensitive emotional nature was his strength and his weakness. It prompted him to bring into all his business, public as well as private, an element of personality that brought poor and rich together and kept up a sense of human brotherhood. But it made him more keenly sensible to the buffets and disappointments met by all ambitious men, and every wound made a heartache.

No human ambition ever reached all that it longs for. He was too manly to make weak complaints, and too wise not to know that honors do not always crown the worthiest. But there were times when he thought—and perhaps with reason—that he had met with failures where confidence had been unduly vested and not justified.

But he died conscious of much good done, as well as contemplated, and left behind him memorial provisions for the community that he loved. And he will be remembered as he would have wished to be remembered, not only as a large-hearted and enterprising forwarder of municipal and state interests, and an unflinching patriot, but as one who loved his fellow men.

J. V. CAMPBELL.

PITTSBURGH.

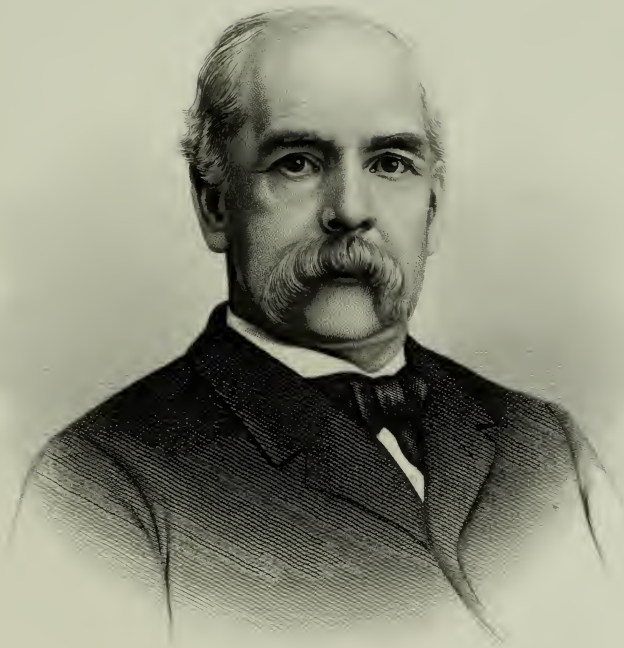
XII.

JAMES PARK, JR.

No man in the country did more for the steel-making interests of America, at a time when they needed help, than James Park, jr., of Pittsburgh, whose name and memory are forever kept alive in the great establishment of which he was the creator and the head. He furnished faith, courage and capital at a time when the great majority were skeptical, and when all his ventures were met with the prophesy of failure. But he went forward without one thought of fear, and great indeed was **his reward**, in fame, in material benefits,

and in the good he was enabled to do for his country.

The father of Mr. Park, James Park, sr., was born in Ireland, and on coming to America was engaged in the grocery business in Baltimore. He removed to Pittsburgh in 1812, and was at first located on the Diamond, and afterwards on Second avenue, where the warehouse of James Park, jr., was erected at a later date. He was first engaged in the grocery and metal business, to which he added queensware in 1835. He died in 1843, leaving a high personal and business reputation. His integrity and pru-



James Park Jr.

dence, industry and well regulated methods, insured him prosperity and success. His wife, the mother of the subject of this article, was Margaret McCurdy, the daughter of a leading physician of eastern Virginia. They were married in 1815. She was a lady of unusual education and culture, a prominent and liberal member of the First Presbyterian church of Allegheny, and marked by the possession of a high and noble nature.

James Park, jr., was born in Pittsburgh on January 11, 1820. He was liberally cared for in the line of education while young, and numbered among his successive tutors Mr. Samuel Kerr, Rev. Joseph Stockton and Mr. John Kelley. In 1837 he entered upon the business career, in which he made so high a mark, being employed in the queensware department of his father's warehouse. Three years later he became one of the partners of the establishment, the firm becoming James Park & Son^s. On the death of the father, in 1843, the name was changed to James Park, jr., & Company. In this connection, and with other lines of enterprise, Mr. Park for years made himself a power in the business world of Pittsburgh. As the grocery was followed by the handling of queensware, so that was followed by the cotton factory, the foundry, the copper rolling mill, and finally the great life-work in which Mr. Park was engaged—the making of steel. It was a new thing for American industry, and only men of the grandest courage and faith could have undertaken it, in the face of the obstacles and the opposition

that lay in the road toward success. English steel filled the market, and English influences controlled public opinion. When Mr. Park entered on his experimental work, he was again and again urged to give it up, lest certain financial ruin should overtake him. But he had the faith and tenacity, and he kept on. He insisted that with proper materials, methods and scientific knowledge, success was sure, and his patriotism did not allow him to believe that America could not do all that England had done. The firm of which Mr. Park was the head, that of Park, Brother & Company, succeeded in 1862 in making crucible cast steel of the best grades, and at a uniform quality, as a regular product. This was about the beginning of that line of business in America, and Mr. James M. Swank in his 'Iron in all Ages' says that "the event was one of great importance, as it marked the establishment in this country of a new industry which was destined to assume large proportions, and to be of immense value; it met a want that had long been felt, and dissipated the long-standing belief that this country possessed neither the iron nor the skill required to make good cast steel. The establishment of this new industry, following closely in the wake of our successful application of anthracite and bituminous coal in the manufacture of pig iron, assisted greatly to advance our metallurgical reputation, and to create confidence in our future metallurgical possibilities."

In 1863 Mr. Park, in the line and prosecution of the belief outlined above, had part in an enterprise that put Amer-

ica forward still one more step in the line of steel-making. In company with several other gentlemen, he established works at Wyandotte, Michigan, in which should be tried the experiment of making steel by the Bessemer process. In the fall of 1864 the object sought was obtained, and the first Bessemer steel ever made in the United States was placed on the market. To show how Mr. Park was always reaching out for new and better results in the future, I again quote from the work above named :

On the first of December, 1862, Park, McCurdy & Co. of Pittsburgh sent Lewis Powe, the manager of their copper works, to England, to study the manufacture of tin plates. While there he visited Birmingham and saw a Siemens gas furnace, and procured one of the Siemens pamphlets containing a full description of it. On his return home he called the attention of James Park, jr., to the advantages of the furnace. Immediately after July 4, 1863, the erection of a Siemens gas furnace was commenced at the copper works. This furnace was erected for the purpose of melting and refining copper, and was completed on the fourteenth of August, 1863. It was constructed after the drawings contained in the Siemens pamphlet, and worked well.

The size and importance of the great works that Mr. Park's genius and business ability created can be imagined somewhat from the following figures, made in 1876, since which time the establishment has gained in size and reputation :

"Black Diamond works, owned by Park Bros. & Co., located at Thirtieth and Smallman streets, established in 1862 by Park Bros. & Co., have 72 coke melting holes, 2 24-pots Siemen, 6 trains rolls, 21 steam hammers, 6 puddling furnaces, 48 heating furnaces, with a capacity of 10,000 tons."

The 'Iron In All Ages.' referred to in the foregoing, has this to say of one department of these great works :

On the sixth of September, 1881, Park, Brother & Co. of Pittsburgh put in operation for the first time their seventeen-ton steam hammer, which is the largest in the United States. It will work steel ingots two feet square. The anvil—which is the heaviest iron casting ever made in this country, weighing one hundred and sixty tons—was cast a few feet from its place with five cupolas, under the direction of Park, Brother & Co., on October 5, 1880. It is eleven feet high, and measures eight by ten feet at the base and four by six feet at the top. The hammer and its fittings occupy a ground space twenty-six feet long by thirteen wide. Its height from the ground is thirty-two feet. The weight of the cast-iron cylinder is about eleven tons ; the bore is forty inches and the stroke nine feet. The whole cost of the hammer, anvil and fittings, ready for operation, is estimated at \$52,000.

Mr. Park was also connected with other enterprises that had their influence on the business life of Pittsburgh, and made himself felt through more than one channel of usefulness. He was the first president of the Dime Savings institution, afterward the Pittsburgh Bank for Savings, that was incorporated in 1862. Mr. Park held the presidency thereof from that year to 1865. He was one of the corporators of the Western Pennsylvania hospital, and ever a warm and generous friend to that institution. During the war for the Union he was a loyal and earnest friend to his country's cause, being one of the leading spirits in the United States sanitary commission that did such good work for the soldiers in the camp, on the march, and in the field. He was a moving spirit in the raising of troops ; the Park Independent battery ; the Park Zouaves, and the Park Rifles, that were named after him,

being so many evidences of his labors in that direction. His purse, time and energy were all freely placed at the service of the cause, and no man in Pittsburgh did more than he for the relief and aid of soldiers' families. He represented his ward for some time in the Allegheny council, and was the originator of the Allegheny park system, a monument, indeed, to the public spirit and far sighted vision of any man. He was a trustee of the Western university, and a friend in every way to law and order, the cause of education, the church, the Sunday school, and every reformatory or moral work.

Mr. Park was an honest and outspoken believer in protective tariff, and his views thereon came from knowledge and study, and were not the mere results of the business in which he was engaged. He was one of the best informed men in the country on that subject, and possessed great influence in Washington in the shaping of tariff legislation. His honesty of opinion on that and other public questions was conceded by all.

While his nature was frank and open, his determination in pursuing any line of policy that he thought to be right was of the most steadfast character. When he resolved to accomplish anything, great or small, no combination of circumstances could induce him to change his purpose. He would never stop short of success, or a demonstration of impossibility. He ever took a deep interest in his employés, and each one looked upon him as a firm and unchanging friend. His heart was open to any appeal for help, and his generosity was

a deep and continual stream. His business integrity was of the highest character, and was shown forth in so many ways that his name was a synonym for honesty wherever known.

Some idea of the standing which Mr. Park enjoyed in the business community can be found in the action taken by the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce on the occasion of his death. In the resolutions adopted in honor of his memory these words occur: "In giving expression to the sentiments that pervade the entire community, the chamber of commerce would place on record the profound respect and sincere admiration for the life and character of James Park, one of the charter members and for years a director. In his life he illustrated and adorned every virtue which makes the upright man and progressive citizen, and we hold up his life work as a bright example for the youth of this and all other countries to imitate. The best and most enduring monument to our departed member is the conspicuous fact that the vast industrial interests of this great city are so largely indebted to his energy and foresight for their past prosperity and future promise." In a volume published some time ago, entitled 'The History of the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny,' may be found the following appreciative reference to Mr. Park, and his religious and social life:

The people of this community are especially indebted to him for energetic and self-denying labor in the promotion of its great public improvement. He was one of the organizers of the Allegheny gas company, and also one of the first to move in the establishment of the water works. The process of converting the commons, the unsightly dumping-grounds

of fifteen years ago, into the present refreshing and attractive park, is within the recollection of many. He was president of the original park commission, and was instrumental in securing the services of the celebrated Ike Marvel, in accordance with whose designs its walks, fountains, flower-beds and trees were arranged. In May, 1844, Mr. Park visited Europe, and having spent more than a year in foreign travel; he returned in July, 1845. On the first day of June, 1847, he was joined in marriage with Miss Sarah Gray. In May, 1865, he visited Europe a second time, being absent but three months. On Sabbath, February 1, 1852, Mr. Park and his wife were received in full communion in the original Second Presbyterian church, Allegheny, located on ground now occupied by dwellings Nos. 55 and 57 Washington street. In October, 1853 it was dissolved, and in January, 1854, Mr Park and his wife con-

nected themselves with this church. On Sabbath, September 19, 1858, he was ordained and installed an elder. As trustee and Sabbath school teacher also, he has labored to promote the interests of this church.

Mr. Park's useful and successful career came to an end on Saturday morning, April 21, 1883. A busy life lay behind him, and for the future he had no fear. He had done his share of the world's work, had filled every allotted station of life with honesty and high honor, and left behind a name of which his family and friends have good reason to be proud.

HENRY K. JAMES.

THE MUNICIPAL GROWTH OF CLEVELAND.

II.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The township, village and city growth of Cleveland having been traced upward to 1850 in a preceding article, it is proper to take a backward glance at the evolution of her school system before proceeding farther along the line above indicated. The early settlers of the Western Reserve coming largely from New England, it was but natural that as soon as the pressing necessities of physical life were supplied in the new land to which ambition and hope had called them, they should seek to give their children the educational advantages they had themselves been heir to in the old eastern home. It was a problem not easy of solution, and if the schools were at first crude, and uncertain as to length

of term or evenness of course, they were never commonplace, and the teacher as a rule was one who could give practical common sense to those who had been committed to his care, and a fair knowledge of the elementary studies, even though he might not have been the honor-man of a college, nor even placed his eyes on college walls.

The earliest hints of an organized attempt at education within the limits of what is now Cleveland come through tradition rather than any well-grounded knowledge. It is said that as soon as the three first families who found themselves on the ground had taken count of their resources, and an enumeration of their children, they decided that the five latter should begin life aright, and

promptly gathered them into a school. The first institution of that character of which we have knowledge, was taught by Miss Sarah Doan, daughter of Nathaniel Doan, of Doan's corners, in what was then known as the Kinsman neighborhood, near the present corner of Kinsman street and Woodland Hills avenue. The building in which the school was held was of logs, while the attendance of the pupils was rather uncertain, because of the distance to travel, the demands of fever and ague, and the need of their help at home. During these early years schools were kept with more or less regularity in that neighborhood and at Newburgh,*

* Extract from a paper read by Mr. Isham A. Morgan, before the meeting of the Early Settlers' association: "The Rev. Stephen Peets, whom some of the old inhabitants of Cuyahoga county may remember, taught our school in the winter of 1814-15. During the term he got up an exhibition for the evening of the last day of school. On the road from Newburgh to Cleveland, now Broadway, where you first get a view of the river from the high land, was Samuel Dille's house, which, of course, was a log house. It was large for the times, and in it was a spacious upper room, the length and breadth of the house. There the people of Newburgh and Cleveland assembled and witnessed the performance of 'The Conqueror,' taken from the *Columbian Orator*; the 'Dissipated Oxford Student,' also taken from the same book; 'Brutus and Cassius,' taken from the *American Preceptor*; and several other pieces. The various parts were conceded by the critics there to have been performed in admirable style. After the performance my father, mother, two sisters and myself returned home, a distance of a mile and a half, on the family horse. Two adults and three plump children, six to twelve years of age, might now be considered a large load for one horse to carry; and five on a horse, as may be supposed, would now render a cavalcade somewhat uncouth on the broadways of Cleveland. But then people dispensed with stylish appearances, and accommodated themselves to the necessities of the times."

while the sparseness of population then in Cleveland proper prevented any serious attempts in that direction. There are evidences of a school here as early as 1810, when the town had fifty-seven inhabitants, but the first of which a record can be found is that kept by a Mr. Chapman in 1814. The first school house in the village of which there is any account, was probably erected in 1815, as the elder Leonard Case, who removed here from Warren in 1816, mentions it as then existing, as also does Mr. Moses White, who speaks of it as "a little new building about eighteen feet by twenty-eight, with a stone chimney, located where the Kennard house now stands." It was built by subscription, and the action taken by the village authorities for its purchase and the refunding the money subscribed has already been described in the preceding article above referred to.† This little structure was not only the school building but the "meeting house" as well, being occupied as such whenever a minister came that way in the winter, while the larger and cooler court house served the same purpose during the summer. The schools kept therein were never organized in any manner by the public. The use of the building was simply donated to the teacher, who would fix his own tuition fee and take his risk of collecting it from the parents of those who might attend. The inside workings of the pioneer schools, showing the management, course of study, and text books used, have been so well

† See 'Magazine of Western History,' for May, 1886, page 69.

described by Mr. George Watkins, a Cleveland pioneer, in a recent newspaper article, that I cannot refrain from quoting therefrom. He speaks of a building located in what afterwards became East Cleveland, as follows :

My first recollection of a school house was of one on Fairmount street, and a second a block log house on Giddings avenue. This was built in 1822, and I began to attend there the same year. The building was about fifteen by twenty feet. It was called a block house because the logs were hewed on both sides. It was lighted by five windows. The old stone fireplace was six feet across. On three sides of the room was a platform seven or eight feet wide and about one foot high. An upright board was placed a foot or so from the edge of the platform. Here the little children sat, the board serving for the back of their seats. On the platform and against the walls at the proper height was the writing desk of the older pupils. This desk was continuous around three sides of the room. The seats, like the desk, were of unplanned slabs, which ran parallel with the desk. When it was writing time the boys and girls had to swing their feet over and proceed to business. We wrote with a goose quill, and every morning the master set our copies and mended our pens. We had school but three months in the year, in the winter, and it was no small labor to get ready for this comparatively short time. Everybody was poor ; there was no money in the country. Everybody intended to have the children ready for school about the first Monday in December. This opening day was a great event in the backwoods of Cleveland in 1822. The organization of the school would seem a little

strange now. The teacher was chosen not so much from his knowledge of books as because he had no other business. He was paid the enormous sum of \$10 per month and boarded himself. It was often a hard thing to raise even this \$10 to pay him.

On the first morning, just at nine o'clock, the new teacher stepped to the door and shouted, " Boys and girls, come into school." We obeyed promptly. The next command was issued, " Now take your seats," which we proceeded to do. Then we were classed. The first class were those in the 'English Reader,' the second in the 'American Preceptor,' the third in the 'New Testament,' the fourth in 'Webster's Spelling Book.' We read all around, class by class, before recess and after, we read again and spelled,

standing on the floor. It was a great honor to be at the head and keep there three or four days running. We had neither grammar nor geography in any school that ever I attended. The arithmetics were Daboll's, Adams' or Pike's, just as the children happened to have. Such a thing as an arithmetic class was unknown. Each scholar who studied that branch worked in his or her seat; when he



FIRST SCHOOL BUILDING, ERECTED IN 1816.

could not do a sum help was asked from the teacher, who was often puzzled. No one went further than the rule of three, and he was considered a smart boy who could master that. This school on Giddings had twenty-five or thirty scholars. There was no district. Everybody came. The children who came the longest distance were from a house on what is now the Weddell property. We had school from nine o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, six days in the week. In those days the master never spoiled the boys by sparing the rod. Oh, no ! He kept four or five rods seasoning amongst the logs, and always carried a ruler eighteen inches long in his hand to touch up unruly boys. At Christmas we

planned to bar out the teacher, nor did he get in until he furnished a pint of whisky.

The year 1821 saw an important onward step in the erection of a two-story brick building on St. Clair street, called the Cleveland Academy. It became one of the educational landmarks of the day, and lives with honor and tender affection in the memories of many of the older residents of Cleveland. It was built by the people by private subscriptions, and was opened to use on June 26, 1822, with Rev. Wm. McLean in charge. Reading, spelling and writing were taught for one dollar and seventy-five cents per term; grammar and geography were included for two dollars and seventy-five cents per term; while Greek, Latin and the higher mathematics cost four dollars. At a later date, when Cleveland held a larger population and better facilities were demanded, the higher department was removed to the upper hall, while the lower grades were kept down below. It was here, in 1824, that Hon. Harvey

Rice, who has done more than any other man for the schools of Ohio, first touched on the public life of Cleveland. Coming direct from college he took charge of the academy, and for several terms taught with such force and ability that he made his mark on the day, and is held in grateful memory by such of his pupils as are yet with him on the shores of time. The academy school was

kept up until about 1836, when it was superseded by the newly organized school system of the city. The building was leased for a couple of years for the use of the common schools, and was finally sold to the city



PROSPECT STREET SCHOOL HOUSE, ERECTED IN 1840.

in 1839.

As early as 1825 we hear of a young ladies' academy, wherein the common branches, with the addition of painting, needlework and embroidery were to be taught. Several private schools were opened at various times, but came to no great degree of success. About 1833 a school was established by several benevolent parties for the benefit of such as

could not afford to send their children to an institution where a tuition fee was required. It was called the "Free School," and received some help from the village authorities, for soon after the organization of the city government, the council voted to employ a teacher and assistant to conduct it until a definite system should be organized.

The city of Cleveland having been duly incorporated, it was seen that some steps must be taken immediately to place the school system on some definite and fixed basis, and to bring the public education under municipal control. Accordingly on October 5, 1836, the first board of school managers was constituted, consisting of Messrs. John W. Willey, Anson Haydon and Daniel Worley.* These gentlemen began a

serious study as to what should be done for the best interests of all concerned, and applied themselves seriously to the great task set before them. On March 29, 1837, we find them reporting to the city council that they have continued the "Common Free School," and that its cost for the quarter ending March 19, has been one hundred and eighty-five dollars and seventy-seven cents. They urged in this report the need of a more generous support on the part of the city, and the pressing need of new schoolhouses. The second board appointed in 1837, consisted of Samuel Cowles, Samuel Williamson and Philip Battell, who ably carried on the good work their predecessors had inaugurated.†

* In March, 1835, an act was passed to incorporate the city of Cleveland. Sections XIX. to XXIV. of this act authorize the city council to provide for the support of common schools, to levy a tax of not more than one mill on the dollar of the assessed valuation of property, for the purchase of sites and the building of school-houses, and one mill additional for the support of a school in each of three wards of the city, for a term not less than six months in the year, which should be "accessible to all white children not under four years of age." The council was also required to "fix, by ordinance, the commencement and termination of the current year of said common schools, and determine the time and duration of all vacations thereof." The administration of school affairs was vested in a board entitled, "The Board of Managers of Common Schools in the City of Cleveland," to be appointed by the city council for the term of one year. This board of managers had the superintendence of the schools, made all minor regulations for their government, examined and employed teachers, and were required to "certify to the city council the correctness of all accounts for the expenses incurred in the support of the schools." In fixing the salaries of teachers, the board of managers had to have the approval of the

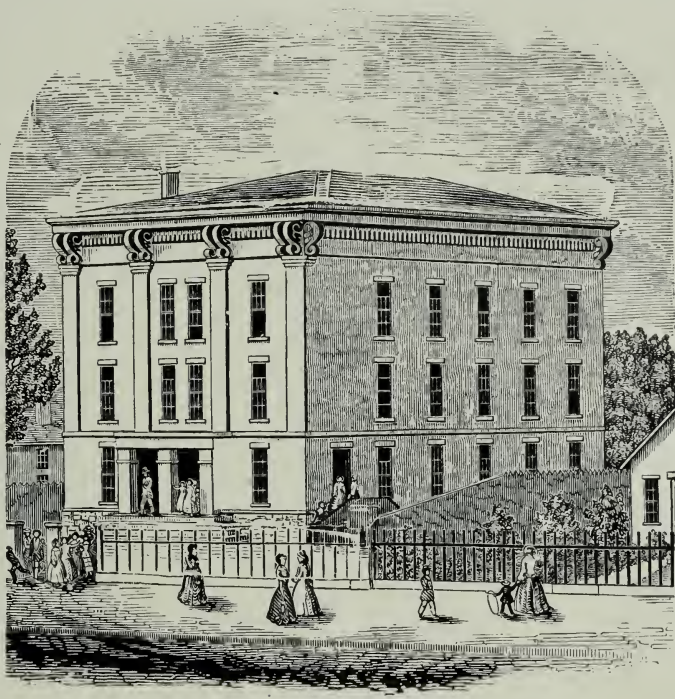
city council, and they could not expend for repairs and supplies more than ten dollars for any one school building without the consent of that body. The restrictions of the privileges of the schools to white children seems to have been unobserved from the beginning, colored children, of whom there have always been comparatively few, being admitted on equal terms with the whites.—Board of Education Report, 1876.

† The complete list of school managers from 1836 to 1858, inclusive, bringing the record up to the first board of education elected by the people in 1859, is as follows: 1836 and 1837 as above given; 1838, Henry H. Dodge, Henry Sexton, Silas Belden; 1839, Levi Tucker, Henry Sexton, Silas Belden; 1840, Levi Tucker, Silas Belden, Samuel H. Mather, Robert Cather; 1841, Charles Bradburn, George Willey, Charles Stetson, Madison Kelley; 1842, same as 1841; 1843, Charles Bradburn, Madison Kelley, Robert Bailey, H. S. Noble; 1844, Charles Bradburn, T. P. Handy, Thomas Richmond, J. B. Finney; 1845, Charles Bradburn, George Willey, R. T. Lyon, Madison Kelley; 1846, Charles Bradburn, T. P. Handy, Samuel Starkweather, William Day; 1847, Charles Bradburn, J. D. Cleveland, T. P. Handy, George Willey; 1848, George Willey, J. D. Cleveland, Samuel Williamson,

During the winter the six schools were retained, and two more added for small children. There were eight hundred and forty names on the rolls, and an average attendance of four hundred and sixty-eight; the cost for that term being \$868.62. During the year following the number of schools was increased to eleven, the average attendance being five hundred and eighty-eight. In 1839-40 the lots on Rockwell and Prospect streets, now owned by the board of

education, were purchased, and buildings erected thereon. These, with the academy building, would seat six hundred pupils comfortably, but were compelled to accommodate fully nine hundred. The new system may, at this point,

be said to have passed the formative period and gone fully into operation. In each of the three buildings a school was organized in December, 1840, with a senior and primary grade.—Three principals were chosen, who were also the



EAGLE STREET SCHOOL, ERECTED IN 1854.

John Barr, William Smyth; 1849, George Willey, J. D. Cleveland, Samuel Williamson, Robert Bailey; 1850, George Willey, J. D. Cleveland, T. P. Handy, Robert Bailey, John C. Vaughn; 1851, George Willey, J. D. Cleveland, T. P. Handy, John B. Waring, James Fitch; 1852, George Willey, Charles Bradburn, William D. Beattie, T. P. Handy, James Fitch; 1853, same as 1852; 1854, George Willey, T. P. Handy, S. H. Mather, W. D. Beattie, B. Steadman, James A. Briggs, J. L. Hewett, R. B. Dennis, Horace Benton, B. Sheldon, A. P. Turner; 1855, George Willey, S. H. Mather, T. P. Handy, W. D. Beattie, L. C. Ingersoll, J.

teachers of the boys' department in the senior grade. These were A. M. Gray in the Rockwell school, Andrew Freese in Prospect school, and George W.

Gardner, B. Steadman, Horace Benton, J. A. Briggs, R. B. Dennis, B. Sheldon; 1856, Charles Bradburn, George Willey, R. B. Dennis, Horace Benton, S. H. Mather; 1857, Charles Bradburn, George Willey, Horace Benton, S. H. Mather, R. B. Dennis; 1858, Charles Bradburn, George Willey, Charles W. Palmer, T. S. Paddock, R. B. Dennis.

Yates in the St. Clair street school.* In addition to the above there were the Bethel school, one on the corner of Prospect and Ontario streets, and one on Chestnut street. A uniform list of text books was prescribed, although the teachers were given the power to divide the schools into such classes as they saw fit. The only subjects taught higher than the ordinary English branches were algebra and natural philosophy. The furniture of the school room was of the most primitive form, consisting of two long rows of seats extending around the room a short distance from the wall, the rear ones having no backs, and the front ones no fronts. It was not until 1846 that a more modern seat came into use. The salary of the male principals was ten dollars per week, a school week comprising five and one-half days.

Little change was made in this order of business until 1846, when a step onward and upward was taken. In the spring of that year, Mayor Hoadly, in his address to the council, made an important recommendation. "I earnestly recommend to your favorable consideration," said he, "the propriety of establishing a school of a higher grade—an academic department, the scholars to be taken from our common schools according to merit. This would present a powerful stimulus to study and good

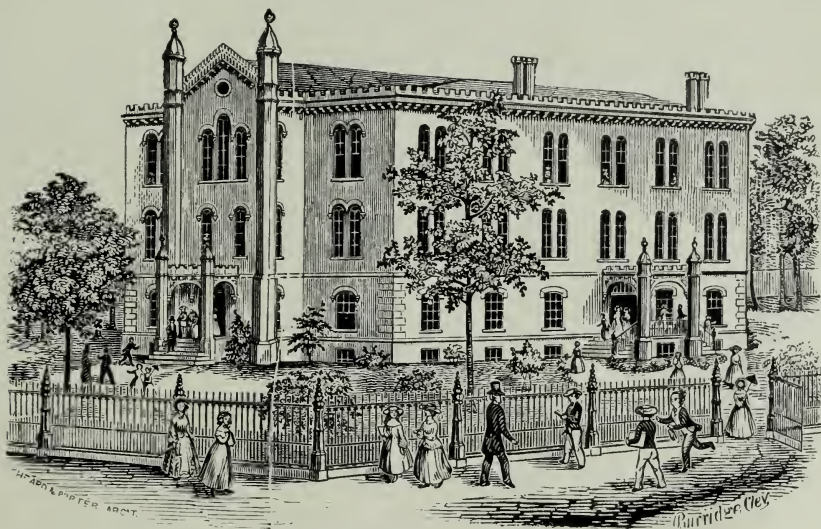
conduct. The poorest child, if possessed of talents and application, might aspire to the highest stations in the Republic." The suggestion was favorably received, and at the meeting of the council on April 22, Josiah A. Harris, chairman of the committee on schools, proposed a series of measures that were adopted, and which resulted in the formation of Cleveland's first high school. The basement of the old church on Prospect street was leased, and Andrew Freese was chosen as principal. There was the usual amount of opposition both with the public and the city authorities, but it gradually died down or was removed by the usefulness of the new school, and it went steadily through the various stages of development and growth. In 1851 a cheap wooden building was erected on Euclid avenue for the use of this school, and was replaced in 1856 by the three story brick now occupied by the board of education and the public library.

In May, 1853, another step in the onward advance was taken when Hon. Richard C. Parsons, with that progressive spirit that has always animated him in public works, introduced into the city council an ordinance establishing the office of superintendent of instruction, which became a law in the following June. It devolved on the board of managers to fill the office, while the fixing of the salary was in the hands of the council. Mr. Andrew Freese was called from his work in the high school and assigned to this new and responsible task. At first he gave a part of his time to that school, but as

* The first teacher employed in the public schools of the city was R. L. Gazlay. Among the teachers who were employed previous to 1839 the names of the following have been secured: Luther Hunt, W. W. Phillips, C. W. Fullerton, H. C. Skinner, Malinda Slate, Marietta Pelton, Eliza Johnson, J. W. Gray, Julia Butler, Elizabeth Armstrong.

the needs of the schools increased, and their chances for usefulness unfolded, it was decided that he should give his entire time to supervision, for which the council was with some difficulty persuaded to allow him thirteen hundred dollars per year. Mr. Freese held this office for eight years, and was a potent factor in giving the schools of Cleveland a right direction during those early years of growth. In 1854 Ohio City

wards electing annually. Though the board of education now held the same relation to the people which was held by the city council, the board was still subject to the council in several particulars. It was still the city council which was required to "provide and support such number and grade of schools, in said city, as may be necessary to furnish a good common school education to all the children resident



CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, ERECTED IN 1856.

and Cleveland became one, and the schools of the two corporations were consolidated, and placed under one control.

In 1859 the old order of government gave way to the new. By special enactment of the legislature the election of members of a board of education was for the first time placed in the hands of the people, one member being elected from each ward, and one-half of the

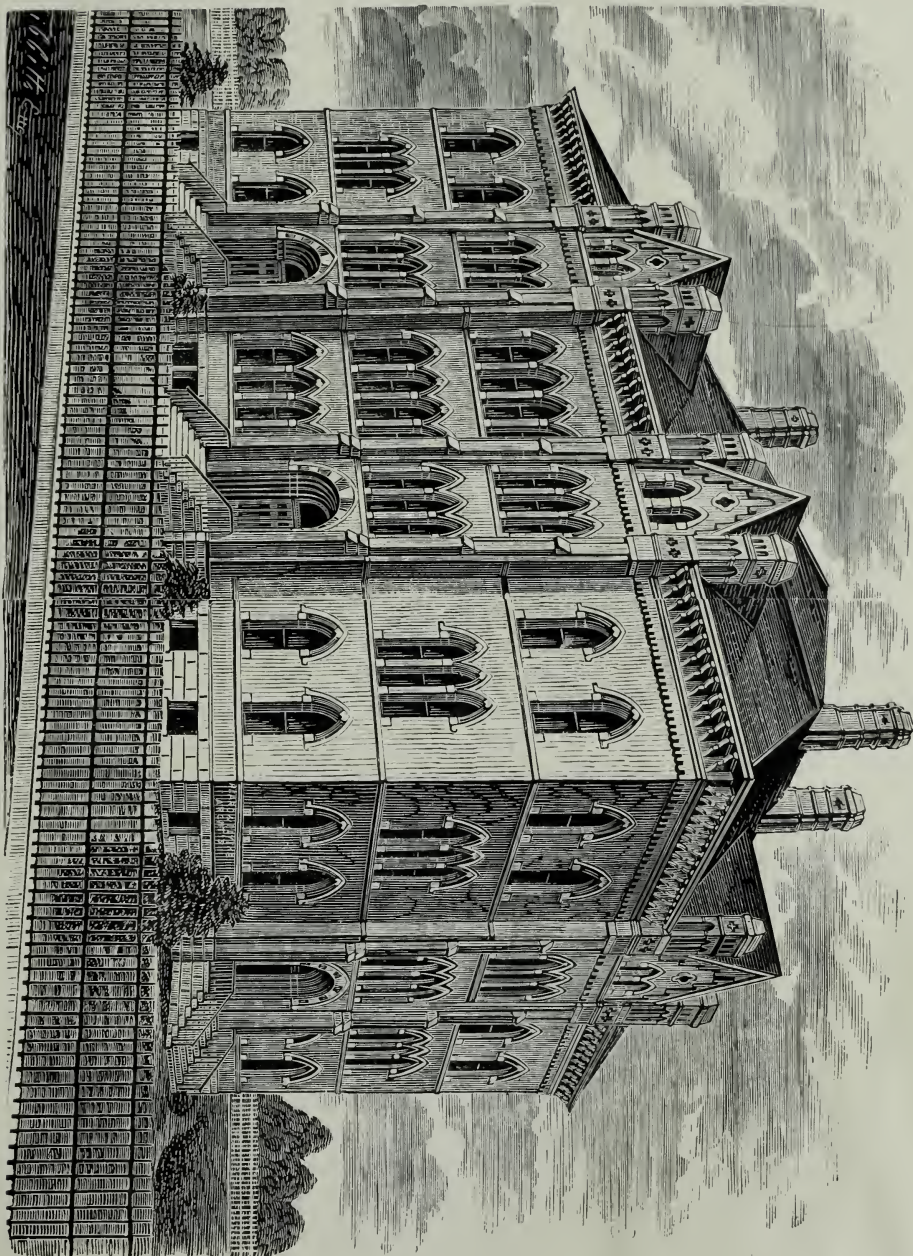
therein," and to "support two high schools." The board was required to certify to the council an estimate of the amount necessary to be raised for school purposes; but the city council might at pleasure levy a tax for an amount greater or less than the amount thus estimated, provided it did not exceed the limit fixed in the general law of the state. The board had the management and control of the schools, employed

and dismissed teachers and fixed their compensation, furnished all necessary supplies and apparatus, but could not expend more than fifty dollars for school furniture or repairs for any one school or school building, without first obtaining the consent of the city council. In like manner, the approval of the city council was required in fixing the boundaries of school districts. In April, 1868, another act was passed "to provide for the support and regulation of the public schools in the city of Cleveland," by which all restraints of the board of education on the part of the city council were removed, saving one: whenever additional school room was necessary it became the duty of the board of education to recommend to the city council the "purchase of proper sites and the erection of suitable school houses thereon," and it was then required of the council that it should act on such recommendation without delay, and in case of approval, to "provide in such manner as shall seem most expedient such sums of money as may be necessary to carry the same into effect." This change of legal power gave the board complete control of the schools, giving it power to levy taxes without restriction by the council, and allowing the council power only in the purchase of real estate and the erection of school buildings. But in May, 1873, a general law was passed by the legislature whereby all special enactments pertaining to the management of schools in towns, cities and special districts were entirely superseded. This gave the city council no voice whatever in school

affairs and it is under that system that Cleveland is still at work. The members of the first board of education elected by the people were as follows: Charles Bradburn, Allyne Maynard, Charles S. Reese, William H. Stanley, Nathan B. Payne, W. P. Fogg, Lester Hayes, J. A. Thome, F. B. Pratt, Daniel P. Rhodes, and George R. Vaughn. The dawn of 1860 found the school system of the city in a shape that produced good results for the present, and offered larger rewards for the future. The schools on both sides of the river had been consolidated; a board elected by the people was in control; a superintendent gave his whole time to oversight; and a high school was in progress both on the east and on the west sides of the river. Music and drawing had both been introduced at previous dates, but were at this time suspended, because the hard times following the panic of 1857 had caused the authorities to retrench wherever it was in their power. During the War of the Rebellion, and running on up to 1865, the schools kept growth apace with the rest of the city, but little was done in connection with them which would be of general historical interest.

Mr. Andrew Freese held the position of superintendent from 1853 to 1860, inclusive, giving to the public a service which was of the highest character and a faithfulness and attention to duty that no man could have excelled. Mr. L. M. Oviatt was his successor, serving during 1861 and 1862. Rev. Anson Smyth was the next incumbent of the office, his term covering from 1863 to

ST. CLAIR SCHOOL. ERECTED IN 1869



1866. The men who were at that time in control of the educational interests of Cleveland were determined to secure the services of a man whose experience and ability were equal to the tasks to which he would be called; and after investigation and consideration Andrew J. Rickoff was elected and accepted. The wisdom of that choice was shown in the works he was able to do during his long control of the schools. Mr. Rickoff was then in his prime, and his engagement was no experiment, as he had demonstrated elsewhere what there was in him. A graduate of the common schools of Cincinnati and of Woodward college, he had given his entire life to teaching. He had first been employed in the schools near Cincinnati; had charge of the schools of Portsmouth, Ohio, for five years, and was then called to Cincinnati, where he took his place as teacher where he had been pupil only a short time before. He was promoted upward step by step and was superintendent for five years. In 1867 he was again elected superintendent of the Cincinnati schools, but refused the office to come to Cleveland, where he had been elected superintendent. His work here speaks for itself. As an educator he had always stood in the front rank and been considered a power in the educational world. In the 'History of Education in the State of Ohio,' published by authority of the general assembly of the state, in 1876, may be found this reference to him and the work he was able to do in this city:

No man in Ohio has studied more thoroughly the classification of schools, and done more during the

last twenty years to bring about the degree of perfection which has been attained in the present system of grading, than has Mr. A. J. Rickoff, now superintendent of the Cleveland schools. Mr. Rickoff's attention was called to this important subject when, in 1854, he was superintendent of the public schools of Cincinnati. Soon after he entered upon the duties of his office he made a report on the expediency of organizing grammar schools as a part of the school system, intermediate between the district and high schools. In this able report he defines classification to be "the arrangement of pupils according to proficiency and capacity for study, into grades, classes or divisions. That system of schools is most nearly perfect which enables us to secure the nicest classification. It is at once the most economical and the most efficient—the most economical because it gives the greatest possible number of pupils to the teacher, and the most efficient because it gives to each pupil the greatest possible share of the teacher's time and labor." In accordance with this plan, which differed in many points from any plan previously adopted, and on his recommendation, the grade known as the intermediate in the Cincinnati schools was established. So perfect was the grading and classification of these schools at this time, that few essential changes have since been found necessary.

Mr. Rickoff, to glance ahead for a moment, recommended the plan of organization that was so successfully carried into operation in this city. Though it differs from the one adopted in Cincinnati, it is thought to be better adapted to the requirements of the situation here. The firm touch of Mr. Rickoff's trained hand was felt from the moment he took charge of the public schools. In his first report to the board, for the school year ending August 31, 1868, it was seen that he not only had the needed knowledge and experience, but also the executive faculty that would enable him to make the best use of the materials at hand, and produce the desired results. His suggestions were to the point: "For the short time the chil-



NEW HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING, OPENED IN 1878.

dren are under our care," said he, "no pains should be spared to do for them all that can be done. The readiest tact, the widest experience, the noblest influence should be brought to bear upon them in the school room. We should not, must not, rest satisfied with merely instructing them in the rudiments of a common school education, but we must aim to implant in them a love of learning, inspire them with noble aspirations; we must labor hard to send them from our hands with impulses, at least, to become good scholars and good men." That report is replete with practical suggestions, many of which were put into action as soon as possible, adding vastly to the value and efficiency of the schools.

Glancing hurriedly over the several years succeeding Mr. Rickoff's connection with the educational interests of the city, these points of interest are brought to light: In 1867 East Cleveland was annexed, and its schools came under control of the city. In 1868 supervising principals were appointed, to take immediate direction of the teachers in the grammar and primary departments. Consequent on this change ladies were placed in direct charge of the various school buildings, instead of men, as had been the custom at an earlier date. At the beginning of the spring term in 1870, the study of German was introduced into the schools, nine teachers being at once employed for the purpose of teaching that language. The next year this number was increased to sixteen, while twenty-five were needed in 1872. "The demand for German instruction," writes

Mr. Rickoff, in his report in the year last named, "especially among those of English speaking parentage, is far beyond expectation. It has already become one of the most useful departments of school work, and is rapidly gaining in the esteem of the people. It was a great step to organize classes for the instruction of three thousand five hundred pupils in a foreign language, and within so short a time. That it has been done without friction, and without a word of opposition on the part of the teachers of the schools . . . is somewhat remarkable." In 1874 the normal school was established, to instruct inexperienced applicants for positions in the oral work of teaching, before entrusting them with the entire management of schools. It was opened in the Eagle street building, with Mr. Alexander Forbes in charge. The results of the first year were so satisfactory that the board of education felt justified in continuing it, and it has been one of the effective educational forces of the city from that day to the present.

In 1876, Centennial year, the board of education issued an annual report that was filled with historical and statistical matter of the most valuable nature, tracing in outline the record and work of the schools, and filling in many details of an interesting character. I take the liberty of borrowing a number of points therefrom, and will not carry this record any nearer the present than that year. From President Watterson's report the following valuable table has been taken:

ENUMERATION OF YOUTH, WHOLE NUMBER OF PUPILS REGISTERED, AND THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN THE SEVERAL YEARS FROM 1836 TO 1876 INCLUSIVE.

YEARS.	ENUMERATION OF YOUTH.	NUMBER REGISTERED.	NUMBER OF TEACHERS.	YEARS.	ENUMERATION OF YOUTH.	NUMBER REGISTERED.	NUMBER OF TEACHERS.
1836	.....	229	3	1857	13121	4923	73
1837	2132	490	8	1858	12984	5110	79
1838	.....	840	8	1859	13370	5025	82
1839	.....	823	10	1860	14309	5110	83
1840	.....	990	10	1861	14625	5081	83
1841	.....	.....	.....	1862	15479	6000	82
1842	.....	.....	.....	1863	16577	6551	86
1843	2578	.....	.....	1864	17325	7473	92
1844	2950	.....	.....	1865	18023	7528	98
1845	3177	.....	.....	1866	18607	8315	115
1846	3455	1500	15	1867	20775	9643	123
1847	3956	1652	18	1868	25823	10154	157
1848	4304	1714	20	1869	27524	11151	164
1849	4773	1873	22	1870	32157	12257	188
1850	5042	2081	25	1871	34544	13184	188
1851	6742	2304	32	1872	37876	13647	208
1852	.....	2575	39	1873	40100	15085	235
1853	8426	2845	41	1874	45003	17512	289
1854	12076	3955	44	1875	48561	19705	319
1855	12947	4701	60	1876	47043	20771	326
1856	12998	4734	68	.....	.....	.....	.....

Mr. Watterson also presented an elaborate table, showing the amount and value of property held for school purposes in Cleveland, with date of purchase, etc. Only the totals can be taken therefrom, as follows:

Estimated present value of sites.....	\$572,030
Number of rooms.....	370
Number of seats.....	18,348
Cost of buildings and improvements.....	\$778,080
Value of furniture.....	\$49,383
Cost of heating fixtures.....	\$74,161
Total value of property.....	\$1,473,654

From Mr. Rickoff's report in the same volume I take the following list of the principals of the high schools, to 1876, in their order of service:

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL.

Andrew Freese.....	1846 to 1854
Emerson E. White.....	1854 to 1856
William S. Palmer.....	1856 to 1859
Theodore Sterling.....	1859 to 1867
W. A. C. Converse.....	1868

Andrew Freese.....	1868 to 1869
Samuel G. Williams.....	1869 to 1876 *

WEST HIGH SCHOOL.

Alanson G. Hopkinson.....	1853 to 1866
Albert G. Manson.....	1866 to 1867
Alanson G. Hopkinson.....	1867 to 1870
Warren Higley.....	1870 to 1871
Samuel D. Barr.....	1872 to 1876
Zachary P. Taylor.....	1876 *

EAST HIGH SCHOOL.

Elroy M. Avery.....	1872 to 1876 *
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* Incumbents when the report was made.

The advance of the city in a material way, saying nothing of the higher fact suggested, might be traced along the line made by the builder and the architect, in the matter of school buildings. There is a wide space between the little one-roomed cabin on the corner of St. Clair and Bank streets, and the elegant Central High school structure on Willson avenue. The academy on St. Clair street has already been referred to, and it held its own as a place of instruction long after it had become antiquated, and more pretentious buildings were erected for educational uses. Its exact dimensions have not been left on record, but those who were pupils within it agree that it was about forty-five feet long by twenty-five wide. "The lower floor," writes Mr. Freeze, "was divided by a partition wall into two departments, and for a time these rooms sufficed for the two grades of school established, the upper room being rented for church and other purposes. But in a few years more school room was needed, when the senior department was removed to the upper floor." In 1839 a movement was set on foot that resulted in the purchase of two lots, one on Rockwell street and one on Prospect. Contracts for two

buildings were immediately let, at three thousand five hundred dollars each, which included seatings, fences, etc. Both were completed in 1840. They were of the same dimensions and two stories in height. That on Prospect yet stands and is in use by the normal school, while the one on Rockwell gave place to a more modern and larger structure that was completed in 1870. In 1851 the lot for a high school was purchased on Euclid avenue, near Erie, and in 1852 a small structure was put up, to be replaced by the three-story brick in 1856. The latter is sixty by ninety feet in size, and was erected at a cost of twenty thousand dollars. In 1849 the academy was replaced by a new structure, that bore the name of the West St. Clair street school, and is now occupied by the Cleveland fire department as engine house No. 1. Brownell building was erected in 1851; while Mayflower followed in 1854. Hudson street school, now known as Sterling, was opened in the spring of 1859. A small wooden building was at first employed, but as the demands for more room increased a cheap detached building containing two rooms was added. The present building came in course of time, and was completed in 1868—at that time counted one of the finest school structures in Ohio. Eagle street building came into being in 1854, and Alabama in 1856.

The growth of the city and the annexation of East Cleveland caused so great a demand on the old Central High school building that it was decided to erect a new one at some point more central for the territory dependent upon it.

On April 2, 1877, the board of education finally decided on the new building, by completing a contract for its construction. On its completion the occasion was emphasized by a formal dedication, in which a number of the leading educators of the city took part, on December 5, 1878. The following facts in relation to it will be of interest:

The point selected was on the west side of Willson avenue, near Cedar avenue, an open, healthful, central and most desirable location. The general arrangement of the edifice was planned by Andrew J. Rickoff, superintendent of instruction, while the architectural design, selected from those of six competitors, was that of Captain Levi T. Scofield of Cleveland. The extreme length of the building is one hundred and sixty-two feet, and the extreme width, including both wings, one hundred and thirty-eight feet eight inches. The height from the ground to the cornice is seventy-two feet four inches, and to the top of the spire one hundred and sixty-eight feet. The style of architecture is south German gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the material is principally of the various kinds of sandstone found in Cuyahoga county and vicinity. There are twenty-five rooms in the building, of which fourteen are school rooms, and one of the others is an assembly room, ninety-four feet by fifty-six feet, and about thirty-eight feet high. Great care was paid to the subjects of ventilation and heating, and taken altogether the building may be considered one of the model school houses of the United States.

That much can be truthfully said, and that much has truthfully been said, of the benefits derived from the modes of teaching and process of development followed in the early days of the Cleveland schools, is already a matter of record. Those who were managers, teachers and pupils in those days have placed on record their tributes and related their impressions with a fulness of honor that is a credit alike to themselves and those of whom they speak. As full

credit has not, naturally, been given the work of late years; and it takes no jot of praise from the old, and should awaken no controversy of any sort, to give full honor to those who have worked in recent days, and to call attention to some of the marked results they have produced. The reforms that were inaugurated in the public schools, at the advent of Mr. Rickoff, in 1868, and which in the succeeding eight years were substantially effected, embraced several radical changes. The first undertaking was to so classify the scholars and re-grade the schools—beginning with the lowest primary and continuing through all to the high schools—as to give teachers and pupils the best possible opportunity of doing their work and making it tell—the instructor to prepare and present the subjects taught, and the scholars to comprehend—to enable the one to give and the others to receive more personal attention.

Previous to this time teachers were compelled to prepare many lessons for several classes in different grades every day. The result was that they could not do the work thoroughly, and the pupils received but a smattering at best. The change gave all teachers (or nearly all) scholars of the same degree of advancement, and but three or four, instead of eight or ten, lessons to prepare daily—and the work was thoroughly done. That is, one teacher could give sixty pupils of the same grade much better instruction than she could forty of three or four different grades. This not only laid the foundation for a far higher order of instruction, but greatly reduced the

cost of tuition, by enabling one teacher to instruct a greater number of pupils.

The methods of instruction also underwent radical changes. To attain the best results in making these changes the authorities set apart the first week of each school year for city teachers' institutes. Three or four or more of the most celebrated instructors of the country were employed to meet the Cleveland teachers, discuss with them and present in detail the most enlightened methods of imparting instruction to children. The results of these meetings were admirable. A complete system of object lessons for children was adopted and put into general operation; the "word method" of starting beginners to read, which by teaching them the sounds of the letters and their modifications in the formation of a few words, soon gives them a key to the mystery of all words, was also introduced and has become almost the only method in use and of very great practical value. The impetus given a higher order of work in the school room by these measures gave the Cleveland teachers an enviable standing, and they were sought for in various states of the Union to do normal work among other teachers.

Next followed the development of a plan for more complete and thorough supervision of the work. The large number of principalities into which the city had been divided for years for this purpose was broken up, the principals dispensed with, and the strong man in the office of superintendent was by the agency of four supervisors—two men

and two women — multiplied by four, and his superior intelligence and experience communicated to every part of the system, resulting in better discipline, better instruction, and in every respect much more satisfactory working. The record showed less punishment, a higher per cent. of advancement and a reduction in the per capita expense of maintenance.

In addition to those general changes made during the years mentioned, other important changes and additions were made. The subject of drawing had become a dead letter. A special teacher was employed and a new system of drawing introduced and carried to such perfection that the work of the Cleveland schools in this branch stood among the very first in the Centennial exhibition.

Instruction in music was numbered among the lost arts, or if any was given it was not in accordance with any plan, and the very highest purpose it ever subserved was recreation, and it often resulted in demoralization. The method of teaching music during the Rickoff administration—the same now in vogue—is remarkable in this, that in the lowest primary grades systematic education in the art of reading and writing music begins; and the proficiency attained by the higher classes in reading difficult music has commanded the admiration of the patrons of the schools.

Previous to 1868 little attention had been given to the subjects of ventilating or seating school buildings. Perhaps no school man in the country ever gave more careful and enlightened attention

to these matters than Mr. Rickoff. He hardly ever entered a school-house without studying them with more or less care. No plans for buildings were ever adopted during his administration without material changes for the better in these respects, that were made upon his advice. As a result of what the school authorities of Cleveland did for the cause of education in this branch, the model of the best school-room prepared by them for the Centennial exhibition, after plans of those in use in several of our buildings, took the first rank.

Tributes have already appeared in these pages to the work done in behalf of the schools of Cleveland by George Willey, Charles Bradburn, Harvey Rice, Andrew Freese, Samuel H. Mather and others of our early educators and managers, and a word seems due some of those who have worked in these later years.

MOSES G. WATTERSON.

Among these a place of honor should be given to Mr. M. G. Watterson, who was for years one of the foremost friends of these public institutions, and the work he performed in their behalf is being shown in the results of every year that passes. For years a member of the board of education, and its secretary and president, his cultured sense and far-seeing judgment were of the greatest use, and were freely given in many ways not demanded by his mere official relation to the schools. He was born in this country, and reared and educated under the best influences of American life. His father and mother were resi-



W. G. Matterson

dents of the Isle of Man, the father being a descendent of the famous Duncan clan of Scotland. They came to this country in 1825, and settled on a farm in Warrensville, where the subject of this sketch was born on January 12, 1835, one of a family of eleven children. He was given the usual course in the common schools of his native town, and at a suitable age was apprenticed to a shoemaker to learn that trade. Not liking it after one year of experiment, he decided, when sixteen years of age, to take a college course. He went to Twinsburgh academy, where he worked for his board, and by economy and close application managed to get through in good shape and to enter the Western Reserve college, at Hudson, in 1856. He paid his own way by hard work during vacation, and graduated in 1860, having the honor of being chosen valedictorian of his class. On leaving college he took charge of an academy in Kinsman, Trumbull county, where he remained one year. He then came to Cleveland and entered the study of law. He soon accepted the principalship of the Mayflower school, where he remained for a year. In 1863 he enlisted and served in the Union army for a short time. In 1864 he removed to Omaha for the purpose of practicing law, but not liking the looks of things in that part of the country, soon returned to Cleveland, which place has since been his home.

In 1866 Mr. Watterson commenced his long and useful connection with the Cleveland schools by an election to the board of education from the Sixth ward.

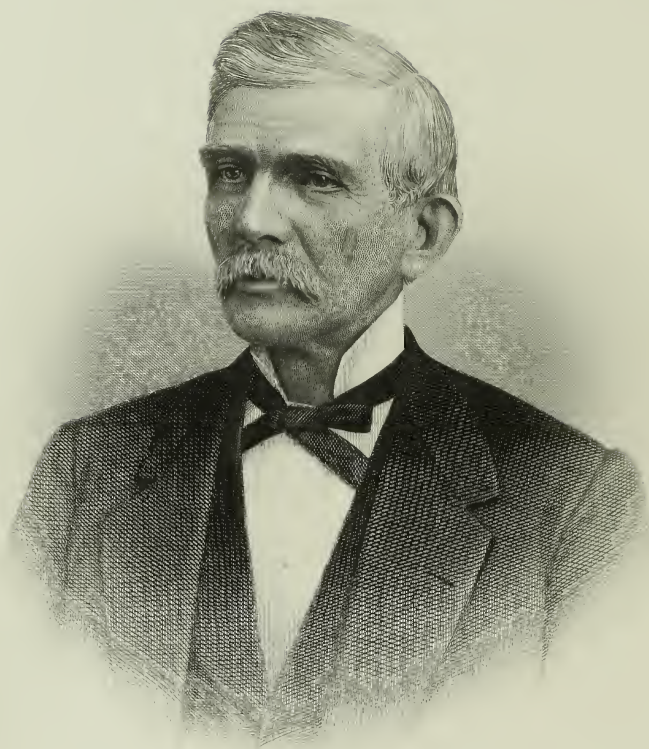
His work was altogether for the city after 1865, as on the election of Herman M. Chapin to the mayoralty in that year, Mr. Watterson was made mayor's clerk and clerk of the board of improvements. He was continued in these responsible positions through Mr. Chapin's second year, and also under Mayors Buhrer, Pelton, Otis, Payne and Rose. In 1867 he was elected treasurer of Cuyahoga county, which office he held two terms, being reëlected in 1869. In all these offices Mr. Watterson not only proved himself capable and efficient, but won and held the confidence and esteem of the public at large. His business methods were of the most strict character, and he soon learned as mayor's clerk and clerk of the board of improvements, everything connected with the business of the city, and his value was such that he was retained by each successive mayor, no matter on which political ticket he might be elected—and while Mr. Watterson was always an outspoken Republican, three of the mayors under whom he served were Democrats. Sometime after retiring from the office of treasurer, he was appointed a member of the city tax commission, which position he still holds. The duties of that body are to look over and equalize the various tax levies of the city departments, and see that each gets its proper share and no more—a labor in which Mr. Watterson's long experience in public life comes into full play. On leaving the treasury Mr. Watterson interested himself in several business enterprises, becoming president of the Buckeye Stove

company and a member of the large wholesale tobacco house of J. Schriber & Company, of which he is still a member, and to which he gives a large portion of his time. He is now engaged in building a block for its use on St. Clair street, between Ontario and Wood streets. He was also one of the originators of the Union National bank and is a stockholder therein.

On entering the board of education in 1865 Mr. Watterson was chosen its clerk, which position he filled for six consecutive years. He was then elected president and remained in that office for four years, resigning to take up his duties as county treasurer. He was also a member of the board during these years of special service, as the law as it then stood, allowed the clerk to be a member of the body whose records were under his control.

Mr. Watterson's term of service commenced at a time when Cleveland began to emerge from villagehood, and take on the forms and methods of a city. He had been among the schools and school people enough to see the needs of improvement and reform, and had had enough of personal experience to understand what was wanted. While it is not possible within these limits to tell all that he accomplished, or helped to accomplish, some general outlines may be touched upon. As clerk of the board he was faithful, watchful and exact, and the duties that fell upon him were all properly performed. As president he was fair and capable, and showed no small share of executive ability. As a member he sought to give

to the people all the good that could possibly be had from the money expended on the schools. It was at a time when the question as to the grade and quality the schools should in the future possess, was up for settlement. Mr. Watterson cast all his influence for a broad and liberal advance on anything that had yet been attempted. He was not satisfied that the other departments of the city should outgrow that of education. Working in company with such men as E. R. Perkins and W. H. Price, he was the means of calling Andrew J. Rickoff to the head of the Cleveland schools, and starting them on the upward road to that high success and reputation they afterwards achieved. One of his most deeply-rooted convictions, and the one he the most earnestly sought to put into effect, was to give woman her proper place in educational work, and to see that she received some due proportion of the money that was expended. He combatted the idea that a man must be paid high wages because he was a man, and a woman low wages simply because she was a woman. Unlike the present, the women at that time held no high position in the city schools. The city was divided into districts, with a man at the head of each district, and all under general charge of the board. There was no strong central power as at present, and each of the districts conducted its own affairs very much as it chose, and with little reference to the other schools of the city. The object had in mind by the few gentlemen who set out to bring about a reform was to get the right man



Engraving by H. H. P. & Co.

H. H. P. & Co.

and place him in charge, and then make him felt with effect through every department and line of the work. Out of this grew the present plan of a superintendent of instruction, with supervising principals.

There were many other ways in which he aided the the cause of education, but suffice it to say that he was one of the moving spirits toward any reform that came up while he was connected with the schools. He has been a helpful and patriotic citizen in ways other than those enumerated above, and his voice and vote are ever given on the side of law, morality and good order. In all his public, business and social relations, he is a gentleman whom it is a pleasure to know, and the honesty and high-minded character he showed while in public station are evinced in all his dealings in private life. While a capable and successful business man, he is educated and cultured, loves his books, and keeps apace with the thought and knowledge of the world. Open-hearted and generous, he is accessible to all; and all in all is a modern American citizen, who does whatever lies in his power for the good of all about him.

WILLIAM H. PRICE.

Another name that should always be given a prominent place in the list of those who have made the schools of Cleveland what they are is that of the late W. H. Price, who gave out of his knowledge, energy and strong business sense a portion of help that was doubly helpful, at a time when the new ideas were compelled to do battle with the

old. His work for the public in the schools was invaluable, and was performed at a time when every suggestion of advance was denounced as a needless innovation, and every improvement characterized as a senseless misuse of money. But he, and a few of the same clear vision, saw the needs of the future rather than the mere demands of the day in which they worked, and laid the foundations broad and deep enough for any structure that might be built thereon.

Mr. Price was counted among the most successful and clearest-headed of the business men of Cleveland, and anything he undertook to do was done with all the energy of a strong character, and all the directness of an open and manly nature. Although not of Ohio birth, he came into this region at so early an age that he was in full accord with all the best forms of Western Reserve life. He was born in Freedom, Cattaraugus county, New York, on January 18, 1818, and when a mere boy came to Ohio. He received his education at the Grand River institute, in Austinburg, Ashtabula county—then one of the leading educational institutions of this section—and on leaving school decided to devote himself to the profession of law. He entered the office of Judge Hitchcock of Painesville and took the usual course of study. He was admitted to the bar, and although he never devoted himself to practice, because of the condition of his health at that time, the knowledge and training he had thus gained were of the greatest value to him in the large business transactions of later life. He turned his attention

to mercantile pursuits, and carried on business for some time in Ashtabula county. In 1856 he came to Cleveland, when the mercantile firm of Stilson, Leek & Price was formed. He remained therein for ten years, and at the conclusion of that time withdrew with a purpose of turning his attention to other and more congenial pursuits. In 1868 he was elected president of the Cleveland Gas Light and Coke company, in which office he remained until his death, which occurred when he was yet in his prime and greatest usefulness—on June 8, 1883—and after an illness that had extended over some months.

Long before his death, Mr. Price stood in the very front rank of the gas manufacturers of America, and the great success that attended the enterprise of which he was the head was largely due to his business genius, industry, and faculty of keeping up with all the demands of a progressive age. He enjoyed the confidence and respect not only of the stockholders but of the public with which his company was compelled to have such constant and intimate relations. He was untiring in his efforts to extend the usefulness and cheapen the cost of gas, and the numerous uses to which it has been put in this city; and the many reductions that have been made in price, testify to the success and value of his efforts. His opinions had great weight with the gas manufacturers of America, and he had a wide influence among them. He was a leading member of the National Gas association, and for some time held the office of pres-

ident thereof. He contributed many able papers to the periodicals published in that line of science, and was a writer of force and grace in the handling of any subject he undertook to discuss. He was interested in a number of the business enterprises of Cleveland, and was everywhere regarded as an earnest, active and influential man. He was foremost in many charitable enterprises, and gave not only of his money but of his thought and time to the alleviation of suffering or the relief of distress. In his early life he was noted for his intense hatred of the institution of slavery, and he wielded no inconsiderable influence in aiding to mold public opinion against that system. He possessed a fund of varied information; his memory was especially retentive; while in character he was of conceded probity, integrity and truthfulness. Unselfish and genial, he won friends in all directions. He was a speaker of force and eloquence, and had a faculty of thinking down into the heart of any subject he had in mind. In his domestic life Mr. Price was at his best, loving home and family with a deep and lasting devotion. He was married in 1843 to Miss Martha C. Guild, the daughter of Colonel Guild of Austinburg, who preceded him into the other world by several years. Two children only were left, Mrs. P. D. Briggs, and Mr. W. A. Price.

Mr. Price was useful not only to the schools of Cleveland, but in many other ways he gave his time and talents to the public use. He was chairman of the executive committee of the Huron Street hospital, and aided that beneficent in-

stitution in many ways; for a number of years he was one of the trustees of the Northern Ohio Hospital for the Insane, acting as president of the board; and at the time of his death he was a member and president of the Cleveland

board of Infirmary trustees. In all these responsible positions his course was marked by the same good business sense, enterprize and honesty that were a part of his private life.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE STORY OF A TABLE.

My story is not of a billiard table, a dinner table, a parlor table, a table of distances, or anything of that kind. I desire to tell simply the history of a plain yellow-pine table, with folding legs—such as is frequently made use of in camping expeditions and in war. This one has upon its face and legs many a scar and deep hole worn in it, as jolting in an army wagon it traveled over the rough roads of Virginia, now about a quarter of a century ago. It was my camp table all through the four years of the civil war. This fact would scarcely render it a fit subject for a special story, for although it went through a good many warlike scenes and has witnessed a good many incidents which, if it could talk, might prove interesting, its sole claim now in its battered, worn condition, as it hangs upon the wall of my room, surrounded by “the bruised arms” there hung up as “merry monuments,” rests, for a special history, upon the fact that on one occasion it was used to perform an important duty which entitles it to an historic place in the record of the closing of the great civil war.

To tell what that duty was, it will be necessary to go back a matter of twenty

years and describe what took place at the little country town of Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on the ninth and tenth of April, 1865.

Early on the morning of the ninth, Lee's sorely pressed army of northern Virginia was in and about the little village, and its commander had decided to make a last desperate effort to break through our cavalry, which had been thrown across the Lynchburg road to the west of Appomattox Court House. A force of cavalry, infantry and artillery had been organized to make the attack and if possible clear the road for the further retreat of Lee's army westward to Lynchburg. The attack was made, our cavalry gave way before it, and the enemy was pushing forward amidst the thunder of guns and the rattle of musketry, when out of the woods, in their front, a long blue line of infantry made its appearance, stretching across the Lynchburg road, and accompanied by several batteries opened fire. This line was composed of Ord's troops, of the Army of the James, and on its right was the fifth corps of the Army of the Potomac, under Griffin.

Up to the time that these troops

opened fire, I had been occupied in hurriedly throwing them into line of battle from the column of march and pushing them forward through a dense piece of woods in the direction of the firing.

It may be as well to state that two days before (the seventh) General Grant had, from the town of Farmville, written a note to General Lee, summoning him to surrender his army; and during the next thirty-six hours, a correspondence on the subject had been going on between the two generals.

The next morning (the eighth) at six o'clock, two divisions of my corps (the twenty-fourth), and two brigades of the twenty-fifth corps, all under my command, had been put in motion up the Appomattox river. A few miles from Farmville these troops united with the fifth corps and all were pushed rapidly westward after Sheridan's cavalry, a portion of which was overtaken during the morning.

To facilitate the march, the road itself was left open for the artillery and ambulances, and the infantry marched in the fields alongside when they could—the fifth corps on the left of the road, the twenty-fourth on the right. The day was hot, the roads dry and dusty, and the troops suffered considerably; but they pushed along as rapidly as possible, and late in the afternoon began to show unmistakable signs of fatigue.

Whilst riding some distance ahead of my troops a courier met me and placed in my hands a dispatch, which, on opening, I found to read as follows:

CAVALRY HEADQUARTERS,
APPOMATTOX STATION, April 8th, '65. }

To

GENERAL: We have captured four trains of cars with locomotives; the trains were loaded with supplies. One of the trains was burned. Thirty pieces of artillery and a large number of wagons and prisoners. If it is possible to push on your troops, we may have handsome results in the morning.

P. S.—We captured one thousand prisoners, including one general officer and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred wagons.

The original, now before me is written in the handwriting of "Loney" Forsythe, then on General Sheridan's staff, and on the back in the well-known handwriting of my chief-of-staff is:

General Gibbon sends this dispatch received from General Sheridan, for your information.

J. H. POTTER.

It may readily be imagined how intense was now the desire to see the head of the column approach the spot where, seated on some old railroad ties—the common road ran close to the rail—I awaited its arrival. For if the cavalry had struck the front of Lee's army, they would need all the support we could give them to hold on and prevent Lee from forcing his way through towards Lynchburg.

Scarcely had General Sheridan's dispatch been sent back to the command, when a staff officer reached me from General Ord, with a message to the effect that my men were very much scattered, had marched far enough, and he had directed them to go into camp for the night. In hot haste I dispatched a message to General Ord, telling him the news from the front and begging him to allow such of the men as could march to come on, and let the stragglers close

up afterwards. The messenger reached him just as the troops were filing out of the road to go into bivouac. Ord was a soldier who never lacked promptitude in coming to a decision in a crisis. He at once countermanded his order, put the troops in motion again and with his staff rode on to where I was awaiting him.

The sun went down, darkness came on and it was some time after when our poor, weary men came slowly plodding along the road. But as they approached, the whistle of a locomotive was heard and the whole column burst out into a rousing cheer as Sheridan's captured trains came thundering to the rear, in charge of cavalry sergeants acting as engineers. The trains were loaded with bread and bacon, and our tired, hungry men, after supplying themselves with a meal from these, dropped to sleep alongside the road, to be again in motion at three o'clock, pushing westward for those "handsome results" promised by Sheridan.

We soon reached Sheridan's headquarters, and after a hasty consultation with him it was decided to push forward the infantry and establish it across the Lynchburg road. This was done, and it was this line which now emerged from the woods and confronted the attacking force of the enemy.

Our troops opened fire, and then suddenly all firing ceased. Riding rapidly to the front, I reached the open ground beyond to find our troops in line and no enemy in sight. The picket line was moving to the front, but without firing a shot, for nothing was in sight to shoot

at. Riding still further forward I could see on the right of my line masses of troops formed on the hill-side, and these were cheering loudly. Down in the valley, and riding towards Appomattox, the houses of which were now in view, I caught sight of a party of horsemen, and galloping towards them, joined General Ord and his staff. General Ord informed me that white flags had appeared along the enemy's line, and it was reported that Lee had surrendered.

At General Ord's suggestion I gave orders for my troops to halt and take up position with pickets in front. We then rode into the village and entered an open square, on one side of which was the court house, and on the adjacent side a rather pretentious-looking house with a wide, high porch and a flight of broad steps leading up to it.

As I glanced at the house my attention was attracted by the sight of the boyish form of General Custer, coming down the steps carrying a small table on his shoulder, his long, yellow hair floating about his head. Some one said Sheridan gave the owner of the house (McLean) twenty dollars in gold for that table* and presented it to Custer as a memento of the surrender.

The square was filled with officers of all grades on both sides, and old friends met there who had not met each other for four years, except in battle. We were told that Generals Grant and Lee were engaged in the McLean house negotiating for the surrender of the Army of

*For a description of this table by General Custer's widow see a recent number of *Harper's Weekly*.

Northern Virginia. It turned out afterwards that these negotiations did not take as long a time as we, who were waiting, thought they did. To those of us on the outside, the time dragged heavily along and seemed longer than it was from the uncertainty all felt in regard to what might be the possible termination of the talk between the two commanders, for few knew much of the correspondence which had already taken place. There were two great armies standing face to face, as they had stood on many a field before, their men with muskets in hand, their guns unlimbered and their picket lines confronting each other, whilst in the space between these lines, officers from both mingled and talked and waited for the decision of the great chiefs seated within that house, towards which every eye was now and then anxiously turned.

What would Grant demand? What would Lee grant? were questions I have no doubt which occupied every mind. Was the war over? or were we again to commence the work of slaughter? In the meantime, whilst we waited, suppose either from accident or design, a single musket should be fired, and set this whole line of battle aflame!

The time seemed interminable, but at length some one in authority came out of the house and announced: "General Lee has surrendered." Quickly staff officers and couriers were riding to all points of the army to carry the news. Everybody looked relieved, but no boisterous demonstrations were seen anywhere. Deep down in many a heart there was a feeling of quiet joy which, if

expressed, would have run: "Thank God the country is saved."

A few moments after the announcement was made, every one was startled by hearing, away off on the extreme left of our army, a sharp rattle of musketry. It soon died away, and a staff officer dispatched in hot haste to ascertain the cause, brought back the information that a brigade of colored troops, on hearing of the surrender, had suddenly thrown up their loaded muskets and pulled the triggers! It was the last volley over the grave of slavery and a salute to liberty from muskets in the hands of freedmen.

Gradually the groups separated. The troops went into camp or bivouac, and soon fires were started in all the country around the Court House, preparing food for craving stomachs.

Everything had now settled down into comparative quiet, when everybody was again startled by the sound of a gun away off to the south of Appomattox, where Meade was with the main body of the Army of the Potomac. Another and another gun followed at regular intervals, and all breathed more freely when the fact became apparent that a battery in the Army of the Potomac was firing a salute over the surrender of Lee's army.

General Grant's headquarters tents were pitched a short distance from my own, and that afternoon, whilst paying him a visit, he surprised me by saying that he intended to have me in command to receive the surrender of Lee's army with my own corps and the fifth. Later in the day the following orders were placed in my hands:

HEADQUARTERS
ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.
IN THE FIELD, April 9, 1865. }

Special Orders.

Major-General John Gibbon, Brevet-Major-General Charles Griffin and Brevet-Major-General Wesley Merritt are hereby designated to carry into effect the stipulations this day entered into between General R. E. Lee, commander Confederate States armies, and Lieutenant-General Grant, commander armies of the United States, in which General Lee surrenders to General Grant the Army of Northern Virginia.

Brevet-Brigadier-General George H. Sharp, assistant provost-marshal-general, will receive and take charge of the rolls called for by the above mentioned stipulations.

By command of

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT,
E. S. PARKER, Lieutenant-Colonel
and A. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS
ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, }
April 9, 1865. }

Special Orders.

No—Lieutenant-General J. Longstreet, Major-General J. B. Gordon and Brigadier-General W. A. Pendleton are hereby designated to carry into effect the stipulations this day entered into between Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding Armies of the United States, and General R. E. Lee, commanding Armies of the Confederate States, in which General Lee surrenders to General Grant the Army of Northern Virginia.

By command of

GENERAL R. E. LEE,
W. H. TAYLOR, Lieutenant-Colonel
and A. A. Genl.

The next morning, after an interview with General Lee in the edge of the town, General Grant left the scene of his triumph for Petersburg. During the morning the three officers appointed by General Grant, to carry out the stipulations of the surrender, rode into Lee's army through his picket line, to seek an interview with those appointed by General Lee. This visit is described in a private letter written the next day, as follows:

All the forms of hostile armies are still kept up between us, and yet no general communication between the forces has been permitted. As we rode along through the mud and rain the men flocked to the sides of the road to see us, as our men do on similar occasions. They were very quiet, made no demonstrations of any kind, and gave me the impression that, like ourselves, they were glad it was over. They did not look, however, at all like people who were conquered and that rather pleased me than otherwise. We found General Longstreet absent, but the other two—Major-General Gordon and Brigadier-General Pendleton—were sent for. The latter arrived first. He is General Lee's chief of artillery, and looks very much like him and must be nearly as old. He is a graduate of the Academy (in 1830 I think). General Gordon I had met the day before. He is a man about my height and make, with a very pleasant face and remarkably polished manners. He is a native of Georgia, but at present a citizen of Alabama. He has been frequently wounded, and bears on his left cheek the deep scar of a wound received at Antietam. We have all taken a great fancy to him. We arranged to meet immediately in a house in the town and go to work, and then rode back towards our lines attended by Wilcox, General Lee (Rooney or W. H. F. Lee) and several staff officers and soon overtook Generals Heath and Pickett riding into our lines with Ingalls and Seth Williams. We met Generals Lee and Longstreet on the road, and the latter turned back with us.

The six officers met in a room of the hotel of the town; but this was a bare and cheerless place and at my suggestion we adjourned to the room in the McLean house, where Generals Grant and Lee had held their conference. There we at once organized and began to discuss the subject before us. After talking for a while it was suggested that I write out the several propositions covering the surrender. This I did in very much the same shape as that finally adopted. When I came to the fifth clause I paused, for there was an important question involved: Who should be included in the surrender? It was known that a par-

of the cavalry had made its escape towards Lynchburg, just about the time the surrender took place.

The matter was discussed for a few minutes when General Gordon rose to his feet and made quite a speech, during which he said that, as they had been treated with so much liberality he felt disposed, so far as he was concerned, to act liberally also, and that he considered his personal honor required him to give the most liberal interpretation to every question which came up for decision.

Longstreet sat still and said nothing; but when Gordon sat down, Longstreet remarked very quietly that he proposed the surrender of all troops belonging to the army, except such cavalry as actually made its escape and any artillery that was beyond twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of the surrender. This proposition was at once accepted by unanimous consent and the terms as agreed to were duly drawn up and signed that night as follows:

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, April 10th, 1865.

Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities:

1st. The troops shall march by Brigades and detachments to a Designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flagstuffs, pistols, &c., and from thence march to their homes, under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective Division and Corps Commanders, officers retaining their side arms and the authorized number of private horses.

2nd. All public horses and public property, of all kinds to be turned over to the Staff Officers designated by the United States authorities.

3d. Such transportation as may be agreed upon, as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers, will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the transportation to the United States authorities, except such taken for their accommodation.

4th. Commanders and mounted men of the Artillery and Cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that Army on the 8th instant, the date of the commencement of negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of Cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except also, such pieces of artillery as were more than Twenty (20) miles from Appomattox Court House, at the time of the surrender on the 9th instant.

John Gordon
Maj. Gen. Vols
Chas. Clifton
B. H. H. and U. S. Col.
W. N. P. H.
Br. H. H.

J. Longstreet
Lt. Gen.
J. B. Gordon
Maj. Gen.
W. N. P. H.
Brig. Gen. 84th

Doubtless many an impatient reader will exclaim: "But what has this to do with the history of a table?"

Patience, patience, and I will tell you.

The surrender of Lee's army did not take place in a day, and you can scarcely expect to learn all about it in a single page. Were I to attempt to write the "history of a man," you would not be content to learn the date of his birth. You would want to know something of what kind of a baby he was, where he was born, what his surroundings were, and what were the foundations of his renown, which rendered it necessary to write a history of him. I have not been able to tell you much about the early history of my table, nor the day when it first came into this world as a table. But I suppose it was made, probably, by some hard working carpenter in some obscure shop of an unnamed quartermaster, somewhere in the fall of 1861. Thousands of other tables just like it have probably long ago been broken up and used perhaps as fire-wood.

It is not customary to baptize tables, I believe, but on the afternoon of April 10, 1865, it occurred to me that I would like to retain some memento of Appomattox Court House. Mindful, therefore, of what I had seen Custer carrying off—and twenty dollar gold pieces not being very plentiful with me just at that time—I directed that my old battered army table should be set up in the room and an old army blanket thrown over it as a cover.

In the evening when the commissioners assembled to sign the document, already agreed upon, three copies of the

agreement were placed upon the table, each officer signing them there, and a glance at a watch showed it was 8:30 P. M. by Appomattox Court House time, or at all events by the time we brought there.

The table now became entitled to a capital "T," was turned over to a clerk at my corps headquarters with directions to carefully sand-paper off the top and place on it an inscription commemorating the event. This was very skillfully done and the Table henceforth ceased to perform the ordinary duties of a camp table.

Years went by and the Appomattox Table wandered about with me a good deal in the great west till we finally reach Fort Shaw, Montana, when one day I was gratified at the receipt of the following note:

NEW YORK, July 25, 1877.

DEAR SIR:—Although perhaps personally unknown to you (by name at least), you will remember me as the person who had the honor of painting an inscription on the table which was used at Appomattox for signing the treaty of surrender.

I write now to ask that you will let me have a photograph of that really valuable relic—(I presume you have had it photographed). I should of course take a great deal of pride in exhibiting the picture, particularly if it shows my handiwork.

I am, general, your obedient servant,

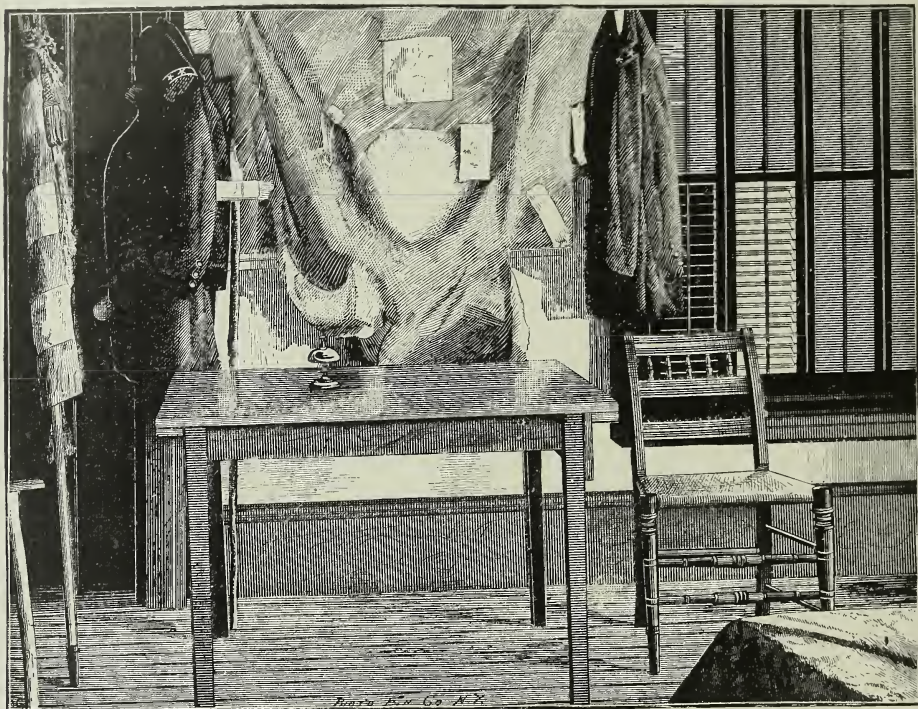
WM. LINDSAY.

With every desire to comply with his request, it was several years before I was able to make even the attempt, and then it turned out a complete failure. A dark space with here and there a faint mark of a line in one of the letters was the result, and the photographer informed me that the photographic art could not be induced to make a distinc-

tion between the *yellow* pine of the Table and the *black* ink of the letters, and consequently that the inscription could not be photographed.

be destroyed and all substantial record of it be lost.

The matter was very frequently thought of, and talked over with others,



ON THIS TABLE

was signed the Final Agreement for the surrender of the "Army of Northern Virginia" at Appomattox C.H. Va., 8.30 P.M. April 10th 1865 by LT. GEN. J. LONGSTREET, MAJ. GEN. J. B. GORDON AND BRIG. GEN. W. N. PENDLETON, C.S.A., AND MAJ. GEN. JOHN GIBBON, BVT. MAJ. GEN'L. CHARLES GRIFFIN AND BREV. MAJ. GEN. W. MERRITT, U.S. ARMY.

This refusal of light to make a copy of my Table served only to increase my desire to have the copy made for fear, lest by some accident, the Table should

and at last the suggestion was made that the photograph might be compelled to do its work by simply stretching over the Table a piece of white tracing linen

and have a skillful penman copy on that the inscription beneath. The Table was set upon its legs, for the first time in a good many years, the tracing linen was tightly and smoothly stretched over the top and tacked down at the sides and a penman carefully copied the inscription beneath. The legs were now folded up and the Table, with its white cover, was placed in position before the photographic instrument, and in due course of time the operator presented me with what you see above.

I find that the value of a relic increases very much with age, and so it has been with my Table. From a mere personal relic of the Appomattox surrender, it has, after the lapse of twenty years and more, assumed something of an historic interest and is therefore entitled to a "history," for, barring accidents, it will last long after the owners of the names upon it have passed away. Already two have gone, Griffin and Pendleton. One has been a foreign minister of the United States, another a United States senator, and the remaining two are still in the army.

Less important things than my Table, I find, are sometimes regarded as relics. During the past summer (1885) I was in the city of Seattle, on the sound, in Washington Territory, when a card, one day, was brought to my room with a pencil memorandum on it, to say that the owner had been an orderly at my headquarters, twenty-fourth corps, and would like to see me if at leisure. Cap-

tain A. O. Benjamine, of the steamer *Rustler*, plying on the sound, was introduced.

I am fond of talking to old soldiers and of listening to their personal reminiscences of the war; there is a pathos about it, a curious glistening of the eye, with just a suspicion of moisture, which is very attractive. This one, being seated, soon commenced, and recalled many incidents at Appomattox Court House, and then suddenly burst out with: "Why, general, I was the orderly who put up your table in the room for the officers to sign the surrender on." Here was a reminiscence worth having! A man on the western border of the continent recounting to me incidents in which we were both personal participants more than twenty years before, thousands of miles away in the east! Captain Benjamine went on to say that he had also taken it down again and carried it to the clerk for the inscription to be put on, and had packed it up when we were preparing to leave for Richmond. When it was unpacked there, he said that an old piece of canvas, which had been wrapped around the Table to protect it against rubbing, had been thrown aside and that he had picked it up and put it in his knapsack, determined to preserve a relic of the surrender; and with that peculiar glistening of the eye, he said: "*General, I have got that old piece of canvas at home yet!*"

JOHN GIBBON.

SKETCHES OF WESTERN CONGRESSMEN.

I.

WILLIAM A. HOWARD, OF MICHIGAN.

WILLIAM A. HOWARD, who departed from this life in the early days of 1880, was one of the ablest and most useful of all public men who have been honored by Michigan and gave honor to their state in return. He was thrown into public life at a time when only the bravest and truest could safely be put on guard; at a time when the fierce lightnings of civil war were playing all about the national sky, and the mutterings of that thunder which in a few years broke over Sumter, were already heard. The compromise measures upon which Mr. Clay and such as he had staked so much, and that were to be the solid rock for all time, had proved themselves but the quicksands of an uncertain policy, and were slipping away beneath the nation's feet. The fugitive slave law that President Pierce was so earnest to enforce, was bringing to a point of bitterness, heretofore unfelt, the opposition to slavery in the north; while the outrages in Kansas were filling the world with some vague understanding, at least of what the south purposed, and slavery really meant. It was a time of gloom and fear; when the brave were girding themselves to meet all that was to come, and the weak were suggesting new evasions and new

methods of postponement or escape. It was a time when states like Michigan, peopled by free and fearless men who believed that a flag meant more than a piece of bunting, and the Union more than a temporary compact of independent states, were waking up to the need there was for a new fiber of courage and faith at the national capital. It was in this view of the situation that the choice of William A. Howard as one of the representatives of Michigan in the national congress, meant more than the elevation of one man over the shoulders of others. There was work to do, and how well it was done these pages will endeavor to briefly tell.

Mr. Howard was descended from a New England family that bequeathed to him those strong and sturdy qualities of resolution and self-direction by which he was able to accomplish so much in life, and through which he was of service to his country in more than one critical hour. His father, Daniel Howard, was a native of Bridgewater, Plymouth county, Massachusetts, but afterwards became a resident of Vermont. The son, William Alanson Howard, was born in Hinesburgh, Chittenden county, of the last named state, on



Wm. A. Howard

April 8, 1813. His early days were full of toil and touched by the privations incident to a country not long settled, where it was the lot of the great majority to be poor, and toil was the common part of all. As a youth he was by no means strong, and not able to bear the burdens and strain of the heavy out-door work of the farm. Understanding this he turned his attention toward some occupation that would be less laborious and better suited to his strength. When but fourteen years of age he set out to meet the world on his own responsibility, traveling by the slow methods of the day from Hinesburgh, Vermont, to Albion, New York, where he gave himself to the learning of the cabinetmaker's trade. He remained there four years, mastering the business thoroughly, but not gaining the strength and robustness he had desired. But the time had been of profit to him, as it had developed in his soul a thirst for knowledge, and led him to believe that he had powers far beyond the demands of the occupation to which, by circumstances, he had been pledged. When nineteen years of age he began attendance at an academy in Wyoming, in his strongly-formed resolution to acquire an education. He remained there for three years, and in 1835 went to Middlebury college, Vermont, from which he graduated in 1839. Every dollar paid for his education came through his own exertions, put forth amid discouragements that would have daunted one cast in a less heroic mold. Ill health attended him a great portion of the time, and there were months in

which he was unable to sit up for a whole day at a time. But he studied and kept up with his classes; he labored as he could, and paid his way. It was a long and difficult service of seven years that he gave, like Jacob of old, for the thing dearest to his heart, but he won in the end and faced the world with an educational equipment that fitted him for even that high career that lay before him in the unknown future.

During the winter following his graduation Mr. Howard taught school in Genesee county, New York, and in the spring was strongly advised to try the climate of Michigan for the benefit of his health. He turned his face westward, and on April 12, 1840, reached Detroit. The extent of his entire material possessions on first setting foot in the state in which he was to achieve such success and by which he was to be so highly honored, was just seventy-two dollars that he had saved from his winter of school teaching. It was never a part of his nature to be idle, and we soon find him employed as a tutor of mathematics in a branch of the Michigan State university, at the same time giving such time as he could to the reading of law in the office of Witherell & Buel. He was admitted to the bar in 1842, and from that time forward until 1854 was engaged in the active practice of his profession. He became a partner of one of his preceptors, Alexander W. Buel, under the firm name of Buel & Howard. He was also a member of the firm of Howard & Toms; Howard, Bishop & Holbrook, and Jerome, Howard & Swift.

The qualities that, as will be discovered in a later portion of this sketch, made Mr. Howard successful in public life, won for him an early recognition and a steady advancement in the law. He soon became one of the leading members of the bar, not only of Wayne county, but of the state, and was called upon to fill a number of important local positions, such as prosecuting attorney, and state senator. In all these positions he showed a devoted interest in the public good, and was faithful in the discharge of every trust. He was an active participant even then in matters of politics, and from the time he was able to voice his sentiments in his vote, he gave an adherence to those principles of freedom and right for which he was able to do such yeoman service in later years. Prior to the organization of the Republican party he was an ardent Whig—a Freesoil Whig. His first nomination to congress, as will be shown below, was received from the Whigs, while he was endorsed by the Free-soilers and anti-Nebraska Democrats, but before he entered congress all those parties had been merged into the Republican, and it was as a Republican that he took his seat.

His real public life opened in 1854. In that year he was nominated to congress in a Whig convention held at Ann Arbor on September 20, and on the same day he also received the nomination of the fusion anti-Nebraska mass convention at Detroit. Mr. Howard's competitor in this contest was David Stuart, a Democrat of Detroit. The latter was one of the best stump speak-

ers in Michigan, and very popular. But Mr. Howard did not hesitate to meet him in joint debate, and going into the fight with great earnestness, not only won the election by a vote of 9,877 votes to 8,723 for his opponent, but gained for himself as well a reputation for campaign oratory that was excelled by that of no man in the west—a reputation that he sustained until the last.

It was a grand theatre of action on which Mr. Howard entered at the opening of his congressional career, in the early winter of 1855. The conflict that lay with all the horrors of civil war almost over the horizon of the morrow, was even then making itself felt, and a fever of unrest ran through our national life. Taylor had gone from the Presidential chair into the grave, haunted and harassed because of the mighty turmoil of slavery; Fillmore had passed into obscurity because he tried to stay himself and party on the shifting sands of compromise; while Pierce, a northern man by birth but a southern man in heart, was doing all that he could for the institution of "involuntary servitude," and defending himself from behind the constitution. It was a time of danger, and of grave responsibility. Secession was openly threatened, while many true-hearted and patriotic men were ready to make almost any concession, rather than to invite a conflict that might rend the Union into chaotic fragments. It was during his first term that there arose that memorable contest over the speakership that finally ended in the election of Hon. N. P. Banks to that position. But the end was not

reached until February 2, 1856; and during the long and bitter conflict Mr. Howard carried himself in such manner that he won the confidence and respect of his colleagues. He always presented an unflinching front to the storm that was beating about him. "Let there be no compromise and no surrender," would be his watchword. "If we are beaten by numbers let us be beaten and gracefully submit. But let us never surrender to an opposition who declare they never will submit to us." His courage and eloquence aided to strengthen more than one of the timid who were alarmed at the threats made in view of Mr. Banks' success. And while he was thus winning the confidence of his Republican colleagues he also won the admiration of his political opponents. They saw that he was one in whom opinions abided, and who had the courage to express them. In reply to the many attempts to drive the Republicans from their position, his response was, "we stand here; we will abate no jot of our principle; we will appeal to the country, and if need be we will continue voting until the fourth of March, 1857." And again: "We have met our Democratic brethren in good faith; we have done our best to effect an organization; we have steadily voted against adjournment; we have made no motions with a view to consume time; we have steadily pursued our business. We shall go on without compromise until we are defeated or succeed."

When the house was finally organized, Mr. Howard was made the second mem-

ber of the committee on ways and means, the most important committee in the lower house of congress. He was also a member of the same committee during his second term. His course during his first term of service was so satisfactory to his people, that he was returned in 1856, receiving 13,658 votes to 12,791 given for G. V. N. Lothrop, the Democratic candidate. In 1858 he was once more nominated, and legally elected; but when the certificate of election was given to George B. Cooper, his opponent, Mr. Howard contested the election and was given his seat, entering congress for the third time on May 15, 1860, for the term ending March 4, 1861.

When Mr. Howard first took his seat in the house, the long agitation of the slavery question was culminating in the Kansas-Nebraska trouble, that so long shook the nation and had so much to do with hastening the war. It was a time when the patriotic leaders of the north began to understand the extent of the trouble before them, and to learn that the south meant more than mere words in the threats to which she gave utterance. Great crimes had been committed in the territory of Kansas. In the attempt to rivet slavery upon that fair portion of our country, men had been robbed of property, of liberty and of life. The stories that ran through the land, as to what had been done in that then far-distant section, were contradictory and colored after the political belief held by those by whom they were told. Congress came soon to understand that its first duty lay in an inves-

tigation of the facts before an attempt was made to apply the remedy. On the nineteenth of March, 1856, a resolution being before the house to empower the committee on elections to send for persons and papers in the Kansas contested election case, on which the whole question hinged, Mr. Dunn of Indiana moved an amendment, which was adopted, providing for a committee of three members of the house to proceed to Kansas and make a thorough investigation of all matters connected therewith, and report all evidence collected to the house. On March 24 the speaker appointed the following gentlemen to that important trust: Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio, William A. Howard of Michigan, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri. Mr. Campbell afterwards declined and John Sherman of Ohio was appointed in his stead. The appointment of Mr. Howard, a new member, on this important committee, shows the esteem and confidence in which he was already held, in a body of which he had been a member for only a few months. In reference to the constitution of the committee, the *New York Tribune*, of March 26, said, from the pen of Mr. Greeley himself:

William A. Howard of Michigan, who henceforth stands at the head of the Kansas committee, is new to congress and to political life, but has won a high reputation as a lawyer and a man. He is a native of Vermont, who graduated at Middlebury college, migrated to Michigan and became a professor of mathematics in her university, which post he held with distinction until he resigned to engage in the practice of the law, which he has since pursued at Detroit with signal success. Associated with Governor Seward in the defense of the citizens of Jackson county, indicted on a charge of malicious in-

jury to the Central railroad, he exhibited, in that memorable three months' trial, the very highest quality as an examiner of witnesses and an analyzer of testimony—qualities which were never more important than in the investigation over which he is now to preside. Coming fresh into congress last December, with very few acquaintances—for he had hitherto shunned public life and has now no political tastes or aspirations—he steadily won upon the confidence and esteem of his fellow members, and his selection as second on the committee on ways and means was but a fair recognition of his standing with the Republicans of the house. Mr. Howard is something less than fifty years of age, tall and slender in person, with a Yankee inflection in his voice, which can hardly be acceptable to the fastidious taste—linguistic of the Border Ruffians.

"The speaker did a handsome thing," said one of the leading newspapers of Michigan, "when he placed the Hon. William A. Howard upon the committee to proceed to Kansas to unravel the weaved-up tissue of fraud, upon which Whitfield claims a seat in the house of representatives. Mr. Howard is a sound lawyer, perfectly familiar with the rules of evidence, and the formulæ of taking testimony. He is, moreover, a man of sound judgment, inflexible moral courage, and the quickest perception. He will devote himself patiently and calmly to the elucidation of the facts, and when they have been cleared up they will be reported to congress ungarbled and unextenuated. It is a proud distinction for a new man in congress to be placed in a position where so much is required of him, but they who know the man have no fears that he will acquit himself to his own honor and the credit of the cause."

The service upon which these gentlemen had entered was not only one of grave responsibility, but of extreme

bodily danger. The outlaws and Border Ruffians, who held sway in western Missouri and Kansas, were desperate and unscrupulous men, to whom murder had become commonplace, and who would not have for a moment hesitated to put Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the Republican members of the committee, out of the way, if by so doing they could have aided themselves or their cause. To show the hazard in which they might be placed, the quotation of the resolution adopted by the house in provision for their protection, is pertinent :

Resolved, That the President of the United States be and is hereby requested to furnish to said committee, should they be met with any serious opposition by bodies of lawless men, in the discharge of their duties aforesaid, such aid from any such military force as may at the time be convenient to them as may be necessary to remove such opposition and enable said committee, without molestation, to proceed with their labor.

The committee proceeded to the seat of trouble and began their investigations amid many difficulties and great danger. Those who know the character of William A. Howard and John Sherman need not be told that they probed the national wound with a steady hand, and that the dangers about them did not deter them from going to the very bottom for facts. The story of their experience in Kansas would make a chapter of absorbing interest, but space is not possible here. There was not only danger all the time, but intense anxiety at all times. One of their chief fears was that the evidence they had so laboriously obtained might be stolen and destroyed. The Border Ruffians continually surrounded the sit-

tings of the commission, and night after night debated the plan by which they proposed to gain possession of the obnoxious documents. They all agreed that it would never do to let this testimony go out of the territory, but how to get it without killing Messrs. Howard and Sherman, or whether it was necessary or politic to take their lives, was a subject of constant consideration. The plan generally approved was to watch for an opportunity when the committee should be traveling, and, at an unguarded moment seize their baggage, ransack it and carry off the testimony in the tumult. The committee took every possible precaution against the danger of loss. A part of the papers were secretly carried to the east by the wife of Governor Robinson and taken out of the reach of danger. "The remainder," says a newspaper account of the day, "was put in charge of an honest old farmer living several miles distant from town, who buried it during the night time in a box of leached ashes, which he covered with straw and a hen's nest. The box was left standing in the yard back of his house. The farmer vindicated his own confidence in the security of his hiding place by depositing in the same box with the testimony some two thousand dollars in gold, of which he feared he might be robbed by the Border Ruffians who were prowling about the country. The manuscript and gold lay thus concealed some three or four weeks—nobody knowing its whereabouts except the farmer and his wife and Messrs. Howard and Sherman. As early as possible, a complete duplicate of the testimony was

prepared, and secretly deposited in the fort, in charge of Colonel Sumner.

On their return from Kansas, the committee offered two reports. The majority report, from the Republican members, Messrs. Howard and Sherman, was presented to the house on July 2, 1856; and that of the minority, from Mr. Oliver, the Democratic member on July 11. The evidence that had been taken was very voluminous, and the majority report covered over twelve hundred pages, a document regarded then and ever since as one of the ablest, and most important ever published by order of congress. The exposure of the frauds and wrongs committed in Kansas in the name and for the aid of slavery, was so thorough and so convincing, and was laid before the country with such candor, that the influence upon the country was electrical, extending with great power into the Presidential election of 1860, when the party that supported slavery was driven from power, and the first Presidential triumph of the Republican party secured. The extent to which the committee drove home the truth, and the plainness with which the report expressed itself, may be learned from the perusal of only one paragraph which said: "Every election has been controlled, not by actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and as a consequence every officer in the territory, from constable to legislator, except those appointed by the President, owes his position to non-resident voters. None have been elected by the settlers, and your committee have been unable to find

that any political power whatever has been exercised by the people."

Mr. Howard's course, as viewed even in the light of all that has befallen between those days and the present, was that of a patriot and a just man. "He took high rank in congress," recently wrote Judge T. M. Cooley of Michigan, in reference to the subject of this sketch, "and had a place on most important committees. One of them was the special committee created for the investigation of the inroads into Kansas by armed bands from the border states. The country was then excited beyond all former precedent by what seemed to be the approaching culmination of the struggle over slavery, and already from state to state leaped the live thunder of the coming tempest. The committee in an elaborate report put plainly before the people a mass of startling facts, constituting one of the most important historical documents of the period. Mr. Howard was also one of the committee of thirty-three appointed to consider and report upon the subject of further national compromises, but his principles forbade him to take even the shortest step backward, and he performed effective service in defeating the purpose for which the committee was created. Men doubted at the time whether this was best, but few doubt now."

One of the longest addresses delivered by Mr. Howard was that in which he denounced the Kansas Lecompton constitution, on the twenty-third of March, 1858. "It is" he said "a creature of usurpation, the child of an

illegal despotism, as destitute of all rightful authority in its origin as it is of popular favor in its maturity. Illegitimate in its origin, it is now, in its development, by at least four-fifths of those who were expected to father it, loathed and feared, shunned and scorned."

On January 19, 1861, President Buchanan sent a special message to congress announcing the seizure of several forts and arsenals, explaining the removal of Major Anderson from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and begging congress to give its best thought to averting threatened evils by a "peaceful solution." With a directness that sent its shaft home to the place intended, Mr. Howard, on the delivery of this message, immediately introduced a resolution that it be referred to a committee of five with instructions to "report whether any federal officer was in communication with any person or persons concerning the surrender of any forts or other public property of the government. Whether any such officer had ever given any pledges not to send reinforcements to any fort in Charleston harbor, and what demand for reinforcements had been made." The committee was ordered by a vote of one hundred and thirty-three to sixty-two.

It was soon after this that he was made one of the compromise committee referred to by Judge Cooley in the above; but all the devising of other men, to which he could give no consent, came to naught. That bruised reed had broken at last, and could furnish fear no further support. There was no

power in congress to drive treason out of the hearts of the rebels, or to take arms out of their hands, except through the coercion that was afterwards applied. Before this came, the congressional life of Mr. Howard had come to a close. The career that he had carved out for himself during his six years of service had given him a national reputation, while it had cast honor on his district and state. The main labors to which he was called have been already given, but he was a useful member in various ways, giving his vote and voice in favor of many improvements and reforms that need not be detailed in this brief outline of his life. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the entire system of tariff, and internal revenues, and may be said to have exercised a leading influence in shaping the financial legislation of the period of his service in congress. The part he took in the debates of that body showed him to be a man of power, of culture, and of eloquence.

Mr. Howard returned to his home in Detroit prepared to enjoy the rest he had so well earned, and to give himself once more to his private affairs. But the war came, and he was once more doing all that lay in his power for the good of his country. Physically incapacitated for enduring the hardships of war, he nevertheless threw his whole soul into the Union cause, and by his stirring eloquence did much to fill the ranks of the army when men were needed. He was a strong orator—the greatest stump speaker in Michigan in his day—and in advocacy of the con-

stitution and the Union he found an ample field for the display of his remarkable powers. The key-note to his utterances on various occasions may be found in the following, taken from a speech he delivered at an immense Union mass meeting, held in Detroit on April 25, 1861, after the fall of Sumter:

The present controversy is the grandest that ever took place since the rebel angels were precipitated from the battlements of heaven. War is upon us, and the object of that war is the destruction of the constitution which has existed for seventy-three years. There is no just cause for this insurrection. No man, north or south, can point out one act of the federal government that furnishes the shadow of an excuse for this treasonable rebellion. It is not a time to go back—not a time to discuss causes. It is not a time for delay. Unless men act now and act promptly; unless they come forward now in support of the government, it will be forever destroyed. God grant that my eyes may never behold a destruction of this glorious country by a band of traitors, tyrannical in temper and unreasonable in their demands. The war must be prosecuted with the greatest vigor; the noble institutions of this country must not be overturned by traitors.

Soon after his retirement from congress, Mr. Howard was appointed by President Lincoln postmaster at Detroit, in which position he continued five and a half years, until a refusal to endorse President Johnson and his policy caused his removal. He gave up the office willingly, as he cared far more for his convictions than for place. In 1869 he was named by President Grant as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to China, and confirmed by the senate, but on mature reflection declined the appointment.

He was one of the prominent figures in the Republican party all through the later years of his life, and had a voice

of influence in its councils. In 1860 he was chairman of the Michigan Republican state central committee. He was a delegate to the National Republican convention that nominated Grant in 1868, and also to that of 1872, wherein that eminent American was endorsed by a renomination. He was a delegate-at-large to the national convention at Cincinnati, in 1876, that nominated General Hayes, and had a potent influence in bringing that result about. He had gone to that great gathering with a preference for another, and was the chairman of the Michigan delegation. That delegation had voted during four ballots for Mr. Blaine, and on the fifth Mr. Howard arose and changed the vote of the state to Hayes. State after state followed in the wake, and the result had no sooner been announced than the Ohio delegation rushed across to Michigan, and pressing around her chairman, thanked him again and again for that decisive movement which had won for Ohio the day. Mr. Howard was made one of the committee to wait on General Hayes and acquaint him with his nomination. Before the adjournment of the convention Mr. Howard was called upon the platform, and made a speech full of humor and eloquence, and that went through the columns of every newspaper in the land.

Before touching upon the final public labor of Mr. Howard's life, a glance should be given at some other avenues of usefulness that had been opened before him. In 1869 he was appointed land commissioner of the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroad, and upon entering on

the duties of that position removed to Grand Rapids, which was thenceforth his home. The road crossed Michigan through its western portion, at the Indiana line, and was carried on up to the northern boundary of the lower peninsula; and from the start gave promise of the great thoroughfare it has since become. Its immense tracts of unoccupied land were to be disposed of, and it was no small labor to which Mr. Howard had applied himself. In addition, Mr. Howard was appointed land commissioner of the Northern Pacific in 1872, which position he held for several years. He resigned the position of land commissioner of the Grand Rapids and Indiana in 1876, although still acting as attorney for General George W. Cass and Thomas A. Scott, trustees for the landholders of the Grand Rapids & Indiana road.

Mr. Howard was married in 1841, to Miss Ellen Jane Birchard, daughter of Matthew W. Birchard of Detroit. His wife survives him and four children, Mrs. Thomas J. O'Brien of Grand Rapids, Michigan; Mrs. John S. Riddle of Erie, Pennsylvania; Mr. William S. Howard of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Mr. James B. Howard, of Duluth, Minnesota.

Mr. Howard joined the Presbyterian church on his arrival in Detroit, and was an influential member of that society until his removal to Grand Rapids.

At the time of his death he and Mrs. Howard were members of the Metropolitan church of Washington, where their Christian life made an excellent impres-

sion upon the many who knew them, and held them in high esteem.

Mr. Howard gave liberally to churches—notably to the Metropolitan church of Washington, D. C., the two Presbyterian churches of Grand Rapids (the First and Westminster), and the Congregational church at Yankton, Dakota. He gave much of his time for several years, as well as considerable of his means to the placing of Olivet college on a firm basis; and at his death left considerable legacies to different missionary and other religious societies.

Although Mr. Howard was often spoken of, and endorsed by long editorials in the Michigan newspapers, for nomination to the governorship and for election to the United States senate, he made no effort for either position, and seemed willing to come to the front only on such times as he could be of especial use. His appointment by President Hayes to the governorship of Dakota, in 1877, came to him unsought, and, in fact, was made while he was earnestly at work in the interest of another, whom the President had decided he would not appoint. The position was accepted mainly because he thought the bracing climate of the territory would have a remedial effect on his health, which was growing worse as the long years of labor began to tell upon him. He was commissioned governor on March 15, 1878, and on the twelfth of April took the oath of office and entered upon the discharge of his duties. Accompanied by his wife he proceeded to Yankton, and made that place his resi-

dence during the remainder of his life. His record as governor was such as might have been expected of one whose public life had been that described in the above. He made the interests of the territory his own, and sought to administer his trust for the highest public good. His aim was to build the territory up so that it might at the proper time take its place as a state, to develop its material resources and give it a right start along the line of educational and social reform. His fame had preceded him, and he was welcomed heartily to his new labor and new home. "Governor Howard is aged and venerable in appearance," said a leading Dakota newspaper in chronicling his arrival. "His hair and beard are snow white, and his face bears the mark of time. He leans on a cane when he walks, and is not as lively in his movements as when he first appeared upon the public stage as the champion of right and the enemy of wrong. His manner, his face, his pleasing address and dignified bearing, all commend him to the strangers in whose midst he is so suddenly placed in an official capacity." Governor Howard's first message to the territorial legislature was a modest document, full of sound sense and practical suggestions. It showed that he had learned much of the territory and of its needs during the short time that had been at his disposal. In commenting on his message, one of the leading newspapers said :

In our opinion Dakota cannot wholly reimburse Governor Howard for his efforts in behalf of the insane. It can pay him back the money he has ex-

pended from his private funds, but there is a deeper debt of gratitude which will stand forever to his credit on the unbalanced pages of the great ledger of the commonwealth.

There were many ways in which he worked for the good of the territory. He succeeded in funding the public debt ; he took part in various movements for the development of agriculture ; he made occasions on which to tell the people of the east of the advantages offered by the great and new northwest. He took an active part in political matters and in aid of the Republican party, because he believed in the principles of that party. He worked, in all ways, for the good of the people committed to his care, and was willing and faithful until the end.

The time began to draw near when with him it was no longer day. The warnings were more and more frequent. His strength wasted away, and duties that had once been so lightly borne became burdens. In December, 1879, he received a more direct intimation than any that had yet befallen him. While seated at his desk he was seized with a severe pain in the region of the heart, which speedily extended through all the cavity of the chest. The pain increased in severity until the sudden agony which came upon him forced the perspiration from every pore, and left him weak and trembling. He had been attacked by neuralgia of the heart, and, although the result was not fatal, it left its mark upon him. He was advised by his physicians to try the effect of travel and a change of climate. Accompanied by his faithful wife he paid a visit to the

old home in Michigan, and from thence proceeded to Washington. He grew no better, but, on the contrary, began to show marked signs of failing strength, and he was soon compelled to take to his bed, in the National hotel. No one understood his condition better than himself, and he was among the first to realize that recovery was impossible. Some ten days before the end he remarked that death was approaching, and freely conversed with the dear ones about him concerning it. To one he said, "I was born in poverty, and my mother had a struggle against it through all the years of my young life. I have been sick a great deal, but I can truly say that mercies have been scattered all along. Goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life, and my only regret is that I have not been more perfectly transformed." He was conscious to the last, and during the few final days he suffered considerable pain, which was lessened as the end approached. His last audible words were expressive of a hope that he might survive until the arrival of his two daughters, but their train only just reached the depot at the moment he was breathing his last. He passed out of this life and into the next as peacefully as a child falls asleep. The end came at 8:40 on the morning of April 10, 1880.

The news of his death caused profound sorrow wherever he was known, tempered with the reflection that he had gained where the world had sustained a loss. Many expressions of sympathy came from all parts of the land. The funeral was held on the evening of the

tenth, at the National hotel. The exercises were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Chester, pastor of the deceased, while the Rev. Dr. Sunderland of Washington delivered an eloquent and pathetic address. "Far up among the northern hills, and under the shadows of the Green mountains," said he, in the course of his address, "he and I, with many of our comrades, pursued our student life. More than forty years ago we separated from our *alma mater* and went out to taste the wide experience of the world. There he and I too found the mothers of our children, and the true companions of our lives—to both of us, as time has proved, the greatest boon of heaven. How scattered and gone are those companions of our early days! Out of them all, during all these years, it has fallen to me to be more in personal contact with Governor Howard than any other of our former associates. During his service in the congress of the United States, through all those trying times antecedent to the war, he was an inmate of my family, in this city, and so it has turned out that but a week ago we had our last interview. He was then sitting in his chair with a brief comparative respite, but still in great weakness. It was of necessity a passing moment. We talked only of essential things, and that which filled our thoughts was the heavenly courtesy and the house of many mansions, toward which he was rapidly approaching. And then we prayed to go there, as we had often done far back when we were college boys. The gold was not dimmed, nor the fine

gold changed, through all the vicissitudes of intervening years. Only then did it seem more bright, more precious, as he was already on the verge of the eternal world."

There were many friends present, among them President and Mrs. Hayes, members of the cabinet, and others high in station and fame. The Michigan congressional delegates, with Judge Bennett, delegate from Dakota, acted as pall bearers. The beloved remains were then conveyed to Detroit, and reverently laid away to rest in the beautiful Elmwood cemetery.

After what has gone before it, it is needless to quote the expressions of sorrow and the tributes of praise that were heard on all sides as soon as it was known that he had passed away. The press of Michigan and Dakota vied with each other in doing honor to his memory. Many memorial resolutions were adopted, and many letters of sympathy were received by the mourning wife from all portions of the land.

Of William A. Howard's character as a public servant and a man, much indeed might be said, but a few words must suffice. As a public speaker he had few superiors. Terse, earnest, and with a splendid memory added to wonderful powers of analysis, he was a foe-man worthy the steel of the most valiant of those pitted against him. Above the medium height, with a massive head, keen penetrating eye and well set under jaw, one might see at a glance that he was no ordinary man. Quiet and somewhat reserved in manner, he was still a genial and social man, with a mind

full of knowledge that was ever open to the demands of those about him. He never could have held the positions that were conferred upon him, nor commanded so wide an influence among his fellow-men, had he not been an able man in the broadest meaning of the term, and one who kept thoroughly abreast with the times. He fully met all the demands of public trusts. He was thoroughly honest, not only in the material things, but in his beliefs, convictions, and in the very fibre of his being. "In speaking of the life and public services, the private virtues and Christian character of William A. Howard," said one who knew him well, "no exaggeration is necessary, for fervent in his patriotism, earnest in his love of country, sincere in his friendship, and spotless in all the relations of social and private life, the truth, as to him, is enough. He was firm in his convictions, honest in his purposes, and unswerving for the right. He was uncorruptible, and the record of his public services is a proud legacy for his children; but to my mind it was in the walks of private and social life, and as a God-fearing, God-loving man that the character of Governor Howard shone most resplendent. He was mild, genial, ever pleasant, and never lost his temper. He had a nature chaste, refined, but unostentatious in his manners and mode of life, and with a heart ever open to the appeals of the distressed. I never knew him to give a negative answer to an appeal for aid from one who was worse off than himself; and many are the hearts that have been made to rejoice by his unheralded

charities." Touching the final work of his life, and the manner in which it was performed, let the following from a leading journal of Dakota stand sponsor :

It was Governor Howard's pride that he was here to mold this future empire, and had Providence spared him for the work he would have infused into the structure the teachings of his ripe experience and the products of his superior wisdom and judgment. To Governor Howard we had learned to look with an abiding confidence in the formation of plans for the future. He has been taken away, and we cannot expect that his place will be wholly filled. Instances are rare wherein men of his standing and ability have been induced to accept territorial appointments. He consented to become our governor because he was ready to retire from the arena of political and business life, yet desired to be in a position where he could exercise his faculties of heart and mind for the welfare of his fellow men. Of world's goods he had enough, and the salary was no inducement—it has been mostly given to deserving poor in our territory.

Turning from these sincere and truthful words of praise, this brief memorial can be closed in no more fitting manner than by quoting the words uttered by Mr. Howard himself to a friend, when on a bed of sickness that he thought might be one of death, showing the light esteem in which he held himself, and the foundations upon which he based his

Christian faith: "It is surprising," said he, "on looking back to see how little human life amounts to—how little has been accomplished. As the world goes, I have had a measure of success. In pecuniary matters, I can leave my family comfortable, though I have passed through all stages of experience in this regard, from childhood up. I have also had a measure of success in political life, not because I had any eloquence—for I had none—but because I believed with all my heart what I said, and the people were moved because they felt a sympathy with me in my convictions of the truth. I never went before the people with a lie in my mouth.

"I find a man may be in the church in good standing forty years and not be able to look upon a single act of his own that will help to justification with God ; he has forty years to ask pardon for, more than he had before. There is nothing to rest upon but Christ, and how inexpressibly sweet I have found it to rest upon that rock, as I have lain here for weeks facing death."

HENRY K. JAMES.

BELA HUBBARD.

BELA HUBBARD, a son of Thomas H. and Phoebe Hubbard, was born at Hamilton, New York, on the twenty-third day of April, 1814. He attended the local schools until he was prepared to enter college, when he matriculated at Hamilton, from which institution he was graduated with the class of 1834. Natural taste and ability, encouraged by a home environment exceptionally stimulating, and developed by close application to his college work, gained him a high standing in his class, and, when his course was completed, he left his *alma mater* with an education available, exact and thorough, in science, the classics and the field of English literature. The day had not yet come when a half score of smatterings could weigh against one mastery; a college course, to the diligent and studious, was an intellectual grounding and discipline which, if it did not send the student into the world hopelessly "finished," laid open before him every possible field of self culture, with the training and discipline within himself to work out his own future.

During his college days, as later in life, Mr. Hubbard's greatest interest was centered in the study of *belles lettres*. The old time "classical course," which still holds its own at Hamilton, offers the most rational and efficient training in English letters, carrying the student

by logical steps from an appreciation of the Greek masters and the immortal works of the Augustine age, to a loving familiarity with the greatest writers of English, from Chaucer to our own contemporaries. In such a school as this, Mr. Hubbard enlarged a nice, critical taste, and developed his natural capacity for literary expression, until was formed the simple and chaste style which in after years made his treatment of the most ponderous subject a delight to the literary sense of his reader.

At the time of Mr. Hubbard's graduation from college, Michigan was the most promising field for investors and the Mecca of young men in search of a fortune. Judge Hubbard, his father, had accumulated a considerable fortune at the bar, but he fully appreciated the advantage of the new territory as a field for the talent and energy of his son, and threw no obstacles in the way of the westward impulse which seized Bela soon after the completion of his course. As a consequence, Bela "moved west" during the year 1835, and reached Detroit at the height of the tide of immigration which followed the completion of the Erie canal. Very early in the history of his Michigan residence, he began making real estate investments for his father, and it was not long before his own accumulations were similarly directed. The lands purchased were



Yours truly
Bela Hubbard

almost uniformly wild and unproductive, and bought solely upon the faith of the future.

Among his own early purchases was that of a wild farm from Whitmore Kuaggs, upon which he settled as a practical farmer. This was a tract of land of somewhat more than two hundred and fifty acres, situated in the township of Springwells, having the narrow frontage upon the river common to the old French farms, and extending inland some three miles. The farm then was very nearly in a state of nature. Mr. Hubbard has held a large portion of it for more than fifty years, and has lived to see it included within the limits of the city of Detroit, and dotted with houses.

When Mr. Hubbard left the east he was enthusiastic over the possibilities of his mission, and especially over his prospects as a farmer, predicting, in a half serious way, the great things he would surely do by the application of scientific methods to agriculture. To the circle of affectionate friends about him, these sanguine predictions made by a town-bred, bookish youth, formed the subject of much good natured railery and even after he had lived a year in practical contact with country life, a facetious friend circulated a story to the effect that Bela, after selecting his crop with a careful view to its scientific fitness to the soil, after preparing his ground with a punctilious application of the latest principles of scientific ploughing and harrowing; after attending to every preliminary—save one—with the most scientific accuracy, failed of a crop be-

cause he forgot to put in the seed. This may be a mere envious slander, but we know that the college-bred boy found a happy Tusculum upon the wild farm in Wayne county, Michigan, and that not only did he successfully cultivate his own acres, but that no man in all the commonwealth has done more for the cause of intelligent and rational farming than has he.

When young Hubbard went to Michigan, less than forty years had passed since the territory had passed from the English to the American rule, and this period had been broken by the term of English occupation after Hull's surrender. But ten years had elapsed since the completion of "Clinton's ditch," had opened a practical waterway to the sea board and given Michigan its first substantial impulse. Stevens T. Mason, the boy governor, was in the executive chair; the dispute between Ohio and Michigan for the possession of territory embracing the site of Toledo, was unsettled. The vast area, including the upper peninsula of the present state and a great and ill-defined region beyond, was attached to the territory for the convenience of government. The population of Detroit was but little more than five thousand persons.

Few people then foresaw for Michigan other than an agricultural destiny. The vast forests were only unhappy obstacles in the path of the plough; the wealth of iron, copper and other minerals in the bowels of the upper peninsula lay unknown and unsuspected. In the month of December, 1836, the famous "Frost Bitten convention" met

at Ann Arbor and made its presumptuous and unauthorized concessions to the proposals of congress, by which the territory of Michigan relinquished its claim to the contested ground along the Ohio line, and gained its statehood and the unguessed wealth of the northern peninsula in exchange.

With rare wisdom, the legislature of Michigan included among its earliest acts provision for a state geological survey, and appointed the distinguished Dr. Douglass Houghton state geologist. The scanty appropriation originally made prevented the making of more than a limited reconnoissance during the first year but Dr. Houghton, who was the projector of the survey as well as its head, so pushed his preparations that an expedition was organized, fitted out and, before the state was eight months old, left Detroit for its arduous and difficult duty. To this expedition Mr. Hubbard was appointed with the rank of assistant geologist, and his services were continuous until the abandonment of the survey in 1841. In a paper read before the Wayne County Pioneer society in 1872, Mr. Hubbard gives a quaint and interesting description of this first expedition, some portions of which I cannot forbear to quote, so well do they express the slender resources with which a vast work was begun and the physical hardships which it involved. Mr. Hubbard says:

It is my intention to relate some incidents of a trip, or short campaign, if I may so term it, made in the fall of 1837, for the purpose of an examination of these springs,* and such other geological discoveries as might be made in the country traversed by those

great natural highways, the streams tributary to the Saginaw. The party consisted of four individuals: Dr. Houghton, the state geologist, and three assistants:—Mr. C. C. Douglass, the writer,—and a dog. The latter was no inconsequential member of the corps, and had, like the rest, his appointed duties to perform. Dash was his name, indicative also of his nature. This was before the days of railroads, although the young state had already projected its magnificent schemes of internal improvements; for a considerable portion of our contemplated route there were no highways but the streams. Our plan was to reach, by private conveyance, some point on the Shiawassee river, where we could embark in a canoe and descend to the Saginaw. Loading into a wagon at Detroit our few traps, which consisted of a tent, provisions, and ax and a gun, in the afternoon of September 13, 1837, we proceeded as far as Royal Oak, where we encamped by the roadside in the independent mode common to immigrants of that period. To the writer, the situation had the charm which youth always finds in novelty. I will not detain you with incidents, and will only name the few villages through which we passed.

At Byron we exchanged our wagon for a canoe and commenced a descent of the Shiawassee river. From Byron to Owasso, about twenty miles direct (but many more by the course of the stream), our way lay mostly through lands more heavily timbered, but varied with openings and occasional plains. Through this part of the country roads had been opened, and settlements made rapid progress. We were now to make our way by the aid of the current, but that meant not all plain sailing nor luxurious enjoyment. The river was interrupted by numerous rapids, of difficult if not dangerous navigation, and over these shallows we had to drag the canoe. As this necessitated going into the water, we were provided with water-tight boots that turned up to the thigh. At the approach of night a favorable landing was selected and a new division of labor took place. While one cleared the spot and pitched the tent, another cut wood for the fire and a third prepared the evening meal. Your humble servant being installed in the ancient and honorable dignity of cook, had this duty to perform. Any one who has sweetened his food with the sauce of hunger, knows how little culinary art is requisite to satisfy famished guests. Indeed, a piece of fat pork, fried upon a stick over the camp fire, after hours of labor in the wilderness, is a morsel sweeter than any which the pampered epicure knows. To this standard dish, our one gun enabled us to add such small game as we chose to take the

* The salt springs of the Saginaw valley.

trouble to obtain. But my position also involved a duty which might be supposed of less easy accomplishment, viz: the cleaning of the dishes. Fortunately I was permitted to make free of the assistance of the fourth member of our family. Dash, being properly educated to this service, was not allowed his own dinner until he had thoroughly and impartially scoured over the plates and saucepan. . . . After this operation, a simple rinsing in the clear water of the river constituted all the additional operation that the most fastidious could demand.

It is not consistent with the purpose, or the limits of my sketch, to follow by quotation the story of this expedition. During its course the adventurers defined the southerly half of the coal basin of Michigan, reached the new Saginaw "City" on the twenty-third day of September, examined the salt indications in the vicinity, pushed on through virgin wilderness, and made a similar examination upon the Tittabawassee, subsisting mainly upon camp biscuit and game, for Saginaw, though a city, had no pork. Thence they descended the river and made a perilous canoe voyage in Saginaw bay and Lake Huron, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, to Port Huron, which point was reached on the twelfth day of October, after severe suffering from cold and hunger and the encounter of serious peril of shipwreck in the tempestuous autumn weather. During the entire voyage from Saginaw to Port Huron, but one white settler was seen.

I cannot, however, pass from Mr. Hubbard's simple story, without transferring to these pages his pen picture of Dr. Houghton, between whom and himself grew up a warm and affectionate friendship, such as rarely exists between men. He says :

"Though nearly a generation has passed since the death of Dr. Houghton, no doubt most of those here present will remember the peculiar characteristics of one not easily forgotten; his diminutive stature, his keen blue eyes, his quick and active motions, the strong sense and energy of his words, when dealing with matters of science, and his undauntable perseverance in carrying out his designs. They will remember, too, his love of fun and his hilarious manner of telling a comic story. Of such he had a large fund and a happy way of using, preserving a grave countenance until he got through, and then joining in the laugh with a peculiar cachinnation, so contagious as to be alone sufficient to set everyone in a roar. He was no carpet knight of science, and on his geological excursions never flinched from hard work and exposure. On these occasions he usually wore a suit of grey, the coat having large side pockets, and hanging loosely upon his small frame. The hands and feet were very small, but the latter were encased in boots that came almost to his thighs. His shocking bad hat was broad brimmed and slouched, and his whole appearance was that of a battered, weather-worn backwoodsman.

"I remember meeting him a few years later, when his scientific mind and energetic body had unravelled the mysteries of the mineral region of Lake Superior, and when the new fame of that region had called hosts of scientists to those yet wild shores. He had just landed at Eagle river, fresh from one of his rough expeditions, and was at once hailed and surrounded by men known over the whole world for their scientific learning, to whose figures and bearing his own presented a striking contrast. Yet these men bowed to his superior knowledge—sagacity I might term it—and one of them frankly said, in my hearing, that 'the little rough-looking doctor carried more true knowledge in his cranium than all the big heads put together.'"

Mr. Hubbard's connection with the survey was of an important and independent character. His mental discipline, scientific knowledge, trained powers of observation and buoyant physique made him very exact and effective in field work, while his literary skill rendered his records and reports exceedingly valuable. His special reports to the state geologist are embodied

in every annual report of that officer, from that covering the expedition described until the financial collapse which followed in the path of the wild internal improvement schemes and the wilder banking of the day left Michigan insolvent and compelled the abandonment of the survey. His first report bears date January 26, 1838, his second January 26, 1839, his third January 12, 1840, and his fourth and last February 1, 1841. During these years Mr. Hubbard shared in much of the work done by Dr. Houghton and his increased staff in various fields, including the upper peninsula, but his independent work consisted of a survey of the organized counties of the state, with a view to fixing their geological characteristics, and especially to ascertaining their wealth in metals, coal, and other useful minerals. His reports cover thorough examinations of the counties of Wayne, Monroe, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Washtenaw, Oakland, Livingston, Barry, Clinton, Shiawassee, Genesee, Lapeer, St. Clair and Macomb. They sufficed to set doubts very definitely at rest, and not only to direct mining and similar enterprises where profit was possible but, not less important, to repress them where they were certain to be fruitless.

The state geological survey ended, for the reason stated, with the work of 1840. Dr. Houghton procured a Federal contract for the making of extensive surveys in the upper peninsula, and it was while so engaged in the service of the government that he uncovered the wonderful wealth of the Lake Superior region, and

at last fell a victim to his own daring and over zeal. During the autumn of 1845 he remained too long in the wilderness, was taken ill by reason of exposure, and while being conveyed homeward in a canoe was drowned by the upsetting of his boat on the thirteenth day of September, 1845. Mr. Hubbard was not connected with this later work of Dr. Houghton, but in association with C. C. Douglass collated the notes and classified the specimens collected by the doctor during his last expedition, and made up a posthumous report which carried the life record to its close. He was, however, while Dr. Houghton was in that field, engaged in a private exploration of the Lake Superior region, with a view to investment in mineral lands, and frequently met his old chief.

During the year 1845, Mr. Hubbard, in connection with William Ives, deputy United States surveyor, took a contract to make a government survey of several townships in the Huron mountain district, and his incidental geological work added greatly to the sum of scientific knowledge of that region.

The same causes which led to the relinquishment of the state geological survey, gave Mr. Hubbard ample business occupation of a peculiarly difficult and harassing nature. The land purchased for his father and largely added to upon his own account was nearly all quite unproductive. The enormous outlay made for internal improvements had outrun the development and tax paying capacity of the state. Both the state and its subordinate municipalities were

crippled, and in no position to extend indulgence to their debtors, while money, even for the commonest needs of life, was almost unattainable. To tide over this period and pay the taxes upon large tracts of land was the work to which Mr. Hubbard addressed himself and in which he succeeded, after a most trying struggle, holding his land where many were compelled to relinquish everything. Some of his friends say that had Michigan been spared this ordeal of its early days, Mr. Hubbard would never have been a business man, but would have devoted his life to the more congenial pursuit of science and letters. Be this as it may, the success which he won as a business man not only added to his fortune, but is another demonstration of his many-sided ability and power of self-adaptation.

When left stranded by the failure of the state geological survey, Mr. Hubbard first turned his attention to his father's profession—that of the law—studied it in the office of a Detroit practitioner, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1842. He practiced for a time in partnership with Charles Collins, but for the greater part of his brief legal career quite alone. It was then as natural for a bright Michigan man to make his living by land dealing as for a Cape Codsmen to turn to fish, and it was not long before Mr. Hubbard found it wise and profitable to give up his young practice and devote his attention entirely to the business of buying and selling land, which came to him quite spontaneously. As the agent of eastern investors, he thus conducted transac-

tions enormous in the total and vastly profitable to himself, and laid the foundation of the business which has more than any other engaged his time and contributed to his fortune. At the same time, as always, he clung to his own land investments and increased them whenever his means and opportunity offered.

This continued to be Mr. Hubbard's business occupation until about the year 1854, when he formed a partnership with Mr. John E. King and established mills for the manufacturing of pine lumber at the foot of Sixteenth street, in Detroit. This business was continued for twenty-five years or more, and until the premises were sold to the Union Depot company, in 1881. While it continued it was the largest of its kind in Detroit, but it did not divorce Mr. Hubbard from his first love for real estate, but rather forced him deeper and deeper into that interest. Hubbard & King bought large tracts of timber land, "logged" them, sawed the logs, and then, instead of allowing the denuded acres to revert to the state, paid their taxes and sold the lands gradually to settlers. This policy—which was very different from that of most lumbering concerns—proved very profitable, and, by force of circumstances, made the firm dealers in real estate as well as in lumber.

Since the sale of his mill and lumbering interests Mr. Hubbard has devoted himself almost exclusively to dealing in real estate upon his own account. The active charge of this business is now relegated his son, Mr. Collins B.

Hubbard. With a firm faith in the future of Detroit, Mr. Hubbard constantly buys large tracts of suburban property of the best class, lays it out in lots and streets, builds large and pleasant houses upon it and sells them, only to buy again and repeat the process. It is only just to say that nearly every dollar of Mr. Hubbard's great fortune is the increase of his own earnings, his participation in his father's estate having been of the slightest and only realized of late years, when he had already accumulated ample wealth.

While living upon his farm and fighting his early business battles, Mr. Hubbard won the strong and important social position which he has always retained. Those were days when society was far more dependent for pleasure and profit upon the personal qualities of its members than now. There was no railroad communication, giving easy change of scene and daily bringing new men and new ideas into the community; books were few and expensive; public entertainments rare and indifferent; houses small and purses slender. People knew each other with an intimacy very rare in these more complex days. A valuable adjunct to the social and intellectual life of Detroit at that time was the the Young Men's society, founded in 1830. Of this Mr. Hubbard became a member and was president in 1845, when the presidency was a high social honor. Old citizens tell to-day how the hall was always thronged when he lectured, and the audience delighted by his thoughts and their elegant and classical expression. In debate he

did not shine. His was the talent of the essayist, not the controversialist. He might have followed Irving; never Webster.

In the meantime, as a farmer, he had lived down the good-natured jests of his friends and had gained a reputation by success in the most advanced and liberal methods.

An amusing incident of Mr. Hubbard's early life, in Detroit, was his military experience during the "Patriot War." Pending the excitement of the year 1838, he was one day walking on Woodward avenue and watching the drill of some newly levied recruits, who were to assist in maintaining the neutrality of the United States, menaced by the Canadian uprising. As he was passing on, the officer in command accosted him and announced that he was drafted for the service. Mr. Hubbard answered that he would consent to serve if he could have an office. The officer thereupon replied that the then incumbent of the first lieutenantcy had no sword, and, if the new recruit could procure one, the office should be vacated in his behalf. Mr. Hubbard borrowed a sword, assumed his office, took shipping with his company and went to Fighting Island, where a vain search was made for filibusters, after which the force returned to Detroit. Mr. Hubbard was drafted for two months, but his actual service occupied but one day. Nevertheless he received eighty dollars, a lieutenant's pay for two months, and some months later received a warrant for eighty acres of government land, being his share of the bounty lands voted by congress to

those who served in the war. For a brief and bloodless experience, his service was thus quite profitable.

In 1848 he was one of the organizers and officers of the Michigan State Agricultural society, which held its first fair in Detroit, during September, 1849. He was not contented that the society should find its mission in the holding of "pumpkin shows," and, at a meeting of the executive committee, held at Detroit, on the nineteenth day of December, 1849, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That our legislature be requested to take such legislation as shall appear necessary or expedient for the establishment of a state central agricultural office, with which shall be connected a museum of agricultural products and implements, and an agricultural library, and as soon as practicable an agricultural college and a model farm.

Mr. Hubbard supported his resolution at some length, making an especial point of the history of the Royal Agricultural Society of England and its allied agencies. At a later session the resolution was adopted, and Mr. Hubbard was made chairman of a committee to prepare a memorial to the legislature embodying the prayer of the society. This memorial is from his own pen and bears date during the following month. It so clearly and forcibly set forth the benefits certain to accrue if the desires of the committee were carried out, that the legislature in April, 1850, passed a joint resolution directing the senators and representatives of Michigan in congress to procure legislation appropriating large tracts of public land for the establishment and maintenance of the agricultural office, museum and college,

and from this action resulted the later establishment of the institutions, which are now among the most justly prized in Michigan's grand educational system. Thus did the college-bred boy, who was laughed at by his best friends when he "turned farmer," perform the highest service ever done by any man to the cause of Michigan agriculture.

Mr. Hubbard has always retained a lively interest in agriculture, in the noble institution of which he is the father, and in the state society. In 1849 he read a prize essay before the last named, entitled "Essay on the Proper Improvement and Enjoyment of Country Life." This production is a prose pastoral, written by one who rarely combines the ability to see and to improve the practical opportunities of bucolic life, and to surround it with an imaginative atmosphere worthy of Erasmus Darwin. In striking contrast is his address delivered before the same society in 1854, in which he traces the history of agriculture from the remotest days, and points the lessons of the centuries by copious modern illustrations and statistics. In the year 1854 the Agricultural society included in its records and republished the geological reports of Mr. Hubbard, already referred to, thus showing their high appreciation of the practical value of his work.

Mr. Hubbard was one of the original trustees of the Michigan asylums for the insane and the deaf, dumb and blind. He was eminently a working trustee, and was influential in shaping the organization and the policy of these admirable institutions. His term of

service covered a period of several years, during which many of the reports to the legislature came from his pen.

He was one of the original members of the Wayne County Pioneer society and of the State Pioneer society. He has contributed papers of great value and interest to both. That on the French *habitans* of Detroit, which is published in the collections of both the state and county societies, is among the most important.

Upon the occasion of the celebration of the second centennial of the naming of Lake St. Clair (or, more properly, St. Claire), he delivered the principal address of the day, James V. Campbell reading a poem, and a hymn by D. Bethune Duffield being sung by the assembly. An elaborate scientific address, on the climate of Detroit, illustrated by tables showing rainfall, precipitation, etc., was read by him, in 1872, before the Detroit Scientific association, and published in the columns of *The American Medical Observer*. A still more elaborate and erudite production of his pen related to the work of the mysterious race of mound builders, and is entitled, "Ancient Garden Beds of Michigan." It was first published in *The American Antiquarian* during 1874, and was subsequently read before the Detroit Scientific association and the State Pioneer society. It is elaborately illustrated with sketches from his own pencil.

These are but a few of Mr. Hubbard's literary works, the total of which is voluminous, of wide range and always dis-

tinguished by accuracy, scholarship and an extreme beauty of literary style and finish. He has now in press a volume entitled, 'Memorials of Half a Century,' which will be published by an eastern firm. It is by far his most important work.

In 1842 he was for a short time editor of the *Western Farmer*, published at Detroit.

Mr. Hubbard is a Democrat in politics, but has never been an active partisan or the holder of a political office. He has been frequently called upon to serve the public interest in matters municipal and charitable, and has always promptly responded. In 1841 he was appointed one of a committee of two to investigate the origin, administration and condition of the land trust originally committed to the governor and judges. After nearly two years of hard work, the committee was able to disentangle the maze in which the conflicting action of the trustees had involved the land plan and titles of the city, and to report the present intelligible and regular system of lot numbering.

In 1859 he was president of the Young Men's Benevolent association, an offshoot of the Young Men's association, and he has always been liberal, though unostentatious, in aid of charity, both public and private.

In 1869 he became a director of Woodmere cemetery, and was one of the committee of citizens who recommended the purchase of Belle Isle for park purposes. He is also a director of the Michigan Fire and Marine Insur-

ance company, of John S. Haines & company, lumbermen, and of the Detroit Sanitarium.

Mr. Hubbard has always felt great interest in the progress of American art. He himself possesses no slight skill with the brush and pencil and there is now preserved a lifelike portrait of his younger brother, Mr. Robert T. Hubbard, which he painted in his youth. He was one of the gentlemen who supported the first Detroit Art Loan exhibition, and later each gave the sum of one thousand dollars in aid of the permanent art building, the erection of which is now ensured.

In 1884 Mr. Hubbard caused to be executed, at large expense, artistic colossal statues of Cadillac, La Salle, Marquette and Réchard, which he presented to the city of Detroit, and which now stand in niches on the easterly and westerly fronts of the city hall.

On the second day of March, 1848, Mr. Hubbard married Sarah E. Baughman, a woman of rare sweetness, amiability and mental timbre. During the war she was president of the Detroit Ladies' Aid society, and in 1866 published anonymously, through Harper &

Brother, the successful novel, "A Hidden Sin." This was republished with equal success in England, but the secret of its authorship was closely kept until after the writer's death. Mrs. Hubbard also anonymously published several other stories.

Mr. and Mrs. Hubbard had eight children, of whom five are living.

Mr. Hubbard is now seventy-two years of age, vigorous in body, considering his years, and clear and serene in mind. His estate, husbanded by his care and judgment and increased by his business success, is a very large one, securely invested and easily administered. He has largely retired from active life and lives in his beautiful home, surrounded by the books he loves and secure in the respect and friendship of his fellow-citizens and the love of his inner circle of intimates and kindred. Few men have won success in so many diverse fields ; few so fully deserve the encomiums well epitomized by an old acquaintance who said : "Mr. Hubbard is a man of remarkable ability and marvelous versatility. He is exquisitely fine in feeling, spotlessly pure in thought, absolutely honorable in act."

W. B.

MEMBERS OF THE MICHIGAN BAR.

HON. ORLANDO M. BARNES.

A prominent figure at the bar of Michigan for many years was that of Orlando M. Barnes, who was, in the early days, a resident of Mason, but who has of late years been an honored and influential citizen of Lansing. During the years of active practice he was counted among the best lawyers of the state and of the west; but other and more lucrative fields of labor claimed him. In them he has won success, and the abundance of his power and depth of his intellect are shown in the fact that one who was great in the field of law could command the highest results as a railroad man and a financier. All that he has won, however, has come as the result of his own labor, as a glance at his life will show. The record is one worthy to be preserved.

Mr. Barnes was born at Cato, New York, on November 21, 1824, the son of John and Anna Barnes, and traces his family line directly back to John Barnes, one of the early Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth Rock. In many of his moral and mental characteristics he shows the impress of this sturdy and honorable ancestry. In June, 1837, his parents removed to Michigan, and settled at Aurelius, Ingham county. The son was given the usual course in the elementary schools of the day, and afterwards en-

tered the University of Michigan, from which he graduated with honors in 1850. Having by this time fully discovered the bent of his mind, he decided to give his life to the profession of law. He devoted one year to preparatory study, and was then admitted to the bar. He opened an office at Mason, the seat of Ingham county. He soon won an enviable position and a large practice, not through accident or the help of others, but because his native powers and habits of life and labor were such as to command success. He gave a strict attention to all matters of business entrusted to him; he had a thorough knowledge of the law; and, in addition to all, his mind was of a strong, legal cast. He soon found himself sought by positions of public trust, and had he been willing in those days to so far forego the demands of his profession as to take a personal interest and ambition in public life, there is no telling to what high political positions he might not have been called. In 1853, on the death of the prosecuting attorney of Ingham county, he was appointed to fill the vacancy. Upon the expiration of that term Mr. Barnes' course was improved through an election direct to the office, while he was again indorsed by a reelection in 1854. On retiring from this service he devoted himself with renewed energy and interest to



Very Truly Yours
O. W. Barnes

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general practice, and soon stood in the front rank of the lawyers of Michigan. He was retained in nearly all the important cases that came to trial in his part of the state during the years of his practice, Judge Longyear, late United States judge for the eastern district of Michigan, usually being called on to confront him on the other side. Many a sharp legal battle has occurred between the two.

Mr. Barnes' career at the bar was continued until 1867, when he turned his attention exclusively to another line of labor, in which he has made his powers most ably felt. He left his practice in order that he might devote his entire time to the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw railroad, an enterprise that has done much for the material development of Michigan, and that has been of immense benefit to the three cities embraced in its name, and to all the country through which it runs. He became secretary of the company and its general counsel and attorney. He became its managing director in 1869, and held that responsible position through 1870 and 1871. He also became its land commissioner in 1869, which office he yet holds. The lease of the road to the Michigan Central relieved its officers from its management, but has left the office of land commissioner one of great importance. Mr. Barnes has filled it with good results to all interested and with honor to himself. Its duties demand not only a thorough knowledge of law but great business judgment, prudence, and administrative ability. All these Mr. Barnes possesses in a

marked degree ; and to them is added an honesty of purpose and expression that gives him the confidence of all with whom he has to deal.

Mr. Barnes has aided the business interests of Lansing, which has been his home since 1874, in many ways through his capital and personal energy. He is president of the Lansing National bank and of the Lansing Gas Light company, and has interests in a number of enterprises needless to mention here.

While Mr. Barnes was never an office-seeker, in any meaning of the word, but has rather sought to remain in private life, he has not altogether succeeded in avoiding the demands of public duty, but has on several occasions been compelled to come to the front and do his share. In 1862 he was elected a member of the state legislature, and while there was looked upon as one of the leaders of the Democratic side. Although in a minority, he was able to accomplish some valuable results and to aid the public interests of his state in more ways than one. One of the measures to which he gave especial care, and in which he had an unusual interest, was the procuring of the application of the grant made by congress for agricultural education. He favored giving it to the Michigan Agricultural college. This was done and the institution has since become one of the greatest and most successful of the educational institutions of the west. This had his special care during his legislative career. In 1877 Mr. Barnes was elected mayor of Lansing. His administration was marked by the inception of

many measures of permanent importance to the city. The next year, 1878, saw him the candidate of the Democratic party for the governorship of Michigan—a candidacy he had not sought but which came to him at the unmistakable demand and wish of the Democracy of Michigan. Although the state in those days was strongly Republican, and the opposition was divided into Democratic and Greenback parties, Mr. Barnes made an admirable canvass and secured a much larger vote than had been thought possible even by those who best knew his popularity and personal strength. He was made a member of the Democratic state central committee in 1880, and was chosen its chairman, holding this position until 1884, when he declined a reelection. He was a delegate-at-large to the national convention at Cincinnati, in 1880; and also a delegate to that of Chicago, in 1884, in the latter acting as chairman of the Michigan delegation. In one of these bodies he from the first favored Hancock, who became the party's nominee; while in the other he pursued a similar course with Cleveland, upon whom the honor of the nomination was finally conferred.

Mr. Barnes is an honored member of the Masonic order; a member of the Presbyterian church, and a friend and patron of many organizations or societies that have for their purpose the relieving of suffering or improvement of human kind. His home is one of the hospitable places of Lansing, and it is there, in the joys of domestic life, and among his books and friends, that he

finds his chief enjoyment, and where he most delights to be. He was married on June 23, 1852, to Miss Amanda W. Fleming, the daughter of John Fleming of Albion. His oldest son, Orlando F. Barnes, has filled the position of mayor of Lansing; his daughter is the wife of Professor George Knight, a member of the faculty of the Ohio State university at Columbus; while his second son, Edward A. Barnes, is engaged in the practice of law at Detroit.

Great as has been the success of Mr. Barnes in the other lines of life he has chosen, and wide as has been his influence for good, it is almost to be regretted that he did not continue in the active practice of a profession for which he was so eminently fitted, and in which he had already won renown. He was one of the leaders of the bar of Michigan even then. He was a close reader and deep student. His legal intellect was of the finest quality. There was no man at the Michigan bar who could more closely analyze a case on the law and facts. "At the close of his practice," remarked one who knew him well, in conversation with the writer of this sketch, "he was on the road to greatness as a lawyer—there is no telling to what eminence he might not have attained. The qualities that made him valuable in one line of life, were of aid to him in the other. When he entered the railroad business it was in the front rank, both as a counselor and as a practical manager of business affairs."

In his personal relations Mr. Barnes is patriotic in principle, social in manner, and generous in impulse and action.



Mrs L. Webber

He has never sought to advance his own interests regardless of those about him or of the public at large, but the enterprises to which he has given his chief time have been such as to benefit all as well as the few. His heart has been in the good of the city from the first. He is personally very popular with all classes, and is one of the most approachable men living. Kind, helpful to others, generous in thought and deed, liberal in his views and considerate of the beliefs of others, he has won the affection and respect of all, and occupies an enviable position in more ways than one. He is a fine conversationalist and a ready and entertaining public speaker. He is by nature a statesman rather than a politician. Had he been the latter, many a high official position would have been open to his reach. He was prominently mentioned in connection with President Cleveland's cabinet, and his own indifference was the chief thing that stood in the way of his selection. His political beliefs are based on study and investigation, and in them he is deeply grounded as a matter of principle and faith. One of Mr. Barnes' strongest mental traits is such as can with profit be observed by all who desire to make a success of life: whatever he undertakes to do, he does with all his might. He lays out his plan, masters his forces to the work, and sees it through to the end. Nothing that he undertakes is too small to do well; and doing the commonplace things in this manner, it need not be said that the great ones find the same treatment at his hands.

WILLIAM L. WEBBER.

The larger part of that growth which has made Michigan the great and rich commonwealth that it now is, has occurred within the lives of men who are now useful and conspicuous figures on the scene of action. In no better way can the lines of development through which the state has advanced be measured and understood than by following them along the lives of the men who found the two peninsulas but mere wildernesses of forest a half century ago, and have brought forth the hidden riches that are seen to-day. That Michigan had some copper and a great deal of pine, was known fifty years ago; that she had iron and salt, and a hundred other things she is now producing, was not known. The young men who took possession of her interests two decades ago or more, are the ones who have made her what she is, and it is but mete that to each should be awarded a proper share of the glory that belongs to all.

No consideration of the forces that have made the northern half of the lower peninsula what it is, could be possible without some reference to the gentleman whose name may be found above—William L. Webber of East Saginaw. He united his fortunes with those of that city and of the Saginaw valley over thirty years ago, and from that day to this has been a steady and consistent friend of every public improvement and every movement that had for its object the general good. Full of faith, energy and courage, moved

by a better impulse than self gain, and with a vision that could see far into the future, he has gone ahead as a living, moving force that found satisfaction only in beneficial results. Self has been a secondary consideration; and as he has advanced in other things, he has also gained in the confidence and good will of those about him. The outline of his life, as given below, will be found to possess more than a mere personal interest, as it throws light on the general advance of Michigan during the last forty years.

Mr. Webber was born in the town of Ogden, in Monroe county, New York, on July 19, 1825, the son of James S. and Phoebe (Smith) Webber. The father was of Maine birth and the mother of New York. In 1835 the elder Webber paid a visit to Michigan, and decided to make it his future home, removing his family to Hartland, Livingston county, in 1836, where a location was made on a farm that had previously been entered at Detroit. The boyhood of the subject of this sketch was passed as was that of most farm lads in those rugged pioneer days, when Michigan was much nearer the frontier than it is at present, and the advantages of the American youth were by no means what they are to-day. He had no lack of exercise, but aided in the clearing of the land and the redemption of the soil to the uses of civilization. Loving books and having a thirst for knowledge, he made excellent use of such educational advantages as came in his way. He attended winter school when possible, and pursued his

studies at home as opportunity offered. The philosophical and logical bent of his mind was thus early shown by his choice of studies—his preference being given to algebra, geometry and the natural sciences. In 1844 and 1845 he made practical use of the knowledge he had acquired by such closely-applied methods, and taught school in the neighborhood of his home. In the year last named the death of the mother caused a separation of the family, and the young man went forth to meet the world on his own responsibility. He decided upon the study of medicine, and entered the office of Foote & Mowry, at Milford, Oakland county, where he remained two years, gaining an insight into a science that has no doubt been of great value to him in the operations of later life, although he never gave himself to medical practice. He had by this time discovered the real ground upon which nature intended him to strive, and whereon he has won such success, and he determined to turn his attention to the law. But before giving himself fully thereto, he spent two years in teaching a select school at Milford, urged thereto, doubtless, by the simple fact that he was obliged to find his own means as he went along. He gave his leisure time to the study of his chosen profession, and in 1851 was admitted to practice. He opened an office in Milford, but soon discovered that only a meagre field of operations could be there afforded even to the best and the most successful. In casting about for a final location, he visited East Saginaw, and was so impressed

with its advantages and so won by the promise of its future that he decided to make it his home, and opened his law office there on March 15, 1853. He has since been a constant, valued and honored resident of the place.

Mr. Webber took a leading place in his profession almost from the start. He had not been in East Saginaw six months before he had all the business he could attend to. In connection with the practice of law he, like many others in a like beginning, became agent for several insurance companies. The legal business of the Saginaw valley in those days was confined to fewer hands, proportionately, than at present. Judge M. S. Green, now of Bay City, Michigan, was then the circuit judge, and held court at the present county seat, Saginaw. Judge John Moore, and Judge Jabez G. Sutherland, author of 'Sutherland on Damages,' and Mr. Webber were the principle members of the Saginaw county bar. Moses Wisner of Pontiac, who afterwards became governor of the state, and William M. Fenton, at one time lieutenant-governor, also appeared at Saginaw to try cases before Judge Green. In those days they had two terms a year, of a week or ten days duration each. Court usually commenced at 8 A. M., an hour was given for dinner and another for supper, while the evening session ran to ten o'clock, or any point between there and midnight. All cases for the term were on call at twelve o'clock on the first day of the term. With this method of labor, and with the quality of the men who led in all the cases on trial, no wonder that those who sat on

the bench in those days can boast that they expedited business at a rate that would astonish and please the tax-payers and litigants of these days. The business of those pioneer days supplied a kind of adjudication somewhat its own—as the questions involved the running of logs in streams, riparian rights, boom rights, etc. Nearly all the lumber was carried in sailing vessels with only a capacity of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty thousand feet each. There was no small amount of litigation touching lumber contracts, and matters connected therewith.

In June, 1857, Mr. Webber formed a copartnership with John J. Wheeler, for the practice of law, under the firm name of Webber & Wheeler. This continued to December 31, 1860. Irving M. Smith, who was a cousin of Mr. Webber's, went to Saginaw in 1862, and entered his office on a salary. In 1863 a copartnership was formed between the two. Previous to that, however, Mr. Webber had been connected some six months, beginning in 1861, with Bradley M. Thompson and Chauncey H. Gage, under the firm name of Webber, Thompson & Gage. The firm of Webber & Smith came into being in July of 1863, which continued until 1869, when it was dissolved by the decision of the senior partner to retire from the general practice of law, and to enter upon the special line of labor in which he has won such success.

When the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad was begun in 1857, Mr. Webber acted as its solicitor, and on March 1, 1870, also entered upon the duties of

land commissioner of the same corporation. Since then he has devoted himself exclusively to the railroad business. He at present fills the position of general solicitor of the company, but resigned that of land commissioner on June 1, 1885. In presenting his resignation Mr. Webber said :

The greater portion of the lands having been sold, and it being evident that the quantity to be sold will grow less, and that the amount of collections will also continue to decrease, it has seemed necessary to reduce expenses.

Accompanying the resignation was a statement showing the immense amount of business that had been done by the office during his occupancy thereof. He had disposed of three hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and eight acres of land, at an average price of eleven dollars and fifty-three cents per acre. The total amount of these sales, including those of timber and village lots, was \$4,041,839.24. During the fifteen years and three months of his service the collections on account of land, timber and lot sales were as follows : Of principal, \$3,886,351.81 ; of interest, \$553,690.79 ; making a total of \$4,440,045.60. It was, as Mr. Webber's communication at the time well said, a "source of great satisfaction to all connected with the department, not only that the business has been done economically, but that it has been done in such a manner as not, in any way, to prejudice the company with the community, and that during the entire period there has not been one dollar lost to the department by peculation, or otherwise, so far as has yet been discovered."

Mr. Webber has been a director in the Flint & Pere Marquette since 1864, and has in many ways been of great use in making that railway line a source of benefit and growth to East Saginaw and the whole of northern Michigan.

From 1855 onward Mr. Webber acted as attorney and solicitor for Mr. Jesse Hoyt, the proprietor of the plat of East Saginaw, as long as he remained in active practice. After that he held the position as friendly advisor. Mr. Hoyt was a large shareholder in the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad, becoming its president in 1875, and continuing that position until his death in 1882. When the road was reorganized in 1879 and 1880, Mr. Webber was solicitor for the bondholders, and filed the bill, and procured the appointment of a receiver. The company, after reorganization, chose Mr. Hoyt as president and Mr. Webber as solicitor. When Mr. Hoyt made his will, in 1882, he named Mr. Webber as executor and trustee for all his property in the lower peninsula of Michigan—a possession that was appraised at between three and four million dollars. The confidence reposed in Mr. Webber by his friend and associate is shown by the largeness of the trust reposed in his hands ; and the absolute belief held in his business ability and honesty, and the full extent of that confidence, with all that it implied, can be best understood from the fact Mr. Hoyt entrusted the care and disposition of this vast property absolutely to the discretion of Mr. Webber, and without bonds, vesting him fully with the title and authorizing him to continue all business enterprises until

in his judgment the same could be advantageously closed.

Mr. Webber is still acting under the will, and it is needless to say to those who know him that the confidence of the deceased has been fully justified, and that these vast interests have found themselves in faithful and competent hands.

Mr. Hoyt took a large view in all matters that would enhance the interests of East Saginaw, and especially in the reaching out of lines of railroad into the surrounding country. He advanced money and built the branch railroad from the Flint & Pere Marquette at Coleman to Mt. Pleasant, a distance of fourteen miles. A company was formed for the construction of this road, of which Mr. Webber was for some time president. The line was eventually sold to the Flint & Pere Marquette. In 1881 Mr. Hoyt thought it advisable to build a narrow gauge line from East Saginaw northeastward some sixty-seven miles, and running through Saginaw, Tuscola and Huron counties to Saginaw bay. As he was in New York the greater part of the time, and as his health was not good, the main part of this work had to be done by parties on the ground, and Mr. Webber was the most active among them. The "Saginaw, Tuscola & Huron" railroad company was formed for the purpose above named. While subscriptions were taken in East Saginaw and along the line, Mr. Hoyt furnished the greater portion of the money needed. The construction was completed as far as Sebawing before Mr. Hoyt's death. He was president of the

company, and on his decease Mr. Webber was chosen to fill the vacancy. He extended the line to Bay Port, in 1884. In the fall of 1885 a further extension was commenced from Bay Port to Bad Axe, the county seat of Huron county, which was opened for business on July 1, 1886. This gives the company sixty-seven miles of road. During the past winter Mr. Webber has completed and furnished a summer hotel at Bay Port, on the shore of Wild Fowl bay, at a cost of nearly twenty thousand dollars, that is to be managed in connection with the railroad. Near Bay Port are the stone and lime quarries, owned by the Saginaw, Tuscola & Huron railroad company, which promises a large business for the road. The quarry is to become a potent factor in the building world of the Saginaw valley and vicinity, producing limestone for lime and building stone in excellent quality for buildings, grindstones, curbstones, and like purposes. The discovery and opening of these quarries has had a beneficial effect at East Saginaw and vicinity, cheapening building operations very much. This stone and lime business owes its success almost wholly to the foresight and good management of Mr. Webber, who prosecuted it in the face of considerable discouragement.

Mr. Webber has had a marked influence on the material interests of Michigan other than those detailed above. His connection with the development of the salt industry, and in placing Saginaw in the front line of the producers of that commodity, is worthy of more than a passing reference here. When the bill

to encourage the manufacture of salt was passed, 1850, Mr. Webber secured the organization of the East Saginaw salt manufacturing company, the first one to bore for salt in that part of the country. The promptness and enterprise of those who had the matter in charge is shown by the fact that the stock was all placed in two days. Mr. Jesse Hoyt gave the company an option on ten acres of land, he to be paid one hundred dollars an acre if success resulted, and to take it back without charge if no salt was found. He also subscribed to the stock.

Mr. Webber drew up the articles of incorporation for the company, and was its secretary and a director for a number of years. He took a deep interest in its fortunes from the start; and an interesting article from his pen on the discovery of salt was published in the first directory of East Saginaw. The company commenced boring in August, 1859, and found brine in the early part of 1860; the first salt of the Saginaw valley being made at that time. Although such grand results have followed this pioneer enterprise, the company did not prove itself a financial success. Nor could it well have been, in the nature of things. The whole thing was an experiment, not only as to the presence of brine in sufficient quantities but in methods of manufacturing and handling. They attempted the Syracuse plan of boiling by kettles, which was not suitable for this section. They at first bought wood for fuel, but afterwards effected a great saving in that line by the manufacture of salt in con-

nection with the sawmills, thus using up the sawdust and slabs that would otherwise be a nuisance. This salt discovery was one of the most important in that direction ever made in the country, and great credit is due all who had a part in bringing it about.

In politics, Mr. Webber has always voted the Democratic ticket, when he believed it to represent Democratic principles. He has never been an office seeker, in any sense of the word, and such public positions as he has held have come to him by the desire of those about him rather than any action of his own. From 1854 to 1856 he served as circuit court commissioner of Saginaw county, and was subsequently elected prosecuting attorney. In the spring of 1874 he was elected mayor of East Saginaw, and his administration was marked by a quiet vigor that had the effect of discouraging criminals in a very marked degree. There was no public sensation made, and no threats as to what would be done; but the authorities, under the lead of Mr. Webber, kept steadily along the line of reform, and drew the law a little closer every day. There was no retrogression from a step when it had once been taken; and as the evil-doers came to understand this fact, they made haste to mend their ways, or sought a place where they could have more license than was possible there under the new order of things.

In the fall of 1874 Mr. Webber was elected to the state senate from the Saginaw district. He gave his attention to several matters of public moment, among other things casting his vote for

the repeal of the prohibitory law and the passage of one for high license. The twenty-two years that the former plan had held sway had been practically free whisky, and he felt that the time had come for the trial of a new plan. The tax law that then went into operation has proved so great a success that Mr. Webber has never regretted the support he gave it. It was during his term of service that Senator Zachary Chandler was defeated for a reelection to the seat he had held so long—a political event that attracted the attention of the whole country because of the prominence of the defeated, and the causes that led thereto. Mr. Webber was the leader of the anti-Chandler forces, and his management of that little campaign was masterly, and crowned by the most unquestioned success. His other political services have been of signal value to his party. He was a delegate to the Democratic National convention at St. Louis in 1876, and was made chairman of the Michigan delegation. In that body he offered a resolution that was adopted, suggesting to the various state conventions the advisability of abolishing the two-thirds rule. In the fall of that year he was unanimously nominated for governor of Michigan by the Democratic state convention, and decided to accept the duty thus laid upon him. As an exposition of his political principles, and the manner in which he viewed the situation as thus presented to him, I shall take the liberty of quoting the letter in which the action of the convention was form-

ally laid before him, and his answer thereto, as follows :

DETROIT, August 10, 1876.

HON. W. L. WEBBER :

MY DEAR SIR :—I have the honor as president of the Democratic state convention, held in this city yesterday, to inform you that you received the unanimous nomination as the candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket.

It gives me pleasure to say that the good work you so efficiently aided in doing at St. Louis was fully indorsed by the convention, and it seemed eminently fit that you should be selected to lead the canvass in this state.

I have the honor to remain, very truly,

GEO. V. N. LOTHROP,

President of Convention.

EAST SAGINAW, August 15, 1876.

HON. GEO. V. LOTHROP, President Democratic State Convention :

MY DEAR SIR :—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me that at the convention held in Detroit on the ninth inst, I received the unanimous nomination as a candidate for governor on the Democratic state ticket.

My personal preference would have been gratified had the choice of the convention fallen upon some one other than myself. I have lived long enough to know that official station cannot of itself confer honor. It affords opportunities, and if the duties be performed wisely and well, the people will give respect and honor.

I know full well the cares and responsibilities which an election will impose, and I do not court them. I recognize, however, the right of the people to call any of their number to serve them in official station, and I accept the nomination. For the very flattering manner in which it was made, and for the kind terms in which you have officially advised me, I beg leave to return my thanks.

But while accepting the nomination in recognition of the principle above stated, I desire to say that I do not regard such acceptance as imposing any obligation upon me to labor for my own election, and, consequently, shall hold myself bound to labor in the political field only the same as any other citizen. I still hold to the opinion, heretofore expressed, that the good of the country would be subserved if candidates would work more efficiently for the people after election, rather than de-

vote their time and strength in laboring for themselves before election.

The principles announced in the resolutions of the state convention at Lansing, in May last, those stated in the national platform adopted at St. Louis, and those in the resolutions adopted by the convention of the present month, at Detroit, have my entire concurrence.

The theory upon which our Republican government was founded, recognizes the people as the source of all power and government as instituted for their benefit and protection. On this theory offices are created and officers chosen only to serve the best interests of the people.

The officers thus elected have such powers and duties only as are prescribed by law; and the exercise by them of powers not clearly conferred by law is a wrongful assumption of the prerogative of the people.

De Tocqueville observes that "men are not corrupted by the exercise of, power, or debased by the habit of obedience, but by the exercise of a power which they believe to be illegitimate, and by obedience to a rule which they consider to be usurped and oppressive." I believe this a sound proposition, and the exercise of powers not conferred by law is corrupting to those exercising it, and obedience to such authority is debasing to the people, and I cannot avoid the conclusion that the truth of the proposition is demonstrated by the present condition of affairs.

The protection of the law extends alike to all within its jurisdiction, and if the administration be praiseworthy the power of the state will be exerted for the protection of the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, and for the punishment of crimes against them with equal firmness and vigor. In the eye of the law all are equal.

The "spirit of party," said by Washington, in his farewell address, to be the worst enemy of a popular government, and against which he cautioned his countrymen, prevails to an extent prejudicial to good government.

In order that no expectations may be disappointed, I wish to say here, that should I be elected, I shall strive to exercise the powers conferred by law on the executive in such manner as will best promote the general good, without thought whether this party or that will be affected thereby.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM L. WEBBER.

There is a manly directness in the

above characteristic of the man, and some suggestions as well, that others in a like position can well heed and imitate. He had no concealments of opinion, and no need of evasions, and would not make pledges of any character to anyone. If elected he would do his duty to the whole public, and not view himself as merely the head of the Democratic party of Michigan. He kept to his word and made no effort from the stump or platform to gain votes. His course was so well approved that, although he was not elected, the chances of Michigan going Democratic that year being extremely small, he received more votes than had ever been cast for the successful candidate for that office in the state, and more than were given by Michigan for the President elected in the same contest. While an earnest Democrat, Mr. Webber believes that patriotism is above party fealty; has always favored hard money, and, although at times in favor of uniting forces with the Greenback party for results that he believed to be for the public good, has never adopted the Greenback money ideas.

Mr. Webber became a member of Saginaw lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of East Saginaw in 1855, the year of its organization, being the third member initiated. As the two who preceded him have passed away, he is now the oldest living Mason made in that lodge. He was made a Royal Arch Mason in Washington chapter, at Flint, and in 1864 was a charter member of Saginaw Valley chapter 31, organized at East Saginaw. He served

as high priest for three years, and in 1869 was elected grand high priest of the Grand Chapter of Michigan. In 1874 he became grand master of the Grand Lodge of F. and A. M. of Michigan. He is also a member of St. Bernard commandery No. 16 Knights Templar and was eminent commander for one year. He united with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1847. He has also taken a great interest in the promotion of the agricultural interests of the Saginaw valley and northern Michigan, and has been connected with the executive boards of the State Pomological society and of the State Agricultural society, filling the office of president in the latter in 1878-9.

Mr. Webber was married, in 1849, to Miss Nancy M. Withington of Springwater, Livingston county, New York, and two children have been the fruit of that union.

Judged even from this brief and inadequate summary of Mr. Webber's labors, one can see that he stands in the front rank of the busy men of Michigan, and that he has done much for the material and social advancement of that portion of the state in which his lot has been cast. He has been and is a valuable citizen in more ways than one, and as such is universally recognized. He has that happy combination of mental calculation and executive ability which are the surest guarantee of success in any walk of life. He possesses a judicial mind in an eminent degree, and is a logical and lucid reasoner. He won great success at the bar, and had a career before him in that direction

when circumstances and larger advantages led him to devote himself to a railroad and business life. As a lawyer one of his strong points was the attention he gave to details. He was guided by a few general principles, and he worked along them to the result he expected to reach. In making his brief, he reasoned it out on principle in his own mind, and then looked for references in support of his position. He has ever been noted for the possession of a public spirit of the broadest character, and it detracts nothing from the credit due to others to say that he has done as much for East Saginaw and northern Michigan as any other man who has been identified with its history. His whole heart was thrown into the narrow gauge enterprise of which he was the responsible head, as he believed that it was destined to do much for the city's development. Every enterprise in which he embarks has the public good as its chief object. One of his strong points is the certainty with which he can forecast the future; and he never undertakes anything in a haphazard manner. His plans are all made in advance, and he sees the end before he makes the beginning. When he is once committed to an enterprise he sees it through, and has all the courage needed to carry him by any obstacles that may present themselves. He is very exact in all his methods, and those about him or under his control soon learn that all their affairs must be in business shape before passing under his keen eye. Frank and open, he makes his criticism direct to the one who needs it, and does

not employ a devious channel therefor. When men employ their best judgment with an honest purpose, he never finds fault, even though the result is not what he had hoped. He never loses his temper, and is very considerate of those about him. He is generous in the extreme, and does a great deal of good in a quiet way. Those under him have learned to look upon him as a friend as well as an employer. But he will brook nothing that looks like dishonesty.

Mr. Webber is one of the most approachable of men, and the stranger or

poor man has as ready access to his presence or advice as the rich or great. He is intense in his convictions, either in business or politics, and will fight for his side with all the power and valor within him, but if he is vanquished he accepts the results in good faith, and holds no animosity. He has proved himself a man of the highest calibre and genuine worth in every relation of life, and the success and honor he is now enjoying are but the ripe fruits of many years of useful and generous sowing.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

THE BRUSH ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANY OF BUFFALO.

JOHN F. MOULTON.

ALTHOUGH the early life of John F. Moulton was spent in the east, and his first years of extensive business enterprise in the west, he has been so long connected with the commercial interests of Buffalo that any mention of the forces at work in the advancement and development of that city to-day with no mention of him would be a mistake. He touches the life of that city at many points, and has made himself felt through numerous avenues of usefulness. He has already accomplished much, and as he is only now in the prime of life, there is no telling what further achievements may await him in the future.

Mr. Moulton, like so many of the men whose lives have been spent in the up-building of the west, came of New

England parentage. He was born on February 3, 1841, at Beverly, Massachusetts, which was also the native place of his parents. His grandfather was Captain Tarbox Moulton, a well known sea captain and ship owner, who lost three of his vessels in the French war of 1812, while his father, Charles Moulton, was a merchant of Beverly. His mother, Abby Cole, was a member of one of the oldest and most highly respected New England families.

The youth had the advantage of the best New England schools, and made good use of them. After securing an excellent English education he engaged, at the age of eighteen, in the mercantile business conducted by his father. The partnership continued for three years, during which he learned much in a



Albany: D. B. & T. 1871

John F. Moulton

business way, and showed the possession of qualities that were certain to make him a success in the world. When twenty-one years of age he determined to do for himself altogether, and being impressed with the opportunities offered by Michigan, proceeded to Battle Creek, in that state, where he engaged in merchandise. He gained an admirable standing from the first, and was soon recognized as one of the live and stirring men of the place. In three years after his location there Mr. Moulton, when but twenty-four years of age, became one of the organizers of the Bank of Battle Creek, and was chosen one of its directors. He was soon engaged in many enterprises having for their object the advancement and development of his chosen home and the country dependent upon it. His energy, activity, and business enterprise and sagacity were marked features from the beginning of his commercial career. He was made one of the aldermen of Battle Creek in 1865, and in that position gave the public the benefit of the comprehensive views and executive energy that had produced such results in his private affairs. In 1867 he was elected president of the Battle Creek Gas company.

At about this time Mr. Moulton became interested in the Peninsula railroad, afterwards known as the Chicago & Lake Huron railroad, a western connection of the Grand Trunk road. The opportunities offered by railroading, and his very evident ability to meet and master all the problems in that new and complex science, led him to further op-

erations in that direction. He secured the contract for building the Buffalo & Jamestown road in New York state, and removed to Buffalo, which has since been his home. He pushed the work forward and completed it in 1875. He was soon afterward appointed its general manager, and in 1878 was elected its president, which position he yet holds. The cost of the road was three million three hundred thousand dollars, and under Mr. Moulton's careful yet vigorous management it has proved one of the best paying lines of the state. As a railroad man Mr. Moulton has shown an admirable combination of financial knowledge and skill, with that executive ability needed to operate a railroad, and has demonstrated the great success that would lie before him were he to abandon all other lines of business enterprise and devote himself to the one of railway management.

Mr. Moulton has touched the business life of Buffalo and western New York on more points than one. His connection with the lighting of Buffalo by electricity, and the advancement of the city along the line of progress to that extent, deserves more than a mere passing reference. The business of electric lighting attracted attention in that city early in 1881. On June 1 of that year the Brush Electric Light company of Buffalo, was incorporated with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, and the following well known business men of Buffalo became trustees for the first year: James Adams, William B. Sirret, A. P. Wright, H. G. Nolton, R. V. Pierce, Hiram Exstein, R. G. Taylor,

John F. Moulton and George Urban. The officers of the company were John F. Moulton, president; James Adams, vice-president; H. G. Nolton, secretary and treasurer.

The company secured a contract from the city for the furnishing of twelve electric lights on Ganson street, on "the island," in the southern part of the city, where there was no gas, at five thousand dollars per year, and on July 14, 1881, commenced operating the first station. During 1882 two more stations were added in other parts of the city, and about two hundred lights furnished. Experience came with two or three years' operating, and as better methods suggested themselves, the plan of substations was abandoned, and in May, 1884, the company took possession of a new station erected specially for the electric light business, on the corner of Mohawk, Wilkeson and Seventh streets. The building is a solid, substantial brick structure, and has received a vast amount of attention from the electric light fraternity. On the first floor is the boiler room, one hundred and twenty by fifty feet in size. A fine battery of nine one hundred horse-power steel boilers, with space for three more, faces the coal supply room, which has a capacity of nearly one thousand tons. The boilers are all set on the Murphy patent smokeless furnace, made at Detroit, Michigan. By the aid of these furnaces, bituminous slack coal is burned exclusively, absolutely without smoke. The engine and dynamo room, sixty by one hundred and twenty feet, is also on the first floor. Seventeen 65-2000 can-

dle power Brush dynamos form two rows through the centre of the room, and are operated by individual automatic engines of sixty-five horse-power each, of the Westinghouse manufacture. The engines are placed on solid foundations on either side of the room, and connected with dynamos by belts. Fifteen of these machines and engines are used constantly, and two held in reserve in case of accident. A large switch-board at one end of the apartment permits any circuit to be operated by any machine.

The company are now furnishing the city of Buffalo five hundred and forty-six lights for the public streets and parks, and two hundred and eighty private lights—a total of eight hundred and twenty-six lights, and an increase of twenty-five per cent. over a year ago. The business is rapidly growing, and one thousand lights are expected to be in operation soon. It requires nearly two hundred miles of No. 4 copper wire to furnish the above lights; and some of the circuits extending to the city limits are twenty miles long. The present officers of the company are John F. Moulton, president; James Adams, vice president; William S. Frear, secretary; and John M. Brinker, treasurer; and the directors are: John F. Moulton, James Adams, A. P. Wright, Andrew Langdon, Daniel O'Day, R. W. Jones, John M. Brinker, N. C. Scoville and Thomas Langdon. The executive office of the company is at the Coal and Iron Exchange, rooms 5 and 6, No. 257 Washington street. The enterprise is one of natural pride to the city in which it is

located, and has reflected credit on the public-spirited men who brought it into being and have made it what it is.

Mr. Moulton, in addition to the above business connections, is also vice-president of the United States Concave Spring company, and the United States Equipment company, in which offices his rare executive ability found still further scope and gave him an added sphere of usefulness. He has also been largely interested in Colorado mining operations; and is a member of the heavy coal and lumber firm of Buffalo, that of Adams, Moulton & Company, in which his son, Frank T. Moulton, is engaged. It is one of the leading firms of Buffalo and has a large business and extensive connections. Mr. Moulton was married to Miss Lucy O. Giles of Beverly, Massachusetts, who is descended

from an old and respected New England family. Three children have been the fruit of that union, the son above mentioned and two daughters.

Mr. Moulton has well earned the high position he holds in the business world, and the material results he has produced while yet a young man, comparatively speaking, are the fruits of his own ability, energy and wisdom. In his business intercourse with men he is prompt and energetic in manner, courteous to all, bold and vigorous in counsel and decision upon important measures, almost unerring in his judgment of men and measures, and of sterling integrity. In his personal relations he is a true friend and companionable, and loyal to every claim that friendship or duty can make upon him.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

EXCELLENTLY well written and beautifully printed is the monograph just published in Baltimore, the work of Clayton C. Hall, entitled "The Great Seal of Maryland"—a paper read before the Maryland Historical society, December 14, 1885. It is No. 23 of the Peabody Fund publications.

"Most of the states," says Mr. Hall, "have upon their seals emblems indicative of agriculture and commerce, plenty and prosperity, or kindred subjects, represented in a more or less pictorial or allegorical manner. The colonies that were governed directly under the British crown formerly had seals upon which were symbols of the royal authority; but these were discarded at the time of the Revolution, and in their stead were adopted devices more in harmony with the new order of affairs." But "the Great Seal of Maryland" presents a marked contrast to those of the other states of the American Union in that its device consists of armorial bearings of a strictly heraldic character, being, in fact, the family arms of the Lords Baltimore, which were placed by the first proprietary upon the seal of the province at the time of its founding."

"Maryland," continues Mr. Hall, "like the other states, put aside shortly after the Revolution the seal in use during the colonial period and adopted one supposed to be more in consonance with the spirit of republican institutions; but after a while the historic interest attaching to the old provincial seal came to be recognized, and the ancient coat-of-arms was finally, by legislative enactment, restored to the seal of the state. Interest in the subject has lately been revived by the discovery at Annapolis of the old seal used under the proprietary government of the Lords Baltimore, which was believed to have been long ago destroyed. It is safe to say that the old silver

seal thus recently brought to light is the most interesting, if not the oldest relic of the kind in this country."

"I ENTERTAIN," wrote Washington to Matthew Carey, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1788, "an high idea of the utility of periodical publications; insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the Museum and Magazine, as well as common gazettes, might be spread through every city, town and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people."

THE history of the "Moravian Lands" in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio, is an interesting one. After the dispersion of the "Moravian Indian Mission" from the valley of the Tuscarawas river by the English and their several allies, and the killing by Williamson's men of about ninety "Moravian Indians" at Gnadenhütten, in March, 1782, the Moravian church, whose headquarters in America were then (as now) at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, petitioned congress for a reservation of the lands previously occupied by the mission, which, as was claimed, had been granted them by the Delawares in 1772. On the twentieth of May, 1785, congress passed an act that the towns of Gnadenhütten, Schoenbrunn and Salem and so much of the adjoining land as in the judgment of the geographer of the United States might be sufficient for them, together with the buildings and other improvements, should be reserved for the sole use of the "Moravian Indians" settled there. Subsequently, on the first of June, 1796, further legislation was had making more definite what

had before been enacted. Three tracts of land were now granted, of four thousand acres each, including the sites of the before-mentioned towns, not to the Indians, however, but to the Moravian church in trust for them.

The lands thus granted were soon after surveyed, they being known as the Gnadenhütten, Schoenbrunn and Salem tracts. A patent was issued for these in 1798, in accordance with the act of congress of June, 1796. The Indians were collected in a new village called Goshen, near the former Schoenbrunn. It was finally thought best that the Indians should be removed and that the church should divest itself of its trusteeship; so, on the fourth of August, 1823, a preliminary step was taken by an agreement on the part of the United States and the church for a retrocession of the lands to the general government. The Indians, by a subsequent treaty, were granted lands in the west in lieu of the three tracts, and also a small annuity. Under an act of congress, of the twenty-sixth of May, 1824, the whole of the "Moravian Lands" in the Tuscarawas valley were surveyed and sold, the purchasers thereof getting patents, of course, from the United States.

"HUNDREDS of families of squatters," wrote James Riley, a deputy United States surveyor, from Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the fourteenth of November, 1820, to Edward Tiffin, surveyor-general, "have settled themselves on the public lands along down the Maumee river; no less than twenty at and about the junction of the Auglaize river, where Fort Defiance formerly stood. That situation is very high and beautiful. The lands in its vicinity are of the best quality. Several thousand acres of prairie, very rich, lie immediately east of that point, so desirable on many accounts; and hundreds of people have called on me this season, in the woods, begging to be informed when the lands at and about Defiance, as well as at Fort Wayne, were to be surveyed and sold, as they are waiting with the greatest impatience to make purchases, either in these towns or vicinity."

DURING the Revolution one of the most disastrous invasions of Kentucky by the enemy was against two stockades (forts) in the "Blue Grass Region." This was in 1780, and proved highly disastrous to the early settlers of that portion of Kentucky. The "Blue Grass Region" is, therefore, historic ground—one of peculiar interest to the student of western history. Strictly speaking, this "Region" is quite extensive; but the term, in a popular sense, applies only to a remarkable body (or area) of land in the heart of that state comprising six or eight counties, the center of which is the city of Lexington. The "Blue Grass Region" is so called because of its being underlaid by a peculiar, decomposable limestone, which gives to its grass a richness and permanent luxuriance nowhere else to be found. This grass, which is indigenous, but not in fact "blue," is propagated without cultivation; comes up thick and juicy early in the spring; ripens in June; renews its growth in autumn, and, retaining its verdure in spite of snow and ice, furnishes pasturage during the entire winter.

SPEAKING of Lexington reminds us that it is the original home of western Masonry. Here was organized the first lodge of Freemasons in the west. It was first known as "No. 25," but afterward named "No. 1." It was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Virginia on the seventeenth of November, 1788.

THE 'Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science' (Herbert B. Adams, editor), Fourth Series (VII, VIII, IX), is a "History of the Land Question in the United States," by Shosuke Sato. This work was undertaken in pursuance of special instructions from the Japanese government to investigate certain questions of agrarian and economic interest in the United States. The subject has three principal divisions: (1) Formation of the public domain; (2) administration of the public domain; and (3) the land system of the United States. Under the second head, the

author treats of the famous ordinance of 1787, discussing, among other things, its authorship (pp. 104-117). We have here an almost complete bibliography—the names of all those who have written concerning it, and where their contributions may be found.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE'S generous gift of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Allegheny city, Pennsylvania, for a free library and music hall, has been accepted by the authorities of that city. The building will be of granite, fire-proof, and three stories high. The first floor is intended for a library, the second for a magnificent music hall, and the third for an art gallery. On Monday, May 31, the Pittsburgh select council and the chamber of commerce appointed committees to take steps to secure Mr. Carnegie's generous offer of five hundred thousand dollars toward establishing a free library also in that city.

THE name of Joel Barlow—poet, statesman and philosopher—has been “rescued from the waters of oblivion,” very largely by his poem in praise of hasty-pudding, written in Chambery, Savoy, in January, 1793. These are the opening words of “Canto I.”:

Ye Alps audacious, through the heavens that rise,
To cramp the day and hide me from the skies;
Ye Gallic flags, that, o'er their heights unfurled,
Bear death to kings and freedom to the world,
I sing not you. A softer theme I choose,
A virgin theme, unconscious of the muse,
But fruitful, rich, well suited to inspire
The purest frenzy of poetic fire.
Despise it not, ye bards to terror steel'd,
Who hurl your thunders round the epic field;
Nor ye who strain your midnight throats to sing
Joys that the vineyard and the still-house bring;
Or on some distant fair your notes employ,
And speak of raptures that you ne'er enjoy.
I sing the sweets I know, the charms I feel,
My morning incense, and my evening meal—
The sweets of *Hasty-Pudding*.

Now, the critic insists, as hasty-pudding, as an article of food, is passing out of use, that when the last bowl of it has been eaten, the poem will be forgotten. But this is doubtful.

THE city of Alexandria, Virginia, is a port of entry and county-seat of Alexandria county. It is located on the right bank of the Potomac river, seven miles below Washington. The river, here a mile wide, forms a commodious harbor, sufficiently deep for the largest ships. From a Washington letter in the *Chicago Tribune*, we glean some interesting facts concerning this ancient mart, which, a century ago, rivaled Baltimore. General Washington, Governor Lee and other prominent Virginians interested themselves in its early development, and at one time thought it would become a greater city than Baltimore. Its claims were strongly advanced as a suitable place for the location of the permanent seat of the government. A large trade was done with the West Indies and some with China. The country around Alexandria then, for many miles back from the river, was settled by the descendants of the early English colonists, Lord Fairfax owning a large estate. Mount Vernon, ten miles below, was an estate of over six thousand acres, and the Arlington estate, seven miles up the river, contained several thousand acres, acquired by a royal charter during the reign of George II. The Lees, Minors, Botts, Berkeleys, Fitzhues and Dangerfields, all owned large estates and hundreds of slaves, raising large crops of tobacco and wheat, all of which was shipped from this young city. West India rum and fine wines were largely imported; for all the nabobs were high livers and spent much time in entertainment and fox-hunting. But, like many other prominent cities in the early years of the nation, Alexandria failed to achieve the prominence that was anticipated. The causes were many. The channels of trade and commerce turned in other directions. It is now a city of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and all of its ancient glory is departed.

FROM the fall of 1781 to the fall of 1783, Brigadier-general William Irvine was in command of Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh. This was a very interesting period in the west, and many stirring scenes were enacted which have passed

into history. Letters written to General Irvine during those years, whether from persons connected with the military or residents in civil life in Pittsburgh and vicinity, on whatever subject written, are most certain to contain some information of value. The two following have never before been published:

I.

FORT PITT, January 25, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL:

I beg your interest in getting me the appointment of quartermaster. If any are to be appointed, I may as well continue, unless they [the general government] will pay me off. The public have had all I could spare and my services also; so that, as I cannot get the sum due, I had better continue. I have to go to John Small's to saw the quantity of plank the public will stand in need of. Two-inch plank, twelve and a half and ten inches wide—fifteen thousand feet are what Captain [Isaac] Craig made the bill for and the cash to be paid in the spring. This is to put you in mind of money. As this article [the lumber] will sink nearly one hundred pounds, you will be the better able to judge what sum will be sufficient to carry on business at this post.

From your sincere friend, etc.,

SAMUEL SAMPLE.

II.

JACOB'S CREEK, April 2, 1782.

SIR: After my best compliments to you, I inform you that I arrived safe at Fort Pitt.

At my arrival, I saw the poor man whose name is Robert [illegible], that made mention of to your Honor, concerning a cow that Captain [illegible] took as he came up, with your Honor's baggage; which, from his clandestine manner of taking the cow, it seems that he did not want to make the least satisfaction for the same. As the poor man is in very low circumstances, I hope you will take him under your consideration.

I remain, etc.,

HENRY RHODES.

THE keystone of Von Ranke's method as a historian was, the *St. James' Gazette* says, "the old Benedictine practice of unwearying drudgery. Nothing is too small, nothing too mean or insignificant for the true historian, any more than for the true entomologist." At the same time, it is plain to be seen that many historians fail in properly subordinating minor details to more important ones.

"THE most conspicuous founders," says the *Baltimore Sun*, "of the planter families came

over during the second half of the seventeenth century. One, a very liberal and energetic man, married the granddaughter of Pocahontas, and his son, devoting himself to planting and trading on the James river, found the bulk of his profits in an immense traffic with his relatives, the Indians, who flocked as one man to his support. From this marriage many existing Virginia families are directly descended, and they are proud of their Indian blood. Eccentric John Randolph was a descendant, and was boastful of his relationship with the imperial house of Powhatan, whose grave, by the way, is preserved a few miles below Richmond, and affords a pleasant Sunday afternoon stroll for the citizens. Jefferson also was related to the Indians, but he was careful not to allude in any triumphant spirit to the redness of his blood, being the father of the Declaration of Independence. John Rolfe, the princess' husband, was of Norman descent with William, the Conqueror, in England, and a graduate of Oxford; the specimens of his writings handed down attest both his scholarship and benevolence. He was the first American historian, and as such deserves mention, though his history was short, confined to a brief description, dedicated to the king, of the petty colony; but his fame rests on a larger basis, viz: that of having been the first tobacco planter; of demonstrating its importance as a vast source of wealth to the future planters. In one of his letters he declares that his main motive in marrying the princess was her religious instruction; whatever his motive, certainly his marriage was a success. His wife's descendants are either so numerous or held in such high honor as to have given rise to the saying outside of the borders of the state, that "Every family in Virginia is descended from Pocahontas." It has been suggested, however, by a Virginia antiquarian, that while the claimants are many, the genuine descendants of Pocahontas are few.

THE '*Bibliotheca Hispano-Americana*' of Beristani de Souza, printed in Mexico in 1816-21, is in three volumes and contains the earliest

list of "Americana" published in America. It covers the writers who were born or who flourished in Spanish America, and of course includes works not relating to the New World. It has become the rarest of all American bibliographical works which have been put on sale.

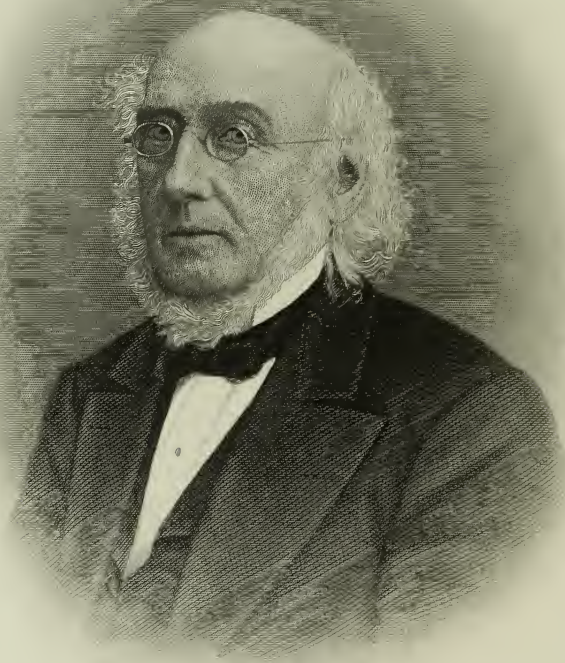
THE first newspaper printed and published west of the Mississippi was the *Missouri Gazette*. The first number (weekly) was issued on the twelfth day of July, 1808. It was gotten out by Joseph Charless, assisted by Jacob Hinkle. It was printed upon a sheet of foolscap paper, twelve and one-half inches by seven and three-fourths inches, in small pica type, and was worked off on an old-fashioned Ramage press. The paper was published until 1822, when its name was changed to the *Missouri Republican*, under which name it still continues.

MORE than one hundred delegates to the ninth general meeting of the American Library association assembled in Milwaukee on July 7. The president, W. F. Poole, of the Chicago public library, delivered an able address. One among the many effective points he made was this: "What this association has done in bringing the public libraries and the public schools into close relations—the work of one supplementing the work of the other in the general system of education—is an object of sufficient importance to justify its ex-

istence." The session of three days' continuance was one of great interest.

"THERE is," says the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, "no better stock in America, distinguished as it is by good sense, religious fervor, strong convictions and steadiness of purpose, than the Scotch-Irish." This we believe to be true; and, appropos of this, we may state that Dr. William Henry Egle of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, has recently published a book of seven hundred and twenty pages, entitled "Pennsylvania Genealogies, Scotch, Irish and German." It contains sixty distinct pedigrees, including seventy families. Forty-five of the former are those of the Scotch-Irish families, and the rest of German and Swiss families. As many of these have a direct bearing upon, and an intimate association with, trans-Alleghany annals, the importance of the work will be readily appreciated by the student of western history.

THE first newspaper published in Virginia was the *Virginia Gazette*, issued weekly by William Parks, proprietor. The first number appeared on the first day of July, 1736. Mr. Parks died in 1750, and some months after his death, the paper was discontinued. It was revived in 1751, the first number appearing in February of that year. The *Gazette* was continued until the commencement of the Revolution.



Stephen Pelch

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SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

ON a certain day in August, 1620, some Dutch traders brought twenty negroes to Jamestown, Virginia and sold them as slaves to the settlers. On the twenty-first day of December, in the same year, the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts. The one date witnessed the planting in America of the seeds of slavery. The other saw a people gain foothold in the new world, who were destined to greatly enlarge the boundaries of liberty. Thus occurred almost simultaneously two events, with results so great and final outcome so different, but whose less remote consequences were fated to come in direct conflict. The first was the beginning of a pernicious system, doomed to perish in the tragedy of civil war, after nearly two hundred and fifty years of growth and power. The other was the landing of a hundred pilgrims in an unknown wilderness, destined to be the home of

liberty, peopled with the uncompromising foes of African slavery.

These events, so nearly coincident, contained the germs of two antagonistic civilizations that were to have place in the New World. The one starting at Plymouth—so insignificant at first and apparently of little moment, even after the lapse of years—has finally grown in volume and increased in momentum till a whole continent seems about to come under its influence. The other having its origin at Jamestown in what seemed a mere incident, but from which grew an institution that so reacted upon the people of its section as to change their habits, thoughts and instincts, and after a time make them representatives of another and opposite type of civilization—a civilization that was destined to gather strength with the flight of years, and bring under its sway all the region of country south of the Ohio, then pass

westward beyond the Mississippi, next sweep north across the Missouri, and finally contend for empire in all the western territory.

Thus were developed two great social forces that, though diametrically opposite in character, rested side by side in a quiescent state for one hundred and fifty years, while under monarchical rule. But the moment kingly authority was thrown off, and a Democratic form of government assumed, these forces became active, grew aggressive towards each other, and for more than three-quarters of a century contended for the mastery, till finally, like two mighty giants, they grappled in a life and death struggle.

The Portuguese were pioneers in the practice of trading in negro slaves. But in due time they were followed by the Dutch, Spanish and English. As labor was very cheap in England, that country did not afford a market to the slave traffic. But in America the Spanish and Portuguese colonists, also the English settlers in Virginia and Maryland, after the introduction of tobacco culture, became steady purchasers of negroes.

After a time, by importation and natural increase, the colored race became numerous and slavery existed in all the English colonies.

About forty years after the system of slavery was introduced, laws began to be enacted for its control. Throughout Europe it was held that Christians could not be enslaved. In the course of time many negroes in the colonies became converts to Christianity; but laws were enacted, notwithstanding the European

precedent to the contrary, to keep these Christian people and their children in bondage.

In relation to serfdom in Europe, the English courts had decided that the condition of the father, whether bond or free, determined that of his offspring. In the colonies many female slaves had children whose fathers were freemen, but again the rigor of the law came in and consigned these children, like their mothers, to everlasting slavery. But so zealous were the law-makers for the spread of slavery, that a law was even passed declaring that the offspring of a free white woman by a slave should inherit the father's bondage.

An owner of slaves could punish them to the extent of death and the law declared it no crime. In 1671, Maryland passed an act to encourage the importation of slaves. In 1660 South Carolina was first settled, and in a scheme of government drawn up for the colony by the celebrated John Locke, it was provided that "every freeman of South Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his slaves of what opinion and religion whatsoever." Slaves could be set free only for meritorious conduct, and then a special permit had to be obtained from the governor. They were forbidden by law to raise or own horses, cows, hogs or any other domestic animals. They were also prohibited from learning to read, write or engage in any trade on their own account.

Thus it will be seen that the tendency of all early legislation concerning the slave, was to make his condition one of absolute degradation and draw more and

more of his race into the iron bonds of slavery and keep them there forever.

After the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the laws began to assume a more lenient form towards the negro and some effort was even made to ameliorate his condition. Finally, towards the middle of the eighteenth century the evils of slavery came to be recognized and its abolition found advocates. The centres of anti-slavery sentiment were found among the Puritans of Massachusetts and Quakers of Pennsylvania, while pro-slavery advocates were residents mainly of the south. An exception, however, was found in the early history of Georgia. This colony was settled in 1732, under the auspices of General Oglethorpe. Its government was vested in a board of trustees, who were anxious to secure a virtuous and thrifty population. To further this end, the holding of slaves was forbidden and the use of rum prohibited. This, by the way, is perhaps the earliest prohibitory liquor law on record. In about twenty years after its first settlement, however, slavery became prevalent in Georgia and afterwards some of its warmest advocates were citizens of that locality.

When the convention to revise the constitution met in 1787, among the delegates from the north were many opponents of slavery. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia were zealous upholders of this institution, those from Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina were more conservative in its support, while a few from the latter states

took their places in the ranks of the opposition.

In fixing the basis of representation, it was provided that each state should have one representative in congress for each thirty thousand inhabitants. The delegates from the south urged that as the north was more populous than their section, they would not have due representation unless their slaves were enumerated. To this, members from the north replied that if slaves were to be enumerated and have representation like freemen, then they were entitled to liberty and other rights of freemen. If, on the other hand, they were property, and as property were to have representation, then property from the north should likewise have representation. Finally, as a sort of compromise, it was agreed that three-fifths of the whole number of slaves should be added to the total white population, and upon the aggregate thus formed, representation was to be based.

After the subject had been disposed of in this manner, the northern delegates complained that this would be an incentive to the south to import more slaves, as the more slaves, the greater would be the southern representation in congress. They further urged that as the slave trade had been prohibited by all the states except North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, it was the duty of these to fall in line and do likewise. After much discussion it was ultimately arranged that the importation of slaves should continue till 1808 and then cease.

A clause was put in the constitution

providing that slaves escaping from their masters and finding their way into other states should be returned to their owners. This provision, called the fugitive slave law, afterwards became specially odious to the opponents of slavery.

Three-fifths representation—the provision by which the slave trade was not abolished till 1808, thus allowing it to continue twenty years—and the fugitive slave law are frequently called the compromises of the constitution, as they were mainly opposed by anti-slavery members of the convention, while the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia stated plainly that their states would not become members of the Federal Union unless these provisions became part of the constitution. But notwithstanding the three measures in the constitution regarding slavery, the word *slave* does not occur in that instrument; the phrases, “all other persons,” “importation of such persons,” “persons held to service,” etc., are used instead. It is said that the majority of the framers of the constitution believed slavery would become extinct in the United States, soon after the termination of the slave trade in 1808, and hence avoided direct reference to the terms slave and slavery.

But in this opinion they were greatly mistaken. As in less than five years after the ratification of the constitution, the demand for more and more slaves in the south, and the probability of the slave system taking firm root in all the southern section of the Union became apparent. And strange to say, these results were brought about, largely, by a Yankee inventor.

Previous to this time, slave labor had been mainly used in the cultivation of tobacco, rice, indigo and cotton. But toward the close of the last century, cotton came rapidly to the front as the main production of the south.

The cotton gin was invented in 1793 by Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts. This invention revolutionized the cotton-producing industry in America—in fact virtually created it, as up to this time, the separation of the fibre from the cotton seeds was an exceedingly tedious process, and done only by hand.

The cotton plant was introduced in America as early as 1536, but for more than two hundred and fifty years afterwards, the amount produced was very limited. A glance at the statistics of cotton exportation will show the change wrought by the cotton gin. In 1791, two years before Whitney's invention, the number of pounds exported was 189,316. In 1800, only seven years after the gin first came in use, the aggregate of pounds exported had risen to nearly 17,000,000. In 1821 the export of cotton had increased to over 124,000,000 pounds, and in 1860 reached the enormous total of 2,163,000,000 pounds.

At the beginning of the present century slavery was either done away with or in process of extinction in all the states north of Maryland, and thirteen years before had been prohibited in the territory north of the Ohio river. But among the things which the young and vigorous slave-power of the south could at this period count in its favor were: The recognition by the national constitution of at least some of its claims;

greatly increased importance of the cotton-growing interest; eight states in which slavery was firmly established and sustained by both the interest and sentiment of the people. With all this in his favor, it was but natural that the slave-owner should look about him for more territory in which his favorite system could expand almost indefinitely. In a short time circumstances came up by which the area of the United States was nearly doubled. When independence was achieved, the boundaries of the national government extended from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi river on the west, and on the north from the great lakes, and a line eastward to the ocean, to the thirty-first parallel on the south. Spain was in possession of all south and west of our borders. But in 1800 Spain ceded the Louisiana territory to France, from whom it was purchased in 1803 by the United States for fifteen million dollars—probably the most profitable real estate investment on record. The inhabitants of the Mississippi valley had for some time been subjected to many vexations because the mouth of their great river was in possession of a foreign power. As the river was the only outlet for the commerce of the interior, many complications necessarily arose. To put an end to these was one of the objects of purchase.

But President Jefferson, with whom the acquisition of Louisiana was a favorite scheme, was far-seeing and believed that in the course of time this vast region would contain a dense population and teem with untold millions

of wealth. In outline the Louisiana territory, as ultimately defined, may not inaptly be compared to an inverted triangle, having for its base so much of the southern boundary of the British possession as lies between the Rocky mountains and Lake Superior; for its perpendicular the Mississippi river; for its apex the southern border of the present state of Louisiana; and for its irregular hypotenuse a zigzag line stretching from the mouth of the Sabine river northwest to the Rocky mountains, thence along this mountain chain, in the same general direction, to the British boundary.

Some idea of the magnitude of Jefferson's purchase may be formed by calling to mind that this vast territory to-day embraces the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and large portions of Colorado and Minnesota and the territories of Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and Indian Territory; that its population perhaps exceeds ten millions—nearly twice the number of people in the whole Union when Jefferson was first inaugurated—and that there are counties in Kansas—one of the newer states in which the farming lands alone would perhaps sell for more than the first cost of the Louisiana territory.

In 1812 Louisiana, from the southern portion of this territory, applied for admission as a slave state, and on this account received considerable opposition. But in the end no real obstacle was put in the way of her taking position in the family of states. But eight years later when Missouri sought to become a

member of the Union, with a constitution providing for the existence of slavery, she had to face a whirlwind of opposition. Since the formation of the national government ten new states had joined the original thirteen. And of these five, namely, Vermont, Maine, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, had been added to the roll of free states, while the list of slave states had been swelled by an equal number in the admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. At this time (1820) opposition to slavery had not become a part of the code of any political party. But in spirit if not in organized form opposition to slavery in the New England states and in some other sections of the north, notably in Pennsylvania and Ohio, was intense. The opposition to the admission of Missouri was met on the part of the south with the threat that unless she was admitted the slave states would withdraw from the Union. Finally it was agreed, in what afterwards became famous as the Missouri compromise, that Missouri should come into the Union as a slave state, but in the future slavery should not extend north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes.

Thus Missouri became a slave state. But as such her position was unnatural and peculiar, and in the end proved disastrous to the slave power.

Her climate was uncongenial to the negro; her products such as did not afford even a poor excuse for slave labor; and her territory ran up alongside of Illinois, a part of the original northwestern territory, consecrated to

freedom a third of a century before. As the population of Missouri was mainly from the south and favored slavery, the state constituted the most advanced ground of this institution, and became, so to speak, an out-post of the slave-power. In the course of time influences went out from her borders, and some of her people perpetrated deeds specially irritating to the friends of freedom that were destined to have a full share in precipitating the final overthrow of slavery.

After the admission of Missouri, public interest in the slavery question for a time died away. But for a number of years afterwards the opponents of slavery were even denied a hearing in the halls of congress. At last, through the long and persistent efforts of one man, the right of petition was secured, and following this came the privilege of free discussion upon slavery in congress.

The man to whom the country is indebted for securing these rights was John Quincy Adams. He was born in 1767, and being the son of a leading statesman of the Revolutionary period, his education, association and training were such as fitted him for the highest statesmanship. After having served as foreign minister, United States senator, secretary of state and President, at the age of sixty-four he was elected to congress from the district of Plymouth, Massachusetts. His age, ripe scholarship, high character and extended experience in public life gave him prestige above all others. In general political information and accurate knowledge of parliamentary usages he had no equal.

He was a most assiduous and painstaking worker, and never shirked responsibility. For the mere approbation of men, he cared but little. From what he deemed the right line of duty nothing could make him swerve. Give such a man a cool head and with a brave spirit and inflexibility of purpose—all of which Adams had in an eminent degree—and he will make his way against all odds.

In a little time after taking his seat, in 1831, he presented a petition to congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. And following this, other petitions of similar character were from time to time brought before the house by him. At first this action excited but little notice, but it finally provoked much opposition. Adams kept right on and continued to ply the house with petition after petition, embodying various forms of opposition to slavery. Meantime he became noted throughout the country as the great advocate of the right of petition in the abstract. As a result of this, he was almost literally flooded with petitions, nearly all in some form opposing slavery. These he continued faithfully to present—the number presented one day reaching three hundred.

Adams now found the advocates of slavery solidly arrayed against him, and among them were many brilliant and determined men. Finally, in 1836, a resolution was passed by congress providing in substance that all papers, memorials, etc., in any way relating to the slavery question, should be laid on the table without debate and without being

entered on the journal of the house. This was called the "Atherton gag" from the name of the member who first introduced the measure. Adams, however, continued the presentation of anti-slavery petitions. The exasperation of the pro-slavery members now knew no bounds, and they attacked Adams in every conceivable way. They taunted, derided, threatened to expel him from the house, and drew up resolutions of censure, but still there was no let up in the everlasting array of petitions which he presented. Against the combined opposition of the advocates of slavery he was more than a match. His position had the solidity of a stone wall against which the impetuous southerners dashed, harming only themselves. At each recurring session Adams moved for the doing away of the "gag" rule, but was uniformly overruled till the session of 1844, when the infamous measure was done away with. And whatever at subsequent times may have been the judgment of congress concerning the expediency of slavery discussions, the *right* to indulge in such discussions was never after seriously questioned.

But while Adams was valiantly battling for the right of petition in congress, and in this way aiding the anti-slavery cause, others in their several fields were as faithfully working for the same interest. William Lloyd Garrison, in 1831, established the *Liberator* at Boston, and in this paper for more than a third of a century—till, indeed, after the downfall of slavery—continued to advocate the cause of universal freedom.

Whittier, the gifted Quaker poet, in earnest, burning verse, portrayed the wrongs and sufferings of the slave.

And later, Harriet Beecher Stowe, in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' delineated in a most wonderful manner the evils and abuses of slavery. The simplicity of this work, and yet the graphic style in which it was written, made it the most universally read book of its time. Rich and poor, high and low, the learned and unlearned, were alike fascinated by its pages, and perhaps no other agency did so much to arouse the masses to a sense of the gross injustice of the slave system.

Without disparagement to scores of other prominent Abolitionists, it must be said that the anti-slavery cause found in John Q. Adams its great legislator and Parliamentarian ; in William Lloyd Garrison its journalist ; in Wendell Phillips its orator ; in Whittier its poet, and in Harriet Beecher Stowe its dramatist.

Nor was the cause, even in its earlier history, to remain long without its martyr, for a tragic affair, in the autumn of 1837, at Alton, Illinois, supplied one in the death of O. P. Lovejoy.

Lovejoy, a young Presbyterian minister, located at St. Louis, Missouri, about 1831, as editor of the *Observer*, a religious newspaper.

In his editorial capacity he spoke from time to time, mildly but firmly against the institution of slavery. For his course in this matter, he was waited upon by citizens of St. Louis and requested to desist. He courteously but earnestly answered that he must be allowed the privilege of speaking his sentiments on *all* questions.

Meantime a mob took a negro criminal from the public jail in St. Louis, tied him to a tree and burned him ; and when the matter was brought before the grand jury for investigation, Judge Lawless (who seemed at any rate to have been fitly named) charged the jury that if it was found that the mob was moved by some "mysterious, metaphysical and almost electric phrensy. . . . Act not at all in the matter, it transcends your judgment, it is beyond the reach of human law." Lovejoy criticised the whole matter in the *Observer* and branded it an outrage upon justice. Very soon after a mob destroyed his paper. He resolved to remove and re-establish his journal at Alton, Illinois, twenty miles up the river from St. Louis. But upon being landed there a mob at once destroyed his press. The citizens of Alton reimbursed him for his loss ; another press was procured, but was no sooner set up than a mob invaded the office and broke it up. Another press was set up only to be broken up by another mob. Finally a number of Lovejoy's friends determined to defend him and his property with their lives if needs be. They met with him on the evening of November 7, 1837, at the warehouse where his press was stored and remained there several hours, when as everything was quiet, all but about a dozen persons went to their homes.

Soon after this thirty or forty, composing a drunken mob, sallied out from the drinking places near by, and attacked the warehouse with stones and bricks and any other missiles they could lay hands upon. The building was fin-

ally fired and when the inmates came out shots were discharged at them, one of which mortally wounded Lovejoy.

His tragic death, at the hands of a pro-slavery mob, created much excitement throughout the north, and among other public meetings held to take cognizance of the matter, one was called in Boston at which a young and hitherto unknown man electrified the audience by his burning eloquence and scathing arraignment of the slave owner and slave system. His name was *Wendell Phillips*.

At the beginning of President Polk's administration in 1845, all of the territory available for slave states had been utilized. As before stated, Louisiana in 1812, and Missouri in 1821, became slave states, and following these in 1836 Arkansas as a slave state was admitted into the Union. All of these were from the original Louisiana purchase of 1803. Florida, which had been purchased from Spain in 1819, came into the Union the last day of Tyler's administration, March 3, 1845, a slave state. Before this time the region of country known as the Indian territory had been set aside for permanent occupancy by the Indians. And as by the terms of the Missouri compromise slavery was prohibited from going north of the line thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, unless the government acquired more territory in southern latitudes, the extension of slavery must needs cease. This condition of things had long been thoroughly appreciated by the pro-slavery leaders, and for more than ten years they had had eager eyes fastened upon Texas.

Texas was settled a number of years before by emigrants from the United States who became restless under Mexican rule and finally declared her independence.

Under the leadership of General Houston, the Texans maintained a successful war against Mexico for separate existence. In 1845 Texas was annexed to the United States, and as a result the Mexican war followed.

The annexation of Texas was bitterly opposed by the opponents of slavery. But the pro-slavery leaders threatened to withdraw their states from the Union unless their plans were acquiesced in.

Slavery agitation again reached a high pitch, but was checked for two years by the war with Mexico, which absorbed the attention of the country. This war resulted in not only putting the United States government in possession of Texas, but it extended our possessions to the Pacific ocean and gave us all the territory north to Oregon. The territory thus acquired to-day constitutes the states of Texas, part of Colorado, Nevada and California, and the territories or Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

The region of country to-day embraced by the state of Oregon and the territories of Idaho and Washington had meantime been acquired by the right of discovery, and by treaties with Spain, England and Mexico.

This great region of country, like the Louisiana purchase, was triangular in shape, but unlike the Louisiana territory, its great base rested in southern latitudes and was hence in this regard more favorable to the slave interest. In 1848

Texas was admitted into the Union as a slave state, and shortly afterwards Wisconsin came in as a free state. This made thirty states in all and of these just one half, fifteen, were slave and fifteen free states.

In 1848 gold was discovered in California, and soon after a great tide of emigration set in to that region. As a consequence the population increased in an unprecedented ratio, and towards the close of the year 1849 California applied for admission as a free state. On this account much opposition was made to her coming in the Union by the slave states. The leaders from the south saw that the free states would thus gain an advantage; that their section, which had so long been in the ascendant, in the senate was to be thrown in the minority.

Meantime the agitation of the slavery question reached a high pitch, and to allay the excitement throughout the country, Clay, in the senate, proposed a series of measures in the way of compromise, popularly known as the "Omnibus bill." But these measures, as a whole, failed to pass, and finally California was admitted as a free state. And to in some degree satisfy the south, the fugitive slave law was so amended as to make the escape of the slave much more difficult. Under this law, as amended, it was no hard matter to kidnap free men of color and carry them into slavery. Hence the law was characterized by Seward as a measure "which denies to the citizen all the safeguards of personal liberty, to render less frequent the escape of the bondman." He further

spoke of it as "unjust, unconstitutional and immoral"

In 1852 Clay and Webster both died, and two years before Calhoun had breathed his last. Since the formation of the government two generations of statesmen had passed away. The great majority of the first—of whom Washington, Jefferson, Madison and John Adams were conspicuous examples—either opposed slavery or tolerated it as an existing evil, for the doing away with which no ready means were apparent. The great body of statesmen who succeeded these—Clay, Cass, Benton, Webster, Calhoun and their cotemporaries—entertained substantially the same views on the slavery question as their predecessors. Among these, however, Calhoun was a notable exception. After failing in his nullification schemes in 1832, he turned his attention to the more thorough grounding of slavery in the southern states, to the extension of this institution into the new territories, and to the more complete ascendancy of slave influences in the government at Washington. For this work he had special qualifications and was wonderfully successful in winning to his plans and theories the younger public men of the south. In all these schemes Calhoun was compelled to meet the powerful opposition of Webster. Indeed, politically these men were life-long antagonists. But in many respects Calhoun and Webster were not unlike. Both were born in the same year, 1782. Both had been endowed by nature with gigantic intellects. Both were profound and skilful logicians. Both were

finished orators, whose thoughts were clothed only in pure, terse English. Both seemed to care more for the propagation of what they deemed enduring principles than for the success of any mere temporary measures. But here the similarity ended and strong contrast began. Calhoun came from South Carolina and was the idol of the slave power. Webster hailed from Massachusetts, and voiced the sentiment of liberty-loving New England. Calhoun asserted the divine right of property in man, and urged the necessity for slave labor. Webster proclaimed the elevating tendency of free institutions and the sufficiency and dignity of *free* labor. Calhoun examined the theory of our government, came to believe in the sovereignty of the states, and thought the Union only a compact. Webster delved yet deeper in the science of government, searched our early national history, studied the constitution, and proclaimed the wisdom, glory and perpetuity of the Union. Calhoun favored slavery and the Union if practicable, but for slavery at all hazards. Webster plead for the Union and the prevalence of free institutions, but above all else was for the Union. Calhoun's tenets were the shifting sands upon which, later, the ruins of the "lost cause" were to lie scattered in hopeless confusion. Webster's teachings were the rock upon which were laid the enduring foundations of what is to-day the national Union.

Meantime a third generation of statesmen had come to the front, who as representatives of their several consti-
 tutions were by no means as conservative

on the slavery question as most of the political leaders who preceded them. Seward, Chase, Sumner, Wade, Thaddeus Stephens, and others from the north, as radically opposed slavery as the claims of that institution were earnestly and aggressively advanced by Robert Toombs, Jefferson Davis, Foote, Benjamin, Alexander H. Stephens and many others from the south.

But notwithstanding the sharp differences of these men, after the admission of California and the coincident compromise legislation of 1850, the excitement and agitation on the slavery question for the time died away; so that when President-elect Pierce was inaugurated, March 4, 1853, he congratulated the country upon the peaceful and quiet state of the popular mind and especially on the happy and, as he believed, permanent settlement of all differences on the slavery question. But these pacific appearances were but a lull in the storm that was to again break upon the country. But this time it was destined to come with renewed energy, burst with terrific force and envelope the whole land till the political atmosphere was cleared of that poisonous taint—slavery.

On the thirtieth day of May, 1854, but little more than a year after the inauguration of President Pierce, the Missouri compromise was repealed and the territories of Kansas and Nebraska organized. What for? To allow slavery to spread north and northwest indefinitely, and to permit, in the near future, the admission of one and perhaps two

new slave states touching the western and northwestern limits of Missouri.

Said Senator Chase of Ohio :

It is slavery that renews the strife. It is slavery that again wants room. It is slavery, with its insatiate demand for more territory and more slave states. And what does slavery ask for now ? Why, sir, it demands that a sacred and time-honored compact shall be rescinded—a compact which has been universally regarded as inviolable north and south — . . . a compact by which all have consented to abide.

What was singular the measure for this repeal was introduced and strongly advocated by Senator Douglas, who, a few years before (1848), introduced a bill, which passed the senate but failed in the house, for the extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific.

Perhaps no one legislative act in the history of the country produced as much dissatisfaction and excitement as this repeal. Old party lines were discarded. Old party ties were no longer binding, and new political alliances were formed. In the south the new alliances were all in the interest of slavery. In the north they were against that institution and its encroachments.

Desperate efforts were made by the south to people the new territories of Kansas with inhabitants favorable to slavery. But the north was equally determined that freedom should have a voice there, and hence emigrants poured in from the free states.

But what the slave power failed to win fairly was sought to be secured by usurpation. And when the first election was held for a territorial legislature, many Missourians went over from their

state into Kansas, took possession of the ballot boxes at many of the voting places, and turned everything in the interest of slavery. Six thousand votes were cast, although the legal voters of the territory numbered less than three thousand. These outrages were sustained by the administration at Washington. Meantime the period for another Presidential election came on, and the opponents of slavery consolidated and organized as the Republican party.

The old abolitionists, who since 1840 had run their own candidates, now joined with the Republicans, and for the first time every shade of opposition to slavery was united under one banner. Many of the free states voted for Fremont, but Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, was elected.

The high-handed course of the pro-slavery party in Kansas was sustained by the new administration, and, soon after Buchanan came in power, the famous Dred Scott decision was rendered by the United States supreme court. This decision declared in substance that the colored man had no right of which he could not be deprived by the white man, and asserted that the national constitution carried slavery into all the territories, and that the Missouri compromise was a nullity.

So with this state of things at this period, slavery, upon a superficial view at least, seemed to carry everything before it. But these apparent victories of the slavery extensionists only intensified and strengthened the opposition in the north. Seward's "irrepressible conflict" between free- and slave-labor had

begun in bitter earnest and when and where it was to end no man could say.

Lincoln, then a private citizen of Illinois, seemed to have something of an insight in the final result when he announced: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. . . . I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other."

But of the many interesting features of the slavery question at this most interesting period our limits will not allow mention. Suffice it to say that in the most extreme lengths to which the pro-slavery party went to make of Kansas a slave state, Buchanan's administration lent its countenance and aid.

To this course, a few leading northern Democrats refused their sanction, and following this were dissatisfaction and disaffection within the ranks of the party to such a degree that two Democratic candidates were put in the field for President in 1860.

With the Democratic party thus divided, the Republicans triumphantly elected their candidate, Abraham Lincoln. Then came secession and the war for the preservation of the Union, during the prevalence of which slavery received its death blow.

Thus ended a system which, having fastened itself tenaciously upon certain

states, would not allow these states to join the Federal Union in 1787 unless it first received specific concessions; threatened to withdraw from that Union in 1820 in the event of Missouri's not being made a slave state; renewed this threat in 1845, unless the annexation of Texas was acquiesced in; withdrew eleven states from the Union in 1860-1 upon the shallowest prettexts; brought on the War of the Rebellion, and thus wrought its own destruction.

The abolition of slavery is generally looked upon as solely an accident of the war. But as a system, slavery was contrary to the spirit of the times and incompatible with the civilization of the age. With the great truths contained in the Declaration of Independence, it was out of accord. In the great American Republic it was out of place. In the Nineteenth century it was out of time. And even without the complication of civil war, it could not much longer have endured the fires of universal liberty, kindled by an enlightened public sentiment. Slavery was, so to speak, a heterogeneous growth upon the body politic; and had not the sword appeared, as the surgeon's knife, for its prompt removal, other means would doubtless have been found, less heroic it may be, but none the less effectual.

C. B. JOHNSON.

INDIANA TERRITORY.

DURING the closing years of the last and the first year of the present century, the question of dividing the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," and if divided where the boundary line between the two territories should be established, and what changes, if any, could be made in the government of the new territory that would be an improvement upon the methods that prevailed during the previous history of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," were of absorbing interest to the people of said territory. It was difficult to secure the proper administration of justice, and the enforcement of the laws, in the two extreme western counties of the territory on account of their remoteness from the seat of government, and the great difficulty therefore of the judges of the territory reaching them to hold courts as frequently as the demands of justice required; hence a strong party called for the organization of another territorial government. Hon. William Henry Harrison had a seat in congress (being elected in October, 1799), representing the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," and in favoring the division of territory, which I believe he did, he was presumably in harmony with his constituents. But whether he was or not, the bill to establish and organize the "Territory of Indiana," passed congress May 7, 1800, to take effect July 4,

of said year; but the territory was not fully organized until some time in January of the next year, when the governor and territorial judges met at Vincennes, to prepare a code of laws, and otherwise exercise their functions. General John Gibson, who had been appointed secretary of the territory, had, by arrangement with the governor, preceded the latter functionary to Vincennes, and there as acting governor, in compliance with the provisions of the law, had put the machinery of the territorial government in motion, on the fourth of July, 1800.

The Indiana Territory embraced all that part of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," which was situated to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence due north until it should intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada. The Mississippi river, of course, was the western boundary of the new territory.

It was further provided that when the eastern part of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio" shall be formed into a state of this union, which was then in contemplation and promising an early accomplishment, that then the western boundary line of said state shall begin at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and run thence due north to the territorial line between the United States

and Canada. Accordingly, when early in the year 1803 Ohio was admitted into the Union, this change of boundary was effected and Ohio's western boundary line henceforth became the eastern boundary of the "Indiana Territory," and has ever since remained the dividing line between Ohio and Indiana, as far at least as to the northern boundary of Ohio. By this change of boundary from opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river to the Great Miami river, Indiana Territory gained about fifty miles of Ohio river frontage, and the triangular strip of land extending from a point on the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river to "Fort Recovery," in Mercer county, Ohio, on the borders of the Ohio and Indiana line, being about a hundred miles in length, and embracing the present counties of Switzerland, Ohio and Dearborn, and parts of Franklin, Wayne, Union and Randolph counties in Indiana.

Only three fully organized counties fell into the "Indian Territory" at its organization. These were Knox (named after the hero of Revolutionary fame), the county seat at Vincennes; St. Clair (named after the governor of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio"), the county seat being at Cahokia; and Randolph (named after Hon. Edmund Randolph, secretary of state, or possibly Hon. Peyton Randolph, president of the first continental congress, in 1774), the county-seat being at Kaskaskia. A portion of the western part of Wayne county (Detroit being the

county-seat), that had been proclaimed by governor St. Clair on the fifteenth of August, 1795, also came within the limits of "Indiana Territory," but Detroit, the county-seat, did not.

Knox county was the most easterly of the three counties within the "Indian Territory," when territorial government was inaugurated there in the year 1800. It was proclaimed, established and organized by the territorial authorities of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," in 1790. St. Clair and Randolph were the other two counties, and both fell within the limits of the Illinois Territory when that territory was organized in 1809, their western boundary being the Mississippi river. St. Clair county was organized in 1799, and Randolph in 1795. The Kaskaskia and the Mississippi were the chief rivers of both counties.

Hon. William H. Harrison was appointed governor of "Indiana Territory," and the seat of government was established at Vincennes; General John Gibson was chosen secretary, and Hons. William Clark, John Griffin and John C. Vanderburg were appointed territorial judges. Chillicothe, by act of congress, became the seat of government of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," being changed from Cincinnati, probably because of Chillicothe's more central position as to population, and geographically also, after the change of boundaries.

Vincennes remained the seat of government of "Indiana Territory" until 1813, when Corydon, in Harrison county,

superseded Vincennes, and so remained until 1821, when Indianapolis became the capital.

Governor Harrison was governor of "Indiana Territory" from 1800 until 1811.

General Gibson was secretary from 1800 until 1816, and acting governor from 1811 to 1813.

General Thomas Posey was governor from 1813 to 1816.

The territorial delegates to serve in congress were Hon. Benjamin Parke, who served from 1805 until 1808; Hon. Jesse B. Thomas, who served from 1808 to 1809, and Hon. Jonathan Jennings, who served from 1809 to 1816, when the territory became a state.

By a vote taken throughout the territory, a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight voted in favor of a second grade or representative form of government (the election being held September 11, 1804), which was accordingly adopted and organized, pursuant to the expressed wishes of the people.

In 1805 "Indiana Territory" was divided by the organization of Michigan territory, whose southern boundary line extended from the most northerly cape of the Maumee bay, to the Mississippi river, on or near the line of forty-one degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and embraces all of "Indiana Territory" north of said line.

In 1809 the "Indiana Territory" was again divided by the organization of Illinois Territory, which embraced all of "Indiana Territory" west of the Wabash river from its mouth to a point above Vincennes, and a line from said

point to Lake Michigan, leaving to "Indiana Territory," only the country between the Great Miami and the Wabash rivers, being the present territorial extent of Indiana.

It may be remarked, although a digression, that the Louisiana purchase, made in 1803, was divided the next year into a territory and a district; the former extended north to the present southern boundary of Arkansas, and was called the territory of Orleans, W. C. C. Claiborne being governor, and the northern, called the "District of Louisiana," embraced the remainder of the purchase, and Captain Amos Stoddard of the army was appointed governor. In 1805, the "District of Louisiana" was changed into the territory of Louisiana, embracing what are now the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and a great part of Minnesota, together with all the vast regions of the west to the Pacific ocean, south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, not claimed by Spain, and was attached to the "Indiana Territory" for the purposes of government, for about one year.

It will thus be seen that Governor Harrison had a much more extensive territory to govern than Governor St. Clair, at least for a brief period, but territory and Indians were about all there was to govern, the white population of that immense region being in 1805 exceedingly sparse and few in number.

The chief event that characterized the history of "Indiana Territory" was the Indian War of 1811, which culminated in the victory of the command under Governor Harrison, over the com-

bined Indians, led by Elskwatawa, called the "Prophet," a brother of the famous Tecumseh, in the battle of Tippecanoe, fought November 7, 1811. About five hundred warriors were engaged, largely Kickapoos, Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies; Harrison's command numbered eight hundred, or probably a smaller number of effective men for duty in the field, many of them being Kentuckians. Quite a number of valuable lives were lost in the battle of Tippecanoe. Colonel Joseph C. Daviess of Kentucky, commonly called Colonel Jo. Daviess, was among the killed, and his death was greatly deplored. He was United States attorney for Kentucky, and had some active agency in the arrest of Aaron Burr, and was a man of great popularity in the west, being regarded as among the foremost of western orators. Kentucky, Indiana and Missouri each named a county in honor of him.

The first officers of "Indiana Territory" have been named. The remainder of this paper will consist chiefly of brief biographical sketches of those distinguished officers.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

Governor Harrison, who was the chief executive of "Indiana Territory" from 1800 until 1811, was a son of Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, who was elected governor of said state in 1782, and was twice reëlected, and moreover was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. William Henry was his youngest son, and was born at Berkeley, Charles City county, Virginia, February 9, 1773. He was educated at Hampden

Sidney college and went through a partial course of medical studies. His father died in April, 1791, leaving the son wholly dependent upon his own exertions, when he was but little more than eighteen years of age. Thereupon he abandoned the further study of medicine and chose instead the profession of arms, secured an ensign's commission from his father's friend, President Washington, and proceeded with but little delay to join the army in the department of the west, and joining it while General Arthur St. Clair was still in command, and the war with the Indian tribes was still raging furiously.

On the fifth of March, 1792, General St. Clair resigned the command of the western department of the army, and General Anthony Wayne succeeded him April 3, 1792. Before the close of the year 1792, Ensign Harrison was promoted to a lieutenancy, and soon after became one of General Wayne's aids, serving in that capacity at the battle of "Fallen Timbers," which was fought on the twentieth of August, 1794, and for his gallantry and soldierly conduct in that well fought battle received the commendation of the commanding general.

After the desperate battle of the Miami Rapids, and the treaty of Greenville in 1795, Lieutenant Harrison was made a captain, and appointed to the command of Fort Washington. In this position he rapidly acquired popularity and character, so that in 1798, upon the resignation by Major Winthrop Sargent of the office of secretary of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," Captain Harrison was appointed his suc-

cessor, and thereupon resigned his captain's commission in the army.

He made a popular and efficient secretary; but after having served about a year, the territorial legislature elected him, early in October, 1799, a delegate to congress by the close vote of eleven to ten that were cast for Arthur St. Clair, jr., son of Governor St. Clair, who was at that time and had been for years the attorney-general of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," and was said to be one of the most talented and promising young lawyers of Cincinnati.

Delegate Harrison served but little more than a half year in congress as the representative of the Northwest Territory, but he acquired great popularity among the western settlers in that brief time in congress, by advocating and securing the passage of an act to subdivide the quarter sections of the public lands of one hundred and sixty acres into smaller tracts, and making them subject to entry at the land offices as such, instead of one hundred and sixty acres or more as formerly, so that many of those who were endeavoring to establish themselves on farms of their own on our western lands, were enabled to do so, who by reason of their limited means were unable to purchase a full-quarter section of land, and had previously been mere "squatters."

As already stated, Hon. W. H. Harrison became governor of Indiana Territory on the fourth of July, 1800; but not only governor, but also superintendent of Indian affairs, and in the latter capacity he made thirteen treaties with

different tribes of western Indians, by which the 'American Cyclopedia' says, large accessions of territory were obtained.

Governor Harrison's victory over the Indians on the seventh of November, 1811, at the battle of Tippecanoe, was an achievement that tended to attract much public attention to him, especially in the west, and was doubtless influential in securing him a brigadier-general's commission of date August 22, 1812, and placing him in command of the troops raised to protect the northwestern frontier. And it was undoubtedly owing to the same reason and influences that he received the next year (March 2, 1813), a major-general's commission and placed at the head of the Army of the Northwest, and as such marched with it into Canada and there fought and vanquished the combined British and Indians in the battle of the Thames on the fifth of October, 1813, followed very soon by a general peace with the northwestern Indian tribes. Upon General Harrison's resignation of his commission in 1814, he was appointed in conjunction with Generals Shelby and Cass, commissioner to treat with the northwestern Indians at Greenville; and in 1815 he was placed at the head of a commission to treat with various other western tribes.

In 1816, General Harrison was elected a member of congress from the Hamilton-Warren district of Ohio, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. John McLean of Lebanon, Warren county, who resigned to take a

seat upon the bench of the supreme court of Ohio, to which he had been elected by the legislature of the state.

General Harrison was reëlected, and under his second election he served in congress from 1817 to 1819. In 1819 he was elected a state senator for two years to represent Hamilton county.

In 1825, General Harrison was elected for a full term of six years, to a seat in the senate of the United States. He served until 1828, when he was appointed minister to the Republic of Columbia. President Jackson, soon after his accession to the Presidency in 1829 revoked his commission as minister plenipotentiary and retired him to private life. Soon after his return from the Republic of Columbia, he accepted the position of clerk of the courts of Hamilton county, and served as such (being reëlected) about ten years. He was also honored in 1820, and again in 1824, by being chosen Presidential elector.

In 1836 General Harrison was an unsuccessful candidate for President of the United States, Martin Van Buren receiving 170 electoral votes and he only 73. White received 26 votes, Webster 14, Mangum 11.

In 1840 President Van Buren was the Democratic candidate and received only 60 votes and General Harrison, as the Whig candidate received 234 electoral votes. The popular vote was 1,128,702 for Van Buren, and 1,274,783 for Harrison, being a majority of 146,681. James G. Birney, (Abolitionist) also received 17,609 votes, leaving General Harrison a majority over all, of 124,370

of the popular vote, and of 174 electoral votes.

President Harrison was duly inaugurated March 4, 1841, and died in the Presidential mansion, April 4, 1841, and was buried at North Bend, Hamilton county, Ohio.

GENERAL JOHN GIBSON.

The "Indiana Territory" existed from the year 1800 until 1816, and one man performed the duties of secretary of the territory during all that time, and not only the duties of territorial secretary but in addition those of acting governor from 1811 to 1813. General John Gibson was the man I mean. He was a Pennsylvanian, born in Lancaster, May 23, 1740. Some of the Gibsons, his relatives, were men of distinction. He received a classical education, and in 1758, when only eighteen years of age, he joined the army of General Forbes that was organized for the capture of Fort Du Quesne, a French fort at the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburgh. Colonel George Washington, of Forbes' army in command of Provincial troops, had the advance, and when nearing the fort it was abandoned and occupied by Washington on the twenty-fifth of November, 1758. The young man Gibson, sometime after this event, located at the "forks of the Ohio, or Fort Pitt," as the fort was now called, named after the prime minister of Great Britain, and employed himself as an Indian trader. In 1763 he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and was preserved from the flames in which his unfortunate

companions perished, by an aged squaw, who adopted him in place of her own son, who had been killed in battle. Remaining a year or two with the Indians, he became familiar with their language, manners, customs and traditions. He was given up in 1764 to Colonel Bouquet, and again resumed his occupation of trading with the different tribes beyond the Ohio, and was thus employed at the commencement of the Dunmore war, in 1774. John Gibson was of the army of Lord Dunmore, probably one of his staff officers, and was quite conspicuous in whatever of negotiations were had with the Indians at Camp Charlotte. Logan, the famous Mingo chief, being absent from Camp Charlotte and not inclined to participate in the negotiations, John Gibson was sent to procure his presence if possible, when the two sat down on a log in the woods, and Logan there and then addressed Gibson in those words of impassioned eloquence commonly called "Logan's speech," which Gibson immediately on returning to Camp Charlotte committed to paper as near as he remembered it, and it was read several times in camp in the hearing of Lord Dunmore and his officers, and afterwards gained circulation by publication in some newspapers, and in 1782 in Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia.'

On the commencement of the Revolutionary war, Colonel John Gibson was

appointed to the command of a Virginia regiment, and served with credit to the close of the war, in New York, New Jersey, and on the western frontiers. In 1778 Fort Laurens was built on the Tuscarawas river, within the present limits of Tuscarawas county, Ohio, by a large force under General McIntosh, and when it was finished, late in 1778, Colonel Gibson was placed in charge of it by the commander of the western department of the army (General McIntosh). The fort, however, was evacuated in August, 1779, and never again occupied. In 1781 General Washington directed Colonel Gibson to supersede Colonel Broadhead in the command of the western military department, and he served by order of General Irvine in the same position in 1782.

Colonel John Gibson located in Pittsburgh after the close of the Revolutionary war, and was elected a member of the constitutional convention of Pennsylvania in 1788. He also served many years here as associate judge of the courts, and as major-general of militia.

General Gibson was appointed secretary of "Indiana Territory" in the year 1800, and at once proceeded to Vincennes and entered upon the discharge of his duties, and served until 1816. He died near Vincennes April 10, 1822, at the age of almost eighty-two years.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

PIONEERS OF THE NEW SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

IN writing of the pioneers of the new school of medicine, it seems but a fitting tribute to homœopathy that I should allude briefly to the founder. Samuel Hahnemann was born in Germany, April 10, 1755, and died in Paris, July 2, 1843, being thus nearly ninety years of age. At the age of eighty he married his second wife, a highly educated lady, who was of the greatest assistance to him in completing his last literary works. Hahnemann, as a physician, was distinguished by his profound learning and the broadest medical culture of his times. His extensive reading of medical books enabled him to make valuable citations and to prove his positions in the work published by him in 1810. From the little spark thus kindled by Hahnemann in his office at Leipsig, homœopathy has been introduced into every country on the globe. From the solitary promulgator of reform in Germany, advocates have penetrated to other countries exercising their inborn right to liberty of judgment. In the year 1825, homœopathy was first introduced into the United States.

A student of Hahnemann, who had spent thirteen years in the study and practice of medicine in Copenhagen, located in the city of New York. This early pioneer was the late Dr. H. B. Gram, who bore testimonials from such eminent men as Calisen, Satorph, Falk-

enthal, Fenger, and other celebrities of the Danish school of medicine. As a proof of the high estimation in which Dr. Gram was held, I need only allude to the fact that he was professionally consulted by Fenger, who was surgeon to the king. He was also consulting physician and one of the surgical staff of the Royal Military hospital for a period of seven years during the Napoleon wars. Sixty years ago there were no books or publications, in the English language, treating on the subject of homœopathy. But the American soil was ripe for the seeds of reform in medicine. No laws existed there prohibiting physicians from dispensing their own medicine, as was the case in many of the cities of the old world. Freedom in religion and medicine was guaranteed to all in the Declaration of Independence. With no laws to trammel reform and retard the progress of education, it is not strange that homœopathy should make rapid advancement. A little over a half century since Dr. Gram opened an office in New York City, and to-day physicians of the new school of medicine are numbered by the thousands, while the doctrines advocated by them, as taught by Hahnemann, are followed by millions of intelligent and cultured people. Colleges, dispensaries and hospitals dot nearly every city in the United States. Cities and rural dis-

tricts now have homœopathic physicians engaged in large and reputable as well as lucrative fields of labor. These few words as a transient tribute to the worthy herald of cis-Atlantic homœopathy. Thus from a single voice advocating a new system of medicine sixty years ago, and the present response, the reader may draw the inevitable conclusion. Dr. Gram died in New York on the eighteenth day of February, 1840. Over his remains in Greenwood cemetery has been erected a monument by the homœopathic physicians of the United States.

Ohio was the first western state, and the ninth of the Union, in which homœopathy was introduced. Dr. Strum, a native of Germany, also a student of Hahnemann, located in Cincinnati some time during the year 1839. To him belongs the honor of having been the pioneer of the great west.

In the year 1843, Dr. R. E. W. Adams introduced homœopathy into northern Ohio, locating in Cleveland. His first patient was Mr B. F. Rouse, now living on Dunham avenue, Cleveland. This, his first patient, was successfully treated for quinsy. Dr. Adams remained in Cleveland only a few years when he removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he died in the year 1870.

In the year 1844 Dr. Daniel O. Hoyt came to Cleveland, associating himself in the practice of medicine with Dr. Adams. Dr. Hoyt practiced his profession for over thirty years in this city. He was ever prompt, kind and courteous to his patients. Dr. Hoyt was a graduate from Dartmouth college. He practiced medicine after the manner of

the old school for several years before he located in Cleveland.

Doctor Hoyt died at his old homestead on Columbus street, Cleveland, on the tenth day of August, 1874, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

Doctor Casperi, an Italian by birth, located in Ravenna in 1843, remaining there a few years, when he removed to Louisville, Kentucky. Here he resided until the time of his death, which occurred a few years since.

In 1844 Dr. Schlagel, a German physician, opened an office in Amherst, Ohio. From this place he extended his practice to Oberlin, Elyria and other adjacent towns.

Doctor Alexander H. Burritt was the son of Doctor Ely Burritt of Troy, New York. He was graduated in New York in 1827, after which he practiced old school medicine in Washington county, New York, for eleven years. He then entered the office of Doctor John F. Gray of New York City, where he remained for a period of two years as a student of homœopathy. September 10, 1840, he located in Burton, Ohio. In 1849 he received the appointment of professor of obstetrics in the Western College of Homœopathic Medicine. His health failing him about this time, it became necessary for him to seek a warmer climate. He opened an office in New Orleans, whither he had gone for the purpose of bettering his physical condition. This was in 1850. Here he continued the practice of his profession until the time of his death, which occurred a few years since. At the time of his death Dr. Burritt was

about seventy-seven years old. Doctor Burritt was one of the original founders of the Homœopathic College of Cleveland, in 1849, and vice-president of the board of trustees.

In 1845 Doctor David Sheppard commenced the practice of medicine at Bainbridge. He was a successful medical practitioner, as well as a thriving stock grower. The doctor had a large farm to which he devoted a portion of his time when not too much occupied with his professional duties. It was upon this farm that he died about two years since.

Doctor Alpheus Morrill located in Akron, in 1846, where he contracted fever and ague, which was his constant companion for upwards of two years. He removed from Akron to Columbus, Ohio, and resumed the practice of his profession. He found, too, that this location was a malarious one, and in a few months he removed to Concord, New Hampshire, where he died in 1868. Doctor Morrill was a member of the American Institute of Homœopathy, an organization that he loved and cherished, and the annual meetings of which he regularly attended. Doctor Crosby, a partner of Doctor Morrill while in Akron, left about the same time, going east in order to escape the malarious atmosphere for which Akron has been justly celebrated for so many years.

Doctor B. W. Richmond located in Chardon; Doctor Stevens in Windsor; and Doctor A. H. Plimpton in Painesville, in 1845.

Doctor Edwin W. Cowles was a

student of medicine in the office of Dr. O. K. Hawley, and a graduate from the Jefferson Medical college. In the year 1845 he became a disciple of Hahnemann and commenced the practice of homœopathy in Cleveland. Two years afterwards he removed to Ann Arbor, Michigan. In the year 1832 the steamer *Henry Clay* arrived in Cleveland from Buffalo. When opposite the cemetery at the foot of Superior street, the captain appeared upon the deck and announced that cholera had broken out on his boat, and that several of his passengers, as well as a portion of the crew, were dead, and with earnestness the captain added, "For God's sake send a doctor on board." Immediately the large crowd that had assembled on the dock became panic-stricken and rushed up the hill at break-neck speed, some fleeing into the country on horseback.

Doctor Cowles received notice that his professional services were required on board the steamer where cholera was raging. He took charge of the sick and famine-stricken passengers and crew, giving them words of encouragement and cheer, thus speedily restoring confidence. The captain and passengers were so urgent in their request that he should remain on board the steamer until she reached Detroit, that he acquiesced. His friends bade him farewell, never expecting to see him again. In a few days, however, the doctor returned safely to Cleveland, much to the surprise and delight of all.

D. H. BECKWITH.

THE FRENCH IN TEXAS.

UPON the overthrow of Napoleon, and the return of the Bourbon family to power, upwards of four hundred people were either proscribed or voluntarily fled from a scene in which they anticipated unhappiness greater than that arising from expatriation. They sought refuge in America, having selected a tract of land of one hundred thousand acres which they purchased, and formed a colony in that section of the southwest known as Texas. They named the colony *Le Champ d'Asile*, and chose General L'Allemand as commander-in-chief, and M. Rigaud as second in command.

The interest excited upon the occasion of the proscription conferred honor upon the philanthropy of the French character. The citizens of France felt for their unfortunate brethren, removed so many thousand leagues from the mother country, for which they had fought and bled during a succession of arduous campaigns. The pencils of artists gave delineations of domestic scenes supposed to be transacting at the *Champ d'Asile*, which were eagerly purchased by the public. If, therefore, these generous exertions were unattended by the result proposed, and the ideal scenes of bliss experienced by the colonists proved but visionary chimeras, no fault was attachable to the French peo-

ple who acted in union with the dictates of pure philanthropy and brotherly love. The *Champ d'Asile* continued to flourish but for a short period. Accumulated misfortunes pursued these expatriated Frenchmen, a narrative of whose sufferings appeared in June, 1819, under the title of "*Le Texas, on Notice Historique sur le Champ d'Asile*," written by Messrs. Hartmann and Millard, members of the unfortunate colony.

In the month of March, 1818, a large number of the refugees arrived at Galveston (in those days Galveston), having experienced the greatest hardships at sea, being obliged to throw their baggage and provisions overboard in order to save themselves from a watery grave. Their vessel touched upon a bank, and from their perilous position they were rescued by the inhabitants of Galveston. In this port the party remained for two days, when they again set sail and arrived at Point Perry, where General L'Allemand and M. Rigaud determined to proceed by land to the *Champ d'Asile*, situated near the River Trinity, about twenty leagues from the Gulf of Mexico. To the destined spot they began their march with a detachment of one hundred men, while the remainder were left to find the mouth of the river and escort the provisions and ammunition, under the command of Colonel Sarrazin,

who thought himself perfectly conversant with the current of the stream. Thus situated, they believed that upon the following day they should gain the place of their destination and rejoin their companions

The marching party had only taken provisions for two days, and upon the third and fourth days they became assailed by the ravages of hunger, and conceiving that they had made a precious discovery in a plant, precisely resembling lettuce, they dressed and ate it as food. Immediately the dreadful effects of the plant became manifest, as they had partaken of a violent poison. Half an hour after this fatal meal, every one who had eaten of the herb was writhing upon the earth, torn by the most agonizing convulsions. General L'Allemand, M. Rigaud and Surgeon Mann, though equally a prey to the gnawings of hunger, having prudently abstained from tasting the food, escaped the fatal malady. It is, however, scarcely possible to conceive the horrors of their situation, surrounded as they were by ninety-seven bodies, whose contortions and agonizing writhings announced a speedy dissolution, without possessing the least means of affording them assistance, as the medicine chests had remained in the vessel. In the midst of this state of maddening anxiety, all-merciful Providence, as if intentionally, conducted to the spot an Indian of the Cochatris tribe, who, like the genius of mercy, appeared to snatch from death these wretched sufferers. Upon viewing the state of the prostrate colonists, and being presented with a sample of the

plant they had swallowed, the Indian raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, and uttering a yell of the most piercing kind, departed with the speed of a horse, and shortly afterward returned with a quantity of herbs he had collected. These were instantly boiled according to his direction, and with the assistance of a piece of wood, to which they had recourse to open the mouths of the poisoned, a potion was administered to each. They shortly after regained their senses, and, by degrees, were restored, though they continued to suffer some days from the effects of the poison

It is easy to imagine the emotions of gratitude which they felt toward this kind and gentle savage, who appeared, however, to attach no price to the inestimable service thus rendered to humanity. Upon this subject the writer of the history of the colony offers the following feeling apostrophe :

O, beneficent savage! never shall the name of thy nation be obliterated from my memory. The refugees of the Champ d'Asile have raised to thee an everlasting monument in their grateful recollections, which has for its basis friendship and gratitude. We have *francise* many words which do not convey to our ideas that of Cochatris. Oh! would it might become to all the world synonymous with gratitude and humanity!

It was not until the expiration of six days that the embarkation joined the detachment on the banks of the Trinity, on account of their having sailed too far out to sea, by which means they were delayed in ascertaining the mouth of the river. Knowing that their companions had provisions only for two days, their fears produced, in a mental point of view, sufferings equal to those of their

fellows. In time the colony set to work with cheerfulness, established a camp, and then proceeded to raise fortifications, and divided the colony into cohorts.

As the establishment began to acquire stability, deputations were sent from several tribes of Indians, and a sort of alliance was entered into. Being at peace with the natives, they naturally conceived that nothing was to be apprehended from the Europeans. In this belief they deceived themselves. The Spaniards of St. Anthony and Labadie, assisted by some Indians devoted to them, marched against the new settlers, with the intention of forcing them to evacuate the province. Upon the arrival of this information a council was held, when the advice of General L'Allemand was unanimously adopted, who, having prudently calculated the extent of their force, and the quantity of provisions and ammunition they possessed, determined to depart from Le Champ d' Asile. Thus they had scarcely begun to enjoy the fruits of their labor, ere they found themselves obliged to abandon their dwellings, and embarking upon board their vessel in the River Trinity, they made sail for Galveston bay.

Having disembarked on the island, they established a new encampment, dug entrenchments, raised batteries, and planted their artillery. For a certain period security was established, and they pursued their avocations with regularity, when suddenly they became aware of a scarcity of provisions and their rations were gradually diminished. They still clung to hope, as succor had

been promised, but they looked in vain for assistance. In consequence, the allowance was at length restricted to a small portion of biscuit and a glass of brandy per day to every man. In this manner a month passed, when it became requisite again to retrench the allowance by one-half, in which distressing situation they remained for fifteen days. General L'Allemand, in despair that the contractor did not fulfill his engagement, determined upon going to New Orleans with Mr. Graham, a commissary of the United States, the command of the colony being left to the venerable M. Rigaud, then eighty years of age, who was regarded by all as a common father. A few days after the departure of General L'Allemand, the effects of want and privation became more poignantly felt, so that the consolation previously administered to each other, was gradually withheld, and the settled gloom of despair took possession of every soul.

From the time of their return to Galveston, the weather had been uniformly calm and serene, a circumstance for which the refugees were grateful to Providence, as it would have been calamitous had the inclemency of the weather accompanied the rapid approach of famine. Little did they imagine that a storm was then brewing which was speedily to burst and spend its fury upon their devoted heads. One evening the exiles were assembled in small groups near their camp, when suddenly the atmosphere darkened, the black clouds rolled on, the winds whistled, and the birds flew to the earth for safety. Everything, in short, an-

nounced the coming of the tempest. Thus threatened, however, the refugees were under no apprehensions, as the height of the intrenchments they had raised, and the lowness of their habitations, must, as they imagined, secure them from all possible danger arising from the storm. In this situation night came on with increased horrors. They retired to rest, having first taken every precaution possible as to the mooring their craft in safety. Scarcely, however, had sleep closed their eyes, when they were awakened by a most tremendous rush of the wind, accompanied by the roaring of the flood dashing against their intrenchments. Vivid flashes of lightning seemed partially to illumine the total wreck of nature. The sea overflowed the boundaries, and rolling on ward, the waves inundated Galveston, penetrating into their camp, and entering their habitations. Everything was speedily submerged to the depth of four feet. General consternation ensued. Their shrieks of despair became mingled with the ceaseless artillery of the unbridled elements. The long expected daylight came. All was one chaotic mass of desolation. Nature seemed overturned and all her laws subverted. The floods of the sea dashed in every direction. There remained but the walls and remnants of their habitations. The village of Galveston bore the semblance of a battered fort full of breaches, ready for the assault. During the entire day the storm raged with little abatement. The persecuted exiles beheld their craft unmoored by the fury of the wave, whereby the major portion of the

provision still remaining was at the mercy of the flood. The desolating scene can never be accurately described. The colony was reduced to a state of misery which language would in vain endeavor to portray. Notwithstanding, the suffering creatures were constant almost beyond the power of belief. After sustaining for some time these overwhelming hardships, it was found necessary either to die of hunger and misery, or abandon Galveston, which step they determined to adopt. Some of the refugees succeeded in embarking upon their vessel, while the major portion determined upon traversing the continent to seek assistance. New Orleans was designated as the general rendezvous for all. Having separated into bands they proceeded by different routes, living on the scanty produce which the chase afforded, and at length, after countless difficulties and hardships, they reached New Orleans, having traveled nearly five hundred miles. Their arrival excited the greatest interest. Every individual resident of New Orleans, appeared to vie with his neighbor in endeavors to yield them the assistance of which they stood so much in need. Scores of the men were suffering from the scurvy. Such was the effect produced by the recital of their accumulated miseries, that they appeared as a fable to the people of New Orleans, who could scarcely imagine that a similar succession of calamities could afflict any portion of the human race.

As the refugees traversed the streets of New Orleans, one universal sentiment of tenderness and pity pervaded every

breast. Floods of tears accompanied the recital of their misfortunes. They seemed, as it were, as coming from another world. The women, whose pallid features, melancholy demeanor, and feeble, or scarcely articulate enunciation, commanded a respect not to be

delineated. Those of the party who had become voluntary exiles, soon after embarked for France, while those who remained settled in various portions of the south and southwest.

WILL M. CLEMENS.

THE MUNICIPAL GROWTH OF CLEVELAND.

III.

FROM 1850 TO 1860.

MUNICIPAL Cleveland in 1850 was by no means the great corporation it is to-day; and yet there was as much responsibility in the management of its affairs at that period as there has been at any later date. It had not yet so securely gained its hold on future fortune that all doubt as to its ultimate greatness could be removed. Improvements that were of an immense proportion, when set beside the resources of the day, were on the eve of undertaking, and there was doubt as to the wisdom of their creation and whether they would justify the financial burdens they were sure to entail. Many influential citizens questioned it seriously, and made no effort to keep their forebodings to themselves. The men who were in official control were compelled to move slowly along the line of material reform; and instead of an impatience because they did not accomplish more, let us rather wonder that, in the decade from 1850 to 1860, they were enabled to do all that they

did. Cleveland took a long stride forward in that time, and emerged from the last days of semi-villagehood into the life and purpose of a city that felt itself secure in a future of advancement and growth.

William Case was elected mayor in 1850, and with him the following gentlemen came into power: L. M. Hubby, alderman Second ward; William Givens, George Whitelaw, Buckley Stedman, Alexander McIntosh, William Bingham, Samuel Williamson, Arthur Hughes, Levi Johnson, A. C. Brownell, councilmen; William Hart, treasurer; Seth A. Abbey, marshal; Alexander Seymour, president of the council; J. B. Bartlett, city clerk; John E. Cary, city attorney; Vaughn & Brown, city printers. In June a petition was received from George A. Benedict and others, urging upon the consideration of the council the propriety of taking immediate steps for the "supplying of the city with wholesome water," and

asking that a competent hydraulic engineer be procured to explore, survey and estimate the expense of a supply from the Shaker mill, Tinker's creek and Lake Erie, and also "the amount of water to be relied upon from each of these sources." In August Mr. Seymour, president of the council, died, and Melancthon Barnett was elected to his place as alderman of the Third ward, and also to the presidency. The first ordinance regulating hacks and cabs was passed on November 19. The opening of a free evening school was ordered, and a special committee was appointed to ask the legislature to pass a law authorizing the city to erect a house of refuge. In January, 1851, steps were taken toward the loaning of one hundred thousand dollars to the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad company. The next step in the direction of water works was taken on January 21, when Mr. William Bingham offered a resolution appointing the mayor and any three citizens he might choose a committee to report to the council, at as early a day as possible, a plan for supplying the city with water, and authorizing said committee to employ competent engineers to assist them in their duties. It was adopted. Early in February an interesting reminder is discovered, showing that Cleveland finally had a railroad, and recalling one of the great celebration days in her history. A special meeting was held on the thirteenth, at which a formal invitation was extended to the governor of the state, the members of the legislature, the heads of the various state

departments, and the mayor and city council of Columbus, to visit Cleveland on the twenty-second—Washington's birthday—and participate in the formal opening exercises of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad. A committee of arrangements and reception was appointed, and consisted of Messrs. Gill, McIntosh and Stedman. The invitation was cordially accepted, and the occasion was one that will ever live in the memory of the older citizens of Cleveland. The *Herald's* lengthy report of the celebration says:

On Saturday as we saw Buckeyes from the banks of the Ohio and the rich valleys of the Miami and the Scioto mingling their congratulations with those of the Yankee Reserve, upon the completion of an improvement which served to bring them into business and social connection and to break down the barriers which distance, prejudice and ignorance of each other had built up, we felt that the completion of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad would be instrumental in accomplishing a good work for Ohio, the value of which no figures could compute. . . . On the morning of the twenty-first the members of the legislature, the state officers, the councils of Cincinnati and Columbus, and citizens of Columbus and Cincinnati, in all four hundred and twenty-eight persons, left the capital on the C., C. & C. railroad cars, on a visit to Cleveland as guests. On their arrival they were greeted by discharges of artillery, and the welcome of thousands of our citizens.

On Saturday a grand procession was formed, and the guests were escorted to the public square, where an address of welcome was delivered by Mayor Case. Hon. C. C. Converse, speaker of the senate, responded. Samuel Starkweather then delivered the oration of the day, and speeches were made by Alfred Kelley, Henry B. Payne, Mr. Pugh of Cincinnati, Governor Wood and Cyrus Prentiss, president of the Cleve-

land & Pittsburgh railroad company. The visitors were then taken on an excursion to Hudson over the last named line. On the return to Cleveland a banquet was served at the Weddell house. A torchlight procession paraded, in which the firemen took a leading part. On Sunday Dr. Aiken preached a powerful sermon on railroads, in the Stone church, and on Monday the visitors returned home, leaving Cleveland to settle down to the realities of everyday life. One of these real things came in the form of a resolution adopted at a special meeting of the city council on the night of the twenty-fourth, in which it was ordered that "Messrs. Gill, McIntosh and Stedman settle all claims against the city growing out of the late reception to the legislature and other guests, and that the clerk issue orders in payment of the same as approved by said committee."

Annexation is again heard of in March, when Mr. McIntosh offered a resolution declaring that as "an effort is being made by several individuals to obtain from the legislature a law annexing Ohio City to the city of Cleveland," the city council of Cleveland declares that such action "at this time is not desirable to this council, and is not believed to meet the views of our citizens at so short notice." This was adopted, Messrs. Gill, Given, Johnson, McIntosh and Whitelaw voting for it; and Messrs. Barnett, Brownell and Stedman against. The three last votes show that the leaven of union was already at work. The election of 1851 resulted as follows: William Case, mayor; Abner C. Brow-

nell, alderman Third ward; Buckley Stedman, alderman Fourth ward;* Jabez W. Fitch, George Whitelaw, Alexander McIntosh, T. C. Floyd, M. M. Spangler, Stoughton Bliss, M. S. Castle and James B. Wilbur councilmen; William Hart, treasurer; James Lawrence, marshal; John Gill, president of council; J. B. Bartlett, city clerk; John C. Grannis, city attorney; Harris, Fairbanks & Co., city printers. The next step towards annexation came in an adopted resolution on May 20, requesting the mayor to appoint a committee to confer with a committee of the common council of Ohio City, in relation to the fixing of a time for holding an election that the people of each city may vote for or against annexation. The committee appointed thereunder were Messrs. Stedman, Brownell and Gill.

The long-debated question as to whether the city should or should not purchase land for a cemetery adequate in size to the growing needs of the place, and at a point sufficiently remote, began to take form during 1851. A definite point of action was reached on August 19, when a resolution for the actual purchase of land was adopted. It was introduced by Mr. Bliss, and directed the mayor in behalf of the city to purchase from Benjamin F. Butler "sixty and sixty-two one hundredths acres of land, being a part of the Bomford tract, so-called, in the vicinity of Cleveland, . . . on the terms proposed by him, for a public burial ground or cemetery of said

* A new ward was added, by an ordinance passed March 26, 1851, and the number of councilmen in each ward was reduced from three to two.

city ; and that the mayor be authorized to issue in payment for said land . . . bonds of the city of Cleveland in sums of one thousand dollars, as near as may be, for the aggregate sum of \$13,639.50, with coupons attached thereto in the usual form for the payment of interest thereon, at the rate of seven per cent. per annum . . . the principal in ten years from the first of August, 1851, the interest semiannually." The resolution was adopted unanimously. At the same meeting of the council Mr. Stedman introduced an ordinance providing for the submission of the question of union between Cleveland and Ohio City, to the qualified voters of the city, which was also passed by a unanimous vote. At a special meeting on October 15, to open the votes cast at this special election, held on October 14, the following was discovered to be the result :

	For Union "Yes."	For Union "No."
First ward.....	266	277
Second ward.....	230	337
Third ward.....	257	184
Fourth ward.....	97	300
Total....	850	1098

The question of annexation was thus disposed of for the time being. The current of the city ran smoothly along for some months, with no special features worthy of record. As an evidence of the size of the fire department at that time it may be noted that in November the chief engineer of the department reported to the council that the following firemen had been on duty during the ensuing three months :

Eagle No. 1.....	120	Cataract No. 5.....	111
Saratoga No. 3.....	120	Red Jacket No. 6.....	120
Phoenix No. 4.....	180	Hook & Ladder No. 1, 78	

At the April election in 1852 Abner C. Brownell was chosen mayor ; John B. Wigman alderman for the First ward ; William Hart, treasurer ; James Lawrence, marshal ; and James A. Craw, sexton. The councilmen selected were : Henry Morgan, A. Merchant, W. H. Sholl, R. B. Bailey, S. Bliss, J. B. Smith, A. N. Gray and H. Howe. Mr. Brownell was the almost unanimous choice of the people, no candidate being presented against him. He resigned his position as alderman from the Third ward, and B. L. Spangler was elected in his place. L. M. Hubby was elected president of the council, J. B. Bartlett city clerk, and John C. Grannis city attorney. The year was void of anything of general note, except that on October 5 an ordinance was passed closing the saloons on Sunday ; and an onward step toward the securing of water works was taken on October 29, when "the mayor stated that some two years ago a committee was appointed by our fellow-citizens to examine the subject of supplying the city with pure water ; that in the discharge of their duties they had collected many valuable statistics, and were now present with their report." The report was read to the council by William Case, chairman of the committee, and was accepted and referred to the special committee that had the matter in hand, with instructions to procure the services of a competent hydraulic engineer to "examine the report, make the necessary survey, and draw plans of the work, to be submitted to the council at an early day." T. R. Scowden was en-

gaged to perform the designated task. The plans and specifications were submitted to the council on March 22, 1853, and adopted, and the committee discharged.

The city election of 1853 was one of unusual importance, as under the new laws passed during the year a number of additional officials were elected, and a special vote taken as to whether the city should or should not expend four hundred thousand dollars for the erection of water works. The successful candidates for the various offices to be filled were as follows: Mayor, Abner C. Brownell; police judge, John Barr; clerk of police court, O. J. Hodge; prosecuting attorney, Bushnell White; commissioners of water works, H. B. Payne, B. L. Spangler, Richard Hildard; directors of infirmary, Orson Spencer, James Barnett, Alex. W. Walter; commissioners of streets, A. McIntosh, J. M. Hughes, J. B. Wheeler; marshal, Michael Gallagher; auditor, J. B. Bartlett; treasurer, William Hart; solicitor, James Fitch; fire engineer, William Cowan; harbor master, C. Stillman; sexton, James A. Craw; superintendent of markets, W. A. Morton; sealer of weights and measures, David Shut; weigher, A. Wheeler; civil engineer, J. W. Pillsbury; constables, W. R. Simmons, John Odell, Barney Mooney, James Hill; trustees, George F. Marshall, James B. Wigham, W. H. Sholl, James Gardner, Robert Reilley, W. J. Gordon, Henry Everett, Richard C. Parsons; assessors, James Whitaker, William Redhead, David Schub, James

Proudfoot.* On the question of issuing water works bonds the result was as follows:

	For.	Against.
First ward.....	365	55
Second ward.....	285	218
Third ward.....	423	61
Fourth ward.....	157	265
Total.....	1230	599

The council was busy for some months in passing ordinances defining the duties of the new officials who had come into existence, and especially those of the various municipal boards. The four hundred thousand dollars of bonds were delivered to the water works trustees, and they were directed to go ahead and erect the works as soon as possible. On May 18 a resolution was offered by Mr. Marshall, to the effect that the new cemetery should hereafter be known as "Woodland cemetery," which was unanimously adopted on June 8, while on the fourteenth of the month last named the new place of burial was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. The plans of the water works trustees were submitted when matured, and on October 12 a resolution was passed declaring that the works should be located on the west side of the river and steps taken to appropriate land needed therefor. In November the old question of annexation looms up, through a resolution by Mr. Reilley directing "that a committee of three be appointed by the president to consult with the members of the Ohio City

* The city having come into so great a number of elective officers, attention will hereafter be confined each year to the election of mayor alone.

council relative to taking initiatory steps towards annexing said city to the city of Cleveland, and report at the next meeting of the council." It was adopted, and Messrs. Reilley, Wigman and Gardner were named as said committee. The committee were not so expeditious as the resolution demanded, as their report was not presented until February 1, 1854, when the following was presented: "That said committee had a consultation with the Ohio City committee, and that said committees together had adopted the following resolution, to wit: *Resolved*, That we recommend to the councils of the two cities which we respectfully represent, to pass an ordinance submitting to the voters thereof the question of annexing their municipal corporations." On the twenty-second Mr. Parsons presented an ordinance to provide for the submission of the question of annexation to the qualified electors of the city of Cleveland, and moved that the rules requiring ordinances of a general and permanent nature to be read on three different days, be suspended. The proposition was unanimously agreed to. The election occurred on April 3, the day of the regular city elections, and the result showed that there had been a great change of public opinion since the question came up before and was defeated. The proposition carried with 1,892 votes for, to only 400 against. Ohio City voted on the same day, with the following result: For annexation, 618; against, 258. (Under the new order of things there was no election

for mayor this year, the term having been extended to two years.)

The next grand forward step by municipal Cleveland for the union so long considered with the neighbor across the river, was taken on June 5, 1854, when a special meeting was held to consider the report of the commissioners appointed to meet those of Ohio City. Those gentlemen informed the council that they had "concluded an arrangement with said commissioners for the City of Ohio, providing the terms and conditions on which such annexation shall, if approved by the respective city councils, take place." The agreement that they then submitted covered a number of points, some of the most important thereof being as follows: "That the territory now constituted the City of Ohio shall be annexed to and constitute a part of the city of Cleveland, and the First, Second, Third and Fourth wards of the former city as now established shall constitute the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh wards respectively of the last named city; and the present trustees of said wards . . . shall hold their offices . . . for the terms for which they have been severally elected." It was further agreed that the wards should also be so arranged that the people on the west side of the river should have as large a proportion of the number thereof as it had of population, and that the property of each city should belong to the joint corporation, which should be responsible for the debts of both. The commissioners on the part of Cleveland were Messrs.

W. A. Otis, H. V. Willson, and F. T. Backus ; while those representing Ohio City were Messrs. W. B. Castle, N. M. Standart, and C. S. Rhodes. An ordinance was passed on the same day carrying the agreement into effect, and the union of the two cities became complete.

The first regular meeting of the joint city council was held on Monday, June 10. The following members were present: Messrs. Bennett, Bishop, Bradburn, Butts, Cotterell, Everett, Gardner, Masters, Messenger, Mollen, Merrill, Palmer, Parsons, Porter, Powell, Richardson, Russell, Shott, Silberg, Tice, Wigman ; while Mr. Reilley was the only absentee. Mr. R. C. Parsons was elected president by a unanimous vote, while J. B. Bartlett was made city clerk. During several succeeding sessions of the council a large amount of routine business was disposed of, in getting the affairs of the enlarged corporation adjusted, and disposing of the remnants of affairs as left by the council of the departed Ohio City. One of the first items disposed of during the summer was the purchase of the land upon which the reservoir, on Kentucky street, and the water works engine-house grounds, on the lake front, are located. The work commenced by Ohio City in the excavation and opening of the ship channel, and the improvement of the old river bed was carried forward. In February 1855, a suggestion that was timely but did not bear immediate fruit, came from Mr. Stanley, who offered a resolution declaring that "it is necessary and expedient for the city to immediately erect and

support a house of refuge, for the training and reformation of juvenile delinquents ; that the proper grounds and suitable location for the necessary buildings for this purpose is on the Brooklyn farm, so-called, owned by the city ; that the necessary steps be immediately taken by this council to raise funds for the erection of suitable buildings for the same." The matter was referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Stanley, Bradburn and Palmer. Steps were taken during the early days of 1855 for the creation of a better police system than had been in operation heretofore. In April of that year William B. Castle became mayor of Cleveland. A change of location for the city officers and council was decided upon, a resolution being adopted in May, authorizing the mayor to "make a contract with J. Jones for the lease of the second and third stories of his building about to be erected at the southwest corner of the public square for the term of ten years, at an annual rent of one thousand dollars, in accordance with the report of the special committee made this evening, and that the rooms be arranged and work done under the direction of the mayor and board of improvements." This was the old city hall, in which the municipal headquarters were established, and remained until possession was taken of the Case building, now occupied. Steps were also taken, in May, for the establishment of a West Side market. In June the council directed the committee on police and mayor to examine into the expediency of establishing a workhouse for city prisoners.

In January, 1856, it was resolved by the council that "Whereas, There is a bill before the general assembly providing for important changes in our present city charter; and whereas, it is believed that the citizens of this city are not generally advised as to the character of said changes contemplated, therefore, be it resolved, that a select committee of four and his honor the mayor be appointed by this council to go to Columbus with instructions to confer with the members from this county, and others if deemed necessary, and urge upon them such legislation as our experience has shown to be necessary; also, resolved that the members of the general assembly from this county be requested to furnish the city council with a copy of any bills pending . . . relating to our city government." The resolution was adopted, and Messrs. Bradburn, Palmer, Adams and Butts, with Mayor Castle, were made that committee. In April the mayor is authorized to issue bonds for the completion of the water works. Samuel Starkweather was elected mayor in April, 1857. In July Hon. Harvey Rice, a member of the council, offered a resolution that was adopted, declaring that "the city council do most cordially approve of the project suggested by sundry of our philanthropic citizens, of organizing and establishing in this city an Industrial School and Children's Aid society, for the purpose of promoting the interests of the industrial school already established, and extending its benefits to a still greater number of the

destitute and uncared for children of the city."

In 1858 a petition was prepared by a number of the citizens residing in the eastern part of the city, asking that a portion of the city be detached from the rest and attached to the township of East Cleveland. There were twenty-five of these petitioners to the general assembly. Their action called forth a lengthy remonstrance from the city council, which was adopted and ordered sent to Columbus, on February 17, 1858. Among other weighty reasons set forth in this remonstrance, it was declared that "the proposed dismemberment is not desired by a majority of the residents of the territory to be affected thereby. The names attached to the petition," continued the protest, "do indeed represent men of large wealth and possessions, yet they are but a very small minority of those whose interests will be affected by the proposed change." It was declared that to grant the request would be injurious to the whole city, as large municipal expenditures had been made for the benefit of this very territory; that it would be unjust to the holders of the bonds of the city; and that it would be unlawful. The proposed secession created a great deal of interest at the time, but came to naught.

The movement in favor of a commemorative monument to Commander Perry received a material advance step during the early days of 1858. At the council meeting of March 23 a report was received from the special commit-

tee, consisting of Harvey Rice, C. D. Williams, John Kilpatrick, O. M. Oviatt and James M. Coffinberry, appointed to "superintend and procure by individual subscriptions the erection of a marble monument in the Public Park to Commodore Perry, in commemoration of his victory in the battle of Lake Erie," stating that they had contracted with Messrs. Jones & Sons of this city for building said monument at six thousand dollars, to be completed by September 10, 1859. An ordinance was passed at this session to submit to the people, for vote at the next election, the question of issuing an additional fifty thousand dollars for the water works. The proposition was approved by the people when submitted, only one hundred and twenty-seven votes being cast against it.

There was a reason for the small amount of important municipal business transacted during the final years of this decade. The panic of 1857 left all departments of business and trade in a paralyzed condition, and no one was disposed to suggest a burden for the tax-payers that could be well avoided. Only matters of necessity were considered, and there was little left the municipal legislators except to look after the management of the various departments and make the money raised by taxation perform as great a service as possible.

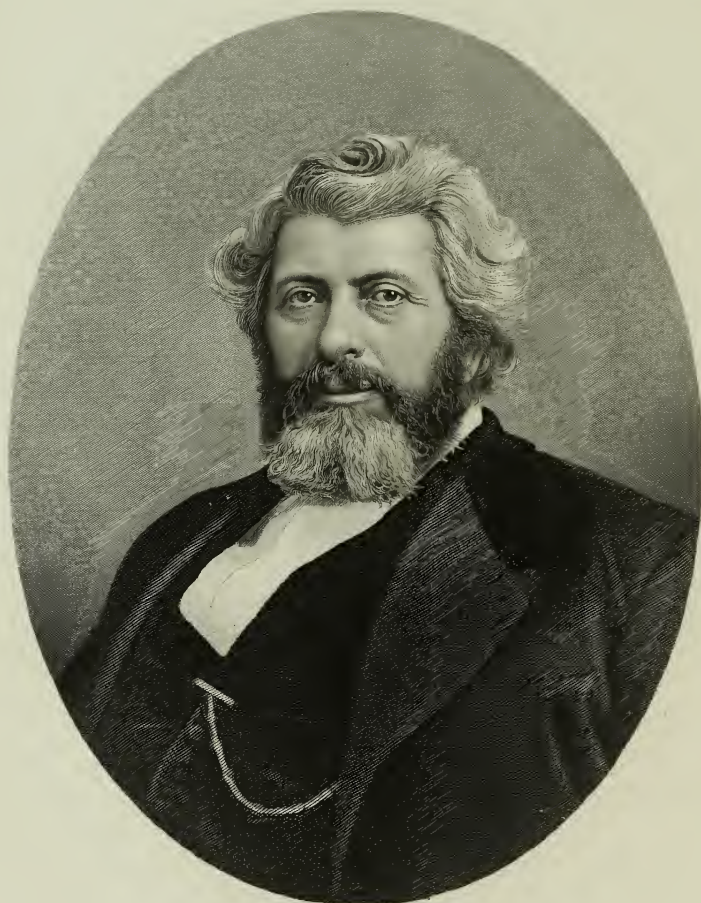
The city was favored between 1850 and 1860 with a succession of mayors*

I have compiled, at some labor, the entire vote for mayor of Cleveland from the incorporation in 1835 to 1860, as follows :

1836 John W. Willey..... 398
Leonard Case..... 180

who filled the office with honor and dignity, and worked for the public interest with a purpose higher than the salary attached to the place. Mr. William Case who served two terms, was a man of large public spirit who worked early and late for the good of the city, being a member of the city council some time before his election as mayor. He gave especial attention to the securing of

1837	John W. Willey.....	614
	W. V. Crow.....	4
	Joshua Mills.....	1
	David Hersh.....	7
1838	Joshua Mills.....	560
	A. W. Walworth.....	56
	O. P. Baldwin.....	12
1839	Joshua Mills.....	507
	John M. Woolsey.....	379
1840	Nicholas Dockstader.....	463
	Henry B. Payne.....	362
1841	John W. Allen.....	421
	Joshua Mills.....	407
1842	Joshua Mills.....	458
	John W. Allen.....	338
1843	N. Haward.....	482
	Joseph L. Weatherly.....	437
	John Stoddard.....	30
1844	Samuel Starkweather.....	564
	Samuel Williamson.....	532
1845	Samuel Starkweather.....	587
	Melancthon Barnett.....	482
	Thomas Richmond.....	68
1846	George Hoadly.....	579
	William T. Goodwin.....	564
	William Adair.....	85
1847	Josiah A. Harris.....	725
	William T. Goodwin.....	650
	W. A. Adair.....	39
1848	Lorenzo A. Kelsey.....	771
	Charles Bradburn.....	722
	Milo H. Hickox.....	59
1849	Flavel W. Bingham.....	977
	John A. Foot.....	543
	W. A. Otis.....	237
1850	William Case.....	1060
	Benjamin Harrington.....	743
1851	William Case.....	1152
	Robert Parks.....	797
1852	Abner C. Brownell.....	1694
	Scatterling.....	34
1853	Abner C. Brownell.....	1754
	Buckley Stedman.....	1078
1855	William B. Castle.....	2553
	Reuben Wood.....	2152
1857	Samuel Starkweather.....	2552
	W. B. Castle.....	2183
1859	George B. Senter.....	3491
	J. M. Coffinberry.....	2861



WILLIAM B. HENRICK, N.Y.

W. B. Henrich

water works and was a friend of that measure all the way through. Abner C. Brownell, William B. Castle, Samuel Starkweather and George B. Senter were able successors of Mr. Case, and filled the position with a faithfulness that merited and received the commendation of the public.

HON. R. R. HERRICK.

Among the men who have for many years been identified with the city government, and who, in various responsible positions have labored for the advance of the public good, there are none who have given a more extended service than Rensselaer R. Herrick, and few who have been connected with the inception or completion of so many important municipal enterprises. The quality and character of his work can be judged somewhat from the within. His record in the city council during the last half of the decade now under consideration, added to the labor of later years in the board of city improvements, and two terms as mayor, give some idea of the confidence in which he is held by the people, and their continued approval of his course. As a representative municipal legislator and executive, his life is well worthy of record in these pages.

The traits of mental power and honesty of character that have made Mr. Herrick strong with the people, come to him by descent from an honored Puritan ancestry. The family to which he belongs gained its foothold in this country when Ephraim Herrick, from whom he is directly descended, came from Leicester, England, in 1629, and settled in

Connecticut. The father of the subject of this sketch, Sylvester P. Herrick, was born in Clinton, New York, in 1793, and in early manhood entered upon active business pursuits, becoming a prominent merchant at Clinton, Vernon and Utica, successively; residing at the last named place at the time of his death, in 1828.

R. R. Herrick was born at Utica on January 29, 1826. Deprived of a father's care when but two years old, he was carefully reared by a Christian mother, and his feet set in the right direction. When but ten years of age he began life for himself, and was thenceforth dependent altogether upon his own exertions. Coming to Cleveland in 1836, he entered the office of the *Ohio City Argus*, published on the west side of the river by his brother-in-law, T. H. Smead, where he commenced to learn the printer's trade. He remained in that labor until 1839. He gave a part of each year to school until 1843, when, at the age of seventeen, he decided upon a trade that would be more profitable in the long-run, and would give him needed outdoor exercise. Finding employment with a prominent builder, he so improved his time that he had mastered the carpenter's trade in three years; and at twenty began as a builder and contractor on his own responsibility. He gave a steady devotion to his business for the next twenty-five years, soon becoming one of the leading men in his line, and engaged on some of the most extensive structures erected in Cleveland. His reputation for honest work soon became a part of his capital, and

he was kept busy. Substantial rewards for his labor came, and in 1870 he was enabled to retire from active business and enjoy the fruits of his industry. He has for some years been president of the Dover Bay Grape and Wine company; is one of the trustees of the Society for Savings, has served on its finance committee, and for some years has been its vice-president. Other business interests of Cleveland have felt the benefit of his capital or influence, but it is needless to go into details here.

Mr. Herrick's good business sense and practical acquaintance with the needs of the city were soon made of public use, by his election to the city council in 1855. The time was one of unusual importance, as has been shown in the foregoing. The union of the two corporations on opposite sides of the river had taken place only a short time previously, and a great many important questions were up for settlement. The course of Mr. Herrick was such during his first term that his ward kept him in the council during 1856, 1857 and 1858. During these years he served on some of the most important committees, and performed a great deal of work, the value of which has been recognized by the results of later years. In those days the system of city boards that now relieves the council of so much routine and special business, had not been introduced, and the departments of streets, schools, fire, police, water and infirmary were directly and entirely under the council's control. The committee on each department was therefore directly charged with its management. Mr.

Herrick was a member of the committee on fire and water, and on schools and public buildings. During his term of service the Central High school, Eagle street school, Mayflower, St. Clair, and several other buildings were erected, all of which showed evidence of Mr. Herrick's practical sense and skill as a builder. In association with Charles Bradburn he was the means of adding many improvements to the school system, much of it in the face of adverse criticism, and against that old fogysm that the progressive legislator is compelled continually to face. The fire department and newly-created water works department also engaged a large share of Mr. Herrick's attention, and found in him a consistent and judicious friend. Many of the great improvements in these departments of the public service were brought about during his early official career, and received his steadfast support. He had, in the old days, been a member of the volunteer fire department, and had personal knowledge of matters now under his control. During these years the central market was created, many of the most important streets of the city were opened or extended, and a large number of minor improvements set under way. The glance over the record of the city, compelled by the events heretofore set down, shows that Mr. Herrick was ever at his post of duty, and had an important part in all that was done.

In 1869 a vacancy occurred in the council membership from the Fourth ward, and so determined a pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Herrick that he

consented to an election to the place. His record during that year was a continuation of that outlined above. In 1873, on the request of Mayor Charles A. Otis, a Democrat, and therefore of another political party, he became the "citizen member" of the board of city improvements—a body hardly second in importance to the city council, and that must pass on all proposed improvements before they can be carried forward. He remained a member of this board under Mayor Otis, and was reappointed by Mayor Payne in 1876. During 1873 the work performed by the board was of an unusual quantity, and of great importance. The annexation of the village of East Cleveland had just occurred, and there were a great many improvements that had to be made in that portion of the city. The great viaduct across the valley of the Cuyahoga was in the formative period, and much labor and calculation had to be expended upon that. Many streets were being opened or widened. Over sixteen miles of sidewalk alone were laid in that year. The Ohio canal difficulty was on hand, and steps being taken for the removal of the weigh-lock, and the abandonment of the lower portion of that water highway. Over five miles of sewers were constructed during the year. Inasmuch as the citizen member of the board receives no pay for his services, and as Mr. Herrick is one who never votes a dollar of public money blindly or on faith, the amount of service he freely gave the city in this year alone can be imagined. During the next year the viaduct preparatory work was completed, and the contract let. The weigh-lock of the canal was removed, and the other work connected with that improvement got under way. Nearly eleven miles of sewer were completed, and other work done in proportion. During 1875 Mr. Herrick was not a member of the board, but 1876 found him in his old place. During the year the work connected with the canal was completed, and that of the viaduct was considerably advanced. In 1877 the work of the board was not less than that of the years previous, nor was Mr. Herrick's part in any degree decreased. His long acquaintance with city affairs, and his habit of following the dictates of his own judgment without reference to the influence of others, made of him a man of unusual usefulness in the board, and it was no wonder that the people of Cleveland decided to call him higher. He had been long talked of in connection with the mayoralty, and when he was nominated to that position by the Republicans of Cleveland, in the spring of 1879, the selection was looked upon as a wise one, and as only the fit recognition for long and faithful public services. He was elected, and took possession of the office for which he had been so admirably prepared by so many years of municipal experience.

In assuming the duties of the office, Mr. Herrick delivered a plain and concise inaugural, that showed his thorough acquaintance with all the city departments, and that expressed a quiet determination to keep the city from wild financial ventures, and hold every offi-

cial to the strict discharge of his duty. The solid, good sense in the document commended it to the taxpayers of all parties alike. "In order to secure an efficient administration of the city," said he, "there must be unity in our work. Nothing works greater evil than wrangling and discord. Political antagonisms should as far as possible be avoided, as our work is the protection of property and persons. . . The people have given into your hands the power to levy and collect taxes and expend the money when raised. Taxation is burdensome, and to a certain degree oppressive, and especially so at this time. In the exercise of this great power we must not forget that we are the servants, not the masters. . . We have secured our population and our wealth. In this light we are paid in a great degree for the excessive cost [of improvements he had already described]. It now remains to meet our obligations with as little interference with our business interests as possible. Nothing so effectually strangles manufacturing and all business enterprises as a high rate of taxation." In the line of suggestions for the future he said: "Municipal corporations should come to a halt in extravagant expenditures, at least till the business interests of the country revive, and all our resources are engaged, and the larger amount of surplus labor finds employment. It is unquestionably true the tide has already turned, but a sudden plunge into prosperity cannot be expected. Let us, as far as possible, lighten the load and help make the ascent as rapid as possible.

Economize in your appropriations, and postpone all new projects that will involve any considerable outlay, until we can recover from our commercial and industrial depression." Specific suggestions followed as to the canal lands and other improvements then under way or in contemplation. In regard to one great project in which he had ever taken a deep interest, he said: "We have the assurance that the breakwater, to which we have so long looked forward, will be pushed steadily to completion, and that when it is done Cleveland will have advantages as a shipping point exceeding those of any other city on the whole chain of the great lakes." There was prophecy that has been already realized when he added: "With the breakwaters giving her a harbor for shipping of every kind, and her railroads running from her wharves to the mines and furnace doors, the future growth and prosperity of Cleveland is as assured as has been that of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, from the same great sources—iron and coal."

Mr. Herrick commenced upon the discharge of his new office with administrative energy, and in a manner that fulfilled all the pledges made to the public by those who had secured his election. He had a plain, direct method of expression that showed all under his direction that the only way to retain place or secure advancement lay in a diligent discharge of every duty to which they were committed. He could be found at his post of duty at any time, and all things that passed through his hands found a rigid examination

before receiving his official sanction. During his first year of service he fulfilled his inaugural pledge, by using all his influence toward getting the city affairs into a sound financial condition, and against any new improvements that were not of absolute necessity. This will explain the following extracts from his annual message to the council at the close of the mayoralty year, in April, 1880: "For the first year during more than a decade the indebtedness of the city has not been increased, but on the contrary the general and special debt have been reduced in the sum of \$738,241.14. This result has been accomplished, too, with a lower rate of levy than for any year within the past eight years, upon a valuation of property but about four hundred thousand dollars greater than the valuation for 1878, and nearly three million dollars less than for any other year since 1873. It is the direct result of the exercise of judicious economy throughout all the departments, and is most acceptable to our people because it comes at a time when they are recovering from the financial embarrassments and difficulties of the past." In that message he made a strong plea for some provision by which the Cuyahoga river should be deepened and kept clear of bars and other obstructions, and also offered valuable suggestions as to street paving, a question that at that time was receiving unusual attention.

Almost his first official act on coming into power was to perform a service the full extent of which is only now beginning to be appreciated. Early in 1879

steps had been taken by the council to lease to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad company, for ninety-nine years, the lake front east of the Union depot. The mayor was directed to advertise for bids for the lease, that being the only legal method by which the transfer could be made. He did so, and at the same time gave the matter a thorough examination. At the council meeting of May 19, Mr. Herrick submitted the bid of the Lake Shore company, the only one received, and sent with it a communication that showed the whole matter in a new light. He called attention to the fact that the sum bid, three thousand dollars, was less by several hundred dollars the amount paid in damages for one tenth the amount of land appropriated from the Lake Shore company for Lake View park. He then pointed out the folly of the city forever signing away its right to the entire water front, and suggested that all the accommodation needed by the railroad for its tracks could be given from time to time without the entire loss of the city's rights in the premises. His reasoning was so strong, and so clearly given, that the lease was not made, and all the rights of the city were preserved.

Mayor Herrick's record during the two years of his first term was such that in the spring of 1881 he was renominated by the Republicans of Cleveland and again elected. During 1880 there had been less expended by the city for public improvements than for many years prior thereto. The reason for this lay in the determination of the

mayor and other city authorities that nothing should be done on their part to incur additional debt, and that everything must be paid for as it was had. In his message to the council on the opening of his second term, Mayor Herrick referred to this sound policy, and defended it in the following direct manner :

Some people are inclined to criticise this policy, characterizing it as penurious, tight-fisted and niggardly. They think that the city should continue to make improvements, and that if there is not enough ready money on hand, raised by taxation, to pay for them, bonds should be issued and the means provided in that manner.

It is not a course which they themselves would, as business men, pursue, nor recommend to a business friend, yet they insist that it is a proper thing for the city to do. Why the business principles which are applicable to an individual or private corporation are not equally applicable to a municipal corporation, I am unable to see, nor why it is not quite as essential for its well-being that the latter should live within its income as the former. The past ten or twelve years have been prolific of improvements, and resulted in heaping up debt at the rate of nearly a million dollars a year, and but for a positive enactment of the general assembly, it is probable that the frenzy for improvements would have carried our municipal law-makers still further in increasing the burden of debt and taxation. The respite of the last two or three years has enabled us to get back again to sound business principles, and to relieve ourselves of a considerable portion of the debt burden, so now we are in a condition to move on.

This suggested onward movement was slowly and carefully made, no improvement of great moment being undertaken during 1881. A great many ordinances for the paving of streets were passed, and the contracts let out for the work. In accordance with the suggestion of the mayor, as given above, a large amount of needed dredging in Cuyahoga river was done. Mr. Herrick made of all

questions a thorough examination before he undertook to discuss them, and, therefore, his suggestions were usually not only to the point but far-seeing in their wisdom. In his annual message to the council, in 1882, we find these prophetic words : "An open sewer (for the Cuyahoga river is nothing less) through the centre of our city cannot long be tolerated without serious results." He not only called attention to the danger, but suggested a remedy. After consulting with others competent to advise, he made a suggestion of an intercepting sewer, the same as is talked of now ; and to-day the authorities have awakened to that fact, and are getting ready to perform a work that should have been undertaken when advised four years ago. Many suggestions in this message were of the most important and advanced character, showing that the writer had made a deep personal study of the affairs of each department, and had the courage and wisdom that could make his knowledge of public use.

Mr. Herrick's second term as mayor expired on April 16, 1883. The progress made during those four years was marked, and the time was one in our municipal history when bad and reckless management could have done a great deal of harm. While all that was done during his administration has not been described here, nor the attempt made, a few figures will indicate a part thereof. The bonded debt of the city had increased from \$802,050 in 1866 to \$9,284,100 on January 1, 1879. Of this, \$6,455,100 had been created during the six years preceding 1879. The bonded

debt on January 1, 1883, was \$6,693,100, a reduction in the four years of Mayor Herrick's administration of \$2,591,000, with a tax levy less than that of the years preceding. There was expended during these four years in paving, repaving, constructing sewers, extending the water-works, and other permanent improvements, the sum of \$1,390,806.93, which amount was paid from revenues without borrowing, except for \$100,000, for which water-works extension bonds were issued. As the mayor said in his final communication to the council: "The city has paid and assumed \$967,499.27 since 1879 of special taxes assessed for certain special improvements, the collection of which was enjoined by the courts. In addition to this an unprecedentedly large expenditure has been necessary in keeping in passable condition the worn-out wood, concrete and macadam paved streets. The rapid growth of our city has made extra demands upon the several departments, and a consequent yearly increase of expenditures therein. But notwithstanding this, in none of the four years past have the ordinary expenses of the city government equaled those of the years 1875 or 1876. . . It will be observed that the interest to be paid by the city in 1883 will be \$466.62 less per day than in 1879, and that the *per capita* debt of the city has been diminished nearly one-half." In his final message, Mr. Herrick made some strong and pointed remarks on the subject of municipal indebtedness, that sounded the keynote of his whole public career. "If it be desirable," said he "that the tax rate

become uniform and stable in order to secure protection to our business interests, then the permanent improvements which are needed should be in a measure forecast, and be steadily and uniformly prosecuted, not faster, however, than funds can be supplied for such purposes from such low and uniform levy without running into debt. To enter upon and press many expensive improvements into two or three years, relying wholly upon the credit of the city, will defeat the attainment of this end. The effect of this latter course is to excite great activity for a time in the sphere of improvements, based upon a constantly increased indebtedness, which at length becomes so burdensome as to necessitate a suspension of all improvements for a time, until the people shall be able, by submitting to oppressive taxation, to lessen the principal of the debt, and lighten the exactions for interest."

I have made these extracts because they not only show the labor performed by Mayor Herrick for the public good, but give an idea, better than could be conveyed in any other way, of his strong business sense and his thorough mastery of municipal affairs. The service he performed at that critical juncture was an exceptional one. He held the helm steady through a difficult passage from financial danger to safety, and supplied the caution needed to place the city in a position from which it could make an advantageous advance on the future. He retired to private life, honored and respected by the public, and feeling that he had left an administration that is destined to be

ranked among the best ever possessed by Cleveland.

There are a number of ways in which Mr. Herrick made his impress on city affairs other than has been detailed above. It was during his mayoralty term, and by his aid and assistance, that Pelton park was secured to the South Side, the whole purchase being made in three years, and without the issuing of a dollar in bonds. During Mr. Herrick's last service in the council he was chairman of the committee on finance, and in that position was one of the chief factors by which the bonds of the city were sold in competitive sale and brought a premium instead of going at a discount, as had been the case prior to that time.

Since retiring from office Mr. Herrick has not concerned himself in public affairs to any great extent, except as an interested looker-on. He has been urged toward several important positions, but has withheld from all efforts in that direction, feeling that he has done enough public work. He is a warm friend and supporter of the Republican party, doing whatever lies in his power for its advancement. Before it came into being he was a Whig. At present his time is largely given to his

farm in Collinwood, which he visits nearly every day, and which gives him a proper proportion of amusement and recreation. He has earned the right to enjoy life in his own way, and takes the days as they come, with little regret for the past, and based on the knowledge that he has done one man's full duty in the world. His life has been given to hard work, and all that he has gained or become has been the result of his own labor. He is a man of indomitable will and energy, and has ever had a faith in his power to carry through any undertaking to which he might set his hand. He is strong and loyal in his friendships, and tenacious in his beliefs. When he feels that he is in the right, he holds thereto with set determination until he is shown to be in the wrong. When he goes into an undertaking he sees it to the end, and furnishes all the courage and strength it may demand. While quiet and somewhat reserved to the outside world, Mr. Herrick is very social with those who enjoy his friendship, and hospitable in the extreme. He is a true and generous man in all the relations of life, and a citizen who has proved his patriotism in his works.

J. H. KENNEDY.



Samuel Hodge

SAMUEL F. HODGE.

AMONG the men prominent in the industrial history of the city of Detroit, the name of Samuel F. Hodge stands in a place of deserved and honorable prominence. He acquired wealth and an unquestioned position in social and business circles, but he won more than a purely personal success, for his enterprise contributed largely to the development of a great and important business interest, and his money, wisely and actively employed, aided in attracting and sustaining a large number of skilled laborers, before the city of Detroit had passed beyond the day of small things. His success was entirely of his own winning. If ever there was a self-made man, the title belongs to him, and in these days when so many agitators and demagogues are preaching the pernicious doctrine that labor and capital are distinct and even antagonistic, divided by a natural barrier which no man may pass, the record of such a life is worth the making for the lesson it conveys. It would have puzzled Mr. Hodge to point to any day or any year of his life and say, "Here it was that I ceased to be a laborer and became a capitalist."

Mr. Hodge was born among the mines and chimneys of the English county of Cornwall, on the sixth day of March, 1822. His father was a man of the

people, chief blacksmith in the works of the Great Consols' mine.

From his earliest childhood the son lived in the glow of the forge and amid the ringing of hammers, among cavernous mines and belching works, at the centre of a great metal producing and manufacturing district. While still a lad he was himself employed in the shop, and advanced step by step to the mastery of his trade, under the care and teaching of his father. So thorough was this instruction and so apt was the pupil, that at the age of but seventeen years the young man was advanced to a place as boss of a shop.

He continued in Cornwall, working at his trade and perfecting himself in its mastery until 1849, when he became dissatisfied with his prospects and resolved to try his fortunes in the new world. He had then a young wife and two children whom he was obliged to leave behind until he could make a home for them, and after his years of hard work and in spite of his skill as a workman, he left Cornwall almost empty-handed.

In pursuance of his design he sailed for America, landing at the port of New Orleans, in the spring of 1849. At the very outset of his life in America he encountered a danger, for cholera was raging and broke out among the pas-

sengers of the river steamer upon which he made his journey to the north. Though his roommate was attacked and was nursed by Mr. Hodge throughout the voyage, the latter escaped the disease. Arriving at Toledo he made a short stay there, with some idea of making it his home, but decided instead to go to Detroit, which he did, and that city was ever afterward his home.

About the time of his arrival a fire occurred at Fort Wayne, and his first employment in America was as superintendent of a force of laborers, engaged in battering down the walls of the burned structure. The construction of the fort was begun in 1843 and was still in progress, under the supervision of Quartermaster-General Meigs, at the time of the fire. After the completion of his temporary work, Mr. Hodge was retained in the employment of the government, working as a blacksmith at Fort Wayne, which employment he continued until the completion of the fort in 1851. His earnings were sufficient to permit him to send for his wife and to establish himself with modest comfort, though many years of strict economy and self denial were necessary to lay the foundation of the wealth of later days.

After completing his work at Fort Wayne, Mr. Hodge became foreman of the blacksmith shop in the iron works of DeGraff & Kendrick, manufacturers of steam engines and other machinery. He remained in this capacity with DeGraff & Kendrick until 1854, and with the later organized corporation, the Detroit Locomotive company,

until the latter part of the year 1858, when he gave up the place, resolved to embark his own savings in an independent venture. From that day until the end of his life, he was never an employé.

The opening of the Lake Superior mines created a demand for machinery of a kind new in the United States, for use in reducing ore. Mr. Hodge's observation and experience in Cornwall had made him familiar with mining of a similar class, and he resolved to take a share in supplying this demand. Hence he opened an office in Detroit for the supplying of plants, the manufacture of special machinery and the general equipment of mines and metal works. He was, to all intents and purposes, a consulting and constructing engineer and contractor. He thus took and carried out a number of large contracts, subletting the work of construction to various firms and individuals. His good judgment of men and markets, and his complete familiarity with practical mechanics, made his success satisfactory, though he began with very small capital; demonstrated his capacity for independent business; gave him entire reliance upon himself and gained him the full confidence and credit of others.

In the year 1863, he gave up the contracting business, and was one of the organizers of the firm of Cowie, Hodge & Company, which embarked in the manufacture of steam engines and heavy machinery. The firm then consisted of William Cowie, Samuel S. Hodge, Thomas F. Christie and William Bar-

clay. Its capital was small, and the works established at the corner of Atwater and Rivard streets, was very unpretentious. The firm so continued, doing a successful and growing business, until 1865, when Messrs. Cowie and Barclay retired, and the firm became Hodge & Christie. In 1870, Mr. Hodge bought the interest of Mr. Christie and continued the business individually.

In 1876, during the worst of the depression which followed the crash of 1873, Mr. Hodge built the extensive and commodious structure now occupied by S. F. Hodge & Company, one of the most convenient manufacturing establishments in Detroit, and equipped it with a plant second to none. His friends remonstrated with him for making so large an outlay at such a time, but he answered by saying that a time of financial depression is always the most economical time to buy or to build. A practical justification of this view is found in the fact that his building and equipment cost him less, by many thousands of dollars, than they would have done had the work been delayed even three years.

In 1883, desiring to withdraw to an extent from the care and responsibility of business life, Mr. Hodge organized a corporation under the name of "Samuel F. Hodge & Company," to which the business was transferred, he serving, however, a considerable share of the stock, and retaining the presidency of the company until his death, since which time his son, Harry S. Hodge, has held that office.

Mr. Hodge had neither time nor taste for active political work. He voted for Lincoln in 1860, but later became a moderate Democrat. He was a member of the water commission from 1871, when he succeeded A. D. Fraser, until 1879, when he in turn was succeeded by James Beatty. He never held an office of emolument, and, when urged to accept the nomination for mayor, firmly declined, announcing that he was fully satisfied with experience in the public service.

His money was for the most part, until the incorporation of the establishment, kept in his own business. He was not connected with other industrial interests, and his investments were usually of a permanent nature, though he at times bought and sold Lake Superior stocks to advantage. He died on the fourteenth day of April, 1884, leaving a handsome fortune and a share in the great establishment he had built up, to his wife, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Clark, and to his five children.

Such, in the briefest outline, was the life of Samuel F. Hodge; but there are some personal particulars yet to tell, that the full force of his success may be known. It has been told that he was a worker when yet little more than a child. He shared the lot of his Cornish neighbors—that of hard work, early and late—in all his youth and early manhood. He had little opportunity for education, none for amusement or elegant accomplishment, yet, when, at the age of twenty-seven years, he came to America he came a poor

man, in spite of many years of unbroken labor.

It must be a man of no ordinary character who can come out from such an apprenticeship more than a mere mechanical drudge, yet he escaped this fate. In some way, in the intervals of his toilsome life, he succeeded in informing and developing his mind and taste. He showed independence of thought, breadth of idea and grasp of principle; he read and digested the work of good writers, and reasoned for himself with discrimination and acumen. His favorite reading was the mysterious Junius letters, with which comparatively few reading men of this day are familiar, and the trenchant force of these writings showed its influence in his own spoken and written words.

Though all his years until middle life were passed at the forge or in the shop, when he embarked in business for himself he showed a familiarity with the methods of business which would have become one educated in a counting room. His first letter-press copy-book shows great method and neatness in correspondence, with the full capacity to express himself with force and ease.

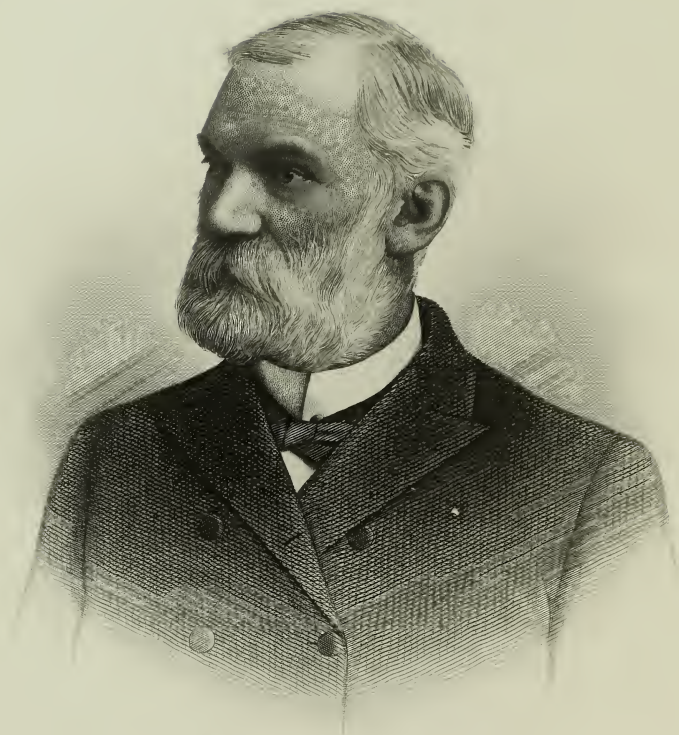
While he developed unusual ability in large affairs, much of his success is due to his familiarity with every detail of his business. His was, to the last, a familiar face among his own workmen, and he was fully competent to detect, and ready to reprove, carelessness or slovenliness of workmanship.

An interesting example of his practical sense, skill in controversy and mys-

teriously acquired literary ability, was afforded during his connection with the business of the Lake Superior country. The miners and other operators of the region were many of them Cornish men, a race obstinately conservative and fanatically opposed to innovation. For the reduction of ore, old fashioned Cornish stamps, such as the men had been accustomed to in the old country, were at first used, and, when it was sought to introduce the "Ball stamp," working on the principle of the steam hammer, and an immense improvement, the change was bitterly opposed by the men. An editor in the region came to the defense of the improvement, and a lively newspaper controversy followed, in which the editor was assailed by a legion of correspondents, who asked the use of his own columns to refute his position. Finding himself overmastered, by reason of his lack of technical knowledge, he appealed to Mr. Hodge for aid and the latter took the battle off his hands.

For a long time Mr. Hodge carried on this contest single-handed against the whole array of Cornish obstructionists. The editor weekly sent him the manuscript contributions, and his replies appeared in print side by side with them. Appreciating the moral force of numbers, he multiplied himself by adopting a number of *nomes de plume*, and maintaining his own incognito, carried the controversy to a complete victory. The letters are keen, logical and of literary excellence, and caused a sensation at the time of their appearance.

A short quotation from one of the communications written by Mr. Hodge, in



A. C. Parker

the course of this controversy, will not be amiss, as illustrating his trenchant style and his good literary form :

I cannot maintain my own position unless I prove that yours is wrong ; this makes it a difficult task for me, when all your theories and deductions therefrom are founded upon wrong hypotheses. In your first letter you were guilty of an error in calculation, accidental or intentional ; it was detected and I stated in my reply that it was so and that your deductions were erroneous. In your next you asserted you were right, as per experiment with the scale. I reiterated that you had again deceived yourself, and recommended to you a simple contrivance to thoroughly test it. This it seems your prejudice would not admit of. I reiterate that you are wrong again, and further, that you have not, to date, given us the first correct deduction from sound premises. If you consider that style of talk personal, make the most of it.

You remark that you have finished tilting with a masked opponent ; as you please, but one word before you leave. Remember that it was at your

election that you found this tournament, and, with pierced visor and shivered lance you are at liberty to retire.

Mr. Hodge was a man upon whose business and personal record there is no spot or shadow. He was punctiliously honest, in spirit as in deed ; kind and generous, a good citizen, a true friend and a loving husband and father. He left a name more precious than his fortune and an example worthy of study and pursuit. Considering the starting point and the goal, his race was a wonderful one, but those who read this sketch will know that it was no miracle—only the work of a faithful, patient, honest man, whom the poorest and simplest may imitate.

W. B.

HERVEY C. PARKE.

ONE of the most successful business men in Detroit and, in his own field, one of the most successful in the world, is Hervey C. Parke, the financial head of the firm of manufacturing chemists and pharmacists, Parke, Davis & Company. His fortune is purely the fruit of his own efforts and of a close and unsparring devotion to the duty of the hour. He began his career with no fortuitous advantages, and the story of his life is the better worth telling for that fact.

Mr. Parke's remote ancestors were English people and occupied positions of consequence in the ancient city of Bristol. Quite early in the Eighteenth century, one of them, Daniel Parke, the

great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to America and settled at Middle Haddam, Connecticut. Though living in the very heart of a Puritan community, this first American Parke was a staunch adherent of the church of England, as was his son after him.

John Parke, son of the first emigrant to America, was also a resident of Middle Haddam, and was extensively engaged in business as a ship builder and in the West India trade. He remained in Connecticut until about the year 1816, when he removed to Oneida county, New York, being accompanied by his children, among whom was his son Ezra S. Parke, the father of the

subject of this sketch. This son obtained his rudimentary education in the common schools of the neighborhood, continued his course in the more advanced local institutions, and then began the study of medicine in the office of a resident physician. His professional course was completed at the venerable institution then known as Geneva, but now called Hobart college, where he obtained his degree June 14, 1819.

During the year 1820 Ezra S. Parke married Rhoda Sperry, a member of the family well known in connection with the manufacture of clocks at New Haven, Connecticut, and of which several members are still engaged in that industry. Miss Sperry had also removed with her parents to Oneida county, and resided in the same neighborhood with the Parke family.

In October, 1822, Ezra S. Parke removed from the state of New York and settled at Bloomfield, Oakland county, Michigan, where Hervey Coke Parke was born on the thirteenth day of December, 1827. Dr. Parke had been preceded in his emigration to Michigan by his brother, Captain Hervey Parke, for whom the subject of this sketch was named, and who was engaged upon the government survey of the territory from the year 1821 until 1835 or 1836, during which time he was associated with Mullett, Lyon and others whose names have become historical.

Dr. Parke, when he came from Connecticut to New York, was a member of the Church of England, or rather of its American equivalent, the Protestant

Episcopal church. He found, however, no Episcopal organization in his neighborhood, and associated himself with the Methodist Episcopal church. This relation was maintained after the removal of Dr. and Mrs. Parke to Michigan, that church being, indeed, almost the only one that maintained an organization upon the frontiers. Both were devoutly and sincerely religious. In their house the rules of conduct, especially of Sabbath observance, were stringent. The children were reared in an atmosphere of kindness, but the most punctilious obedience was always exacted and the strictest observance of every religious duty required.

It is difficult, in these days of easy communication and of dense population, to appreciate what was the life of a country physician in Michigan sixty years ago. The field over which Dr. Parke was compelled to ride extended practically from Ann Arbor to Lake St. Clair. Roads were few and bad, patients were widely scattered and often too poor to pay their doctor, yet the doctor always answered calls. Winter or summer, day or night, in sunshine or storm, all was the same to him; he did his duty without a thought of himself.

During the incumbency of General Cass as governor, Dr. Parke was appointed postmaster of Bloomfield, and held the office for many years and under several administrations.

In spite of his arduous professional labor, Dr. Parke was never able to do much more than to keep his family in comfort. This he always did. His

table was amply provided, his children were well clothed and well taught, and his home a refined and pleasant one. Clergymen of every denomination sought his hospitality, after the manner of the day, and never in vain. Still, in spite of a life which the city physician of to-day would regard as slavery, he did not accumulate, and when, in 1846, he and his wife were stricken with a mysterious epidemic and died within a few weeks of the same day, he left behind him little besides a good and thoroughly respected name.

At Bloomfield, Hervey C. Parke passed his boyhood and early youth. The residents of the place subscribed for the support of a school, and there was probably no better institution of its grade in the state than that which they secured. During Mr. Parke's boyhood this school was taught in turn by the lamented J. D. Standish, and by Judge Baldwin, now living at Pontiac. It was here that the boy obtained his primary education—an exceptionally thorough and excellent one—which was shared by the Trowbridges, Satterlees, Fishes, and by many other persons who later won success and distinction in a greater or less degree. His indebtedness to the teachers who gave him this early grounding in the old school at Bloomfield, Mr. Parke has always readily acknowledged.

During the year 1844 Mr. Parke left home for the first time and had, as well, his first taste of business, removing to Buffalo, New York, where he attended school and was at the same time employed in an upholstery establishment, conducted by a friend of the family.

During this stay in Buffalo his earnings were very nearly enough to support him, and his dependence entirely ceased with the completion of his school days and of his residence in that city.

In 1846 Mr. Parke returned to Michigan and entered the hardware store of George L. Bidwell, at Adrian, where he remained for nearly two years, and until, his health failing, he was compelled to seek a change of employment. Removing to Pontiac, he shortly secured a position as teacher of a school at West Bloomfield, and continued in charge during one winter term. There was in the school at the time a large number of pupils, nineteen of whom were older than the teacher, and in the number were included a few turbulent spirits of the type familiar to every one who has attended a district school in the country. One of these, a young man, older, larger and stronger than Mr. Parke, declared his intention to break up the school, and, by a course of deliberate disobedience and disorder, brought on a collision. Mr. Parke readily admits that he was hardly pressed in the contest that followed, but he retired from the field with the victory in his hands, and had the satisfaction to receive from his antagonist a promise of reform, sincerely made and so far redeemed that the defeated pupil taught the same school during the following year. This service as teacher was a most excellent discipline for the young man, and he has always regarded it as one of the most valuable experiences of his life, serving to teach him self-control, to enlarge his knowledge, and

to more definitely fix his mastery of subjects already pursued. This testimony to the exceeding value of teaching in the education of the teacher, is almost uniformly supported by the expressions of the hundreds of successful men in every walk of life who have temporarily adopted the calling in their earlier years.

In 1848 Mr. Parke again returned to Pontiac and entered the employment of Willard M. McConnell, the keeper of a general country store. Here he became familiar with every detail of a business which provided for almost every need of the rural community about Pontiac. The training was of exceedingly great value in preparing him for his own business career. It gave him what was really his first grounding in the principles of business, taught him confidence in himself and imparted an invaluable knowledge of human nature.

Mr. Parke remained in the employ of Mr. McConnell until 1850, when his health again failed and he was advised to visit the Lake Superior region. In pursuance of this advice, he sought and secured a position in the employ of the owners of the Cliff copper mine which he retained for eleven years, making his home at the mine in Keeweenaw county. He was, from the first, financial manager of the mine, and early developed the tact and skill in money matters which have marked his later life and lie at the foundation of his success. His health, too, was fully established and he amassed a competence, the result of an inflexible rule, early adopted, to lay aside

some portion of the income of every month.

Mr. Parke resigned his position with the mining company during the year 1861, removed to the Portage Lake district of Michigan and made his first independent venture, embarking in the general hardware trade, with a special view to providing for the needs of mines and miners. Here he built up a very large trade and won a remarkable success. His experience with the Cliff mine proved of especial value, and his intimate acquaintance with the needs of his trade, coupled with natural business ability and indefatigable industry, largely increased his accumulations. He remained so engaged until the year 1865, when he sold his business and determined to remove to Detroit. To this end he took passage on the steamer *Pewabic*, being accompanied by his wife and two of his four children. While on the downward voyage, about eight o'clock one evening, occurred an awful catastrophe which came near ending his career. The *Pewabic* came into collision with the *Meteor* in the midst of Lake Huron. Mr. Parke retained his presence of mind and, realizing the extent of the injury which the *Pewabic* had sustained, succeeded in safely transferring his wife and children to the *Meteor*, thus saving them from the fate which overtook sixty-five of his fellow passengers.

For a year after reaching Detroit, Mr. Parke was not engaged in business. At the expiration of that time, he was one of the organizers of the firm of Duffield, Parke & Company, manufacturing

chemists. This association continued only until 1868, when was formed the firm of Parke, Davis & Company, consisting of Hervey C. Parke, George S. Davis, John R. Grout and William H. Stevens. From the day of the formation of this firm, its success has been a matter of constant and enormous growth. Mr. Parke has been from the first its financial head. He knew nothing of chemistry or pharmacy when he embarked in the business, though the inevitable contact with its various departments has since given him a thorough familiarity with the details of its work. He found, however, in Mr. Davis a man competent to spare him all anxiety beyond his own chosen department. Mr. Davis is a practical chemist and in Mr. Parke's estimation, one of the brightest and most capable business men in Michigan. The two principal partners of the house are complements of each other, and could not be better fitted to work together for a common success. Mr. Parke is careful, conservative and possesses the characteristics of a safe and legitimate financier. Mr. Davis is radical, pushing and enterprising; an organizer and extender of the business.

This state of things accounts for the marvelous success of the house, which makes more than twice the annual sales of any other manufacturing pharmacists in the United States. Twice has it outgrown its quarters and been compelled to seek others, and it now occupies the most convenient and commodious buildings used for the purpose in the world. These are situated well toward the out-

skirts of Detroit, where land is comparatively cheap, yet the real estate held by the firm and occupied in its business represents a value of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

About five hundred and fifty persons are employed in the business, twenty-five salesmen travel in its interests, and its markets are found in every civilized country. Australia, New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, China, Japan, India, and many other Asiatic countries, as well as the whole of Europe, buy the goods of the firm. A regular agent is kept in Australia, and a London agency is maintained, through which much of the foreign business is done.

These results have been reached by the most liberal methods within the house, by the employment, at any cost, of the best skill in every department; by judicious advertising in medical journals; by direct contact with the medical profession, and, above all, by perfect and punctilious honesty in the materials and processes of manufacture.

In 1876, the business was incorporated under the state law, retaining the name of Parke, Davis & Company. Its paid up capital was then fifty thousand dollars and has now been increased to five hundred thousand dollars. All the original partners of the firm are stockholders in the corporation, Mr. Parke retaining a one-third interest. In addition, several of the principal employes of the establishment were admitted to share in the concern, and are now so interested. It is expected that the total sales during the present year will exceed those of any previous year. Mr. Parke has been

president of the corporation from the first, and Mr. Davies secretary and treasurer, though the actual duties of the treasurership fall upon Mr. Parke's shoulders.

The cares of this great business have very largely monopolized Mr. Parke's time, since he first engaged in it, and his increasing fortune has been to a great degree devoted to its extension. He has kept almost entirely away from connections with other business enterprises. He is a director of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' National Bank of Detroit, which is his only financial association beyond his own especial business.

Mr. Parke has returned to association with the Protestant Episcopal church, to which his ancestors were so devoted, and has been for twenty years a member of St. John's church, during twelve years of which time he has been a vestryman. He is greatly interested in church matters, particularly in such as relate to missions, and has for some years been an active working member of the committee on city missions, appointed by the bishop of the diocese. He is one of the trustees of the diocese of eastern Michigan, sharing in the duty of caring for the church property within the diocese. He was recently elected senior warden of the newly organized parish of St. Joseph, and takes an especial interest in the welfare of that young church.

Of St. Luke's hospital, he is a trustee and one of its most liberal supporters.

Mr. Parke is a Republican in politics but has never taken active part in political life, or held any office.

In 1860 he married Fannie A., eldest daughter of the Hon. James B. Hunt, at one time representative in congress from the district including Oakland county. She died in 1867, leaving five children, of whom two were sons and three daughters. In 1872 he married Miss Mary M. Meade of Detroit, by whom he has five children, of whom four are living.

Mr. Parke has accumulated a handsome fortune, which has not at all lessened the unostentatious simplicity of his character and manners. He lives handsomely, as is due to himself, and gives liberally, and quite without display, to every worthy cause and person. Once every year he visits California, where his only surviving brother and sister live. The former is Lyman C. Parke, head of the great firm of Parke & Lacy, and the latter Mrs. Sarah Parke French.

The unceasing industry and punctilious honor of Mr. Parke's life have won the reward of wealth, and wealth won without spot or blemish upon character or repute. Still in the vigor of his years, he lives surrounded by loving kindred and affectionate friends, and enjoying the respect of all who know him.

WALTER BUELL.

' THE DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO BY FRAY MARCOS OF NIZZA.

THE tale told by Cabeza de Vaca and companions*—of their wanderings through the southwest, attracted attention, but it was not necessary in order to stimulate Spanish advance towards the heart of North America. Such an advance was already in progress since 1529, although it had not reached yet beyond southern Sonora. Confused rumors about a vast river flowing into the Pacific Ocean (Lower California was yet deemed an island) were gathered by Spanish outposts. That river was the Colorado of the West.†

The tribes of central Mexico knew nothing about the north, beyond that it

was inhabited by fierce and savage tribes, and that somewhere in that northern country they themselves had possibly originated. The great quadrupeds of our west were unknown to them. One author affirms that, in 1530, Nuno de Guzman, then ruler of New Spain, heard of seven towns, lying forty days north of New Mexico, and which were rich in gold and silver. That story, it is said, prompted him to undertake his famous expedition to Sinaloa, and occasioned the spread of Spanish arms beyond the Mayo river.‡

It should not be overlooked, that the story of the "seven cities," was in a measure of European origin. Even prior to Columbus, the tale of the island "Antilia" to which a Portuguese bishop fled with some Christians in the ninth century and where he founded seven settlements, circulated among cosmo-

* Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca.

† The expedition of Nuno Beltran de Guzman, successor to Cortéz, began in 1529. Garcia del Pilar '*Relacion de la Entrada de Nuno de Guzman*,' (Vol. II. of "*Col. de Doe para la Hist. de Mexico*," 1866, p. 248): "y mas de que salió ano de 29, tres dias antes de la Pascua de Navidad." The notice of the river is contained in the same volume on p. 303. '*Segunda Relacion anonima de la Jornada de Nuno de Guzman*.' It cannot have been any other than the Colorado, for the Spaniards had already discovered the Yaqui then.

‡ Castaneda '*Relation du voyage de Cibola*, (Chap. i, pp. 1, 2, 3.) '*Segunda Relacion anonima*,' (p. 303): "La demanda que llevábas cuando salémos á descubrir este rio era las Siete Cidades, porque el gobernador Nuno de Guzman tenia noticia dellas."

graphers. § It was a church legend. The discovery of the Antilles established that the seven cities were not there, but the story was not forgotten, and the mainland appeared vast enough to harbor, in some unknown nook, remnants at least of the legendary towns. Public mind was, therefore, prepared to find them.

The stimulus given to Spanish enterprise by the relations of Cabeza de Vaca did not arise so much from the fact that they conveyed startling intelligence. But the adventurers confirmed, in a measure, beliefs previously entertained thoughts long harbored. Whether the fixed abodes which they had seen, still more considerable ones of which they had heard, lay in the very distant north or in some other direction, the fact of their existence sufficed. But above all, it was considered that among those few men who had suffered so much, and had acquired such intimate acquaintance with country and inhabitants, one at least might prove invaluable as guide to further exploration. Such thoughts at once pervaded the mind of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, and one of the greatest administrators America ever possessed.

The three Spaniards were unavailable. They returned to the mother country and Estevanico the negro, alone remained. Before however an expedition was started

the viceroy cautiously determined to reconnoiter the country, with smaller apparatus, less risk of lives and minor expenditure. No better scouts could the Spanish administrator secure than missionaries of the church. They were wont to risk everything, to penetrate everywhere, regardless of danger. For one who perished, many were eager to follow. Such men could be implicitly trusted; they harbored no afterthought beyond the crown of martyrdom, which was their most glorious reward.

Ere the negro could be associated with any enterprise, it was prudent to test the truth of his statements. In 1538 two monks, Fray Pedro Nadal and Fray Juan de la Asuncion, traveled north as far as the Gila (or the Colorado) ¶

¶ There exist but four notices of the trip, and they are very brief. The oldest one in my possession is from 1598. It is found in Fray Gerónimo Mendieta, *'Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana'* (Lib. iv, Chap. xi, pp. 399-400). It is quite confuse and looks suspiciously like a copy of the report of Fray Marcos. Shorter, but very positive, is the notice given by Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita *'Cronica Serafica y apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda fide de la Santa Cruz de Queretaro'* (1792). He gives the names of the two friars and says they struck the river in 35° latitude, north, whereas Fray Marcos, who called it Rio de las Balsas, put it in 34°. The Gila flows, on an average, along the thirty-third parallel, and the error of one to two degrees is the usual one in determinations of latitude at those times. Arricivita (prólogo) says it was the Colorado of the west; but Fray Marcos never reached that stream. Still it is possible, and at all events the fathers discovered Arizona. Finally José Cortés *'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva Espana'* (1799, MSS. fol., 87) mentions Fray Juan de la Asuncion.

§ See the inscription on the map of Jan Ruysch: *'Universalior cogniti Orbis Tabula'*, 1508. Also Fray Gregorio Garcia *'Origen de los Indios'* (second edition, 1729. Lib. iv., Chap. xx, p. 189). The notice is inserted by the editor, Barcia.

river, but returned, being unable to cross it. They had started in January and came back the same year.* This was the discovery of Arizona.

Meanwhile, Don Antonio de Mendoza had cast his eyes upon another friar whom, he thought, would be specially fitted for an arduous task like the one northern explorations implied. Fray Marcos of Nice, in the Duchy of Savoy, had acquired considerable experience in Peru, Quito and Guatemala. He resided in Mexico since several years and was highly esteemed.† To him the viceroy committed the enterprise, giving him as chief-guide, the negro Estevanico, and several Indians of the lower Pima tribe, who followed Cabeza de Vaca into northern Sinaloa. Those Indians had been brought to Mexico and taught the Spanish language on purpose that they might afterwards serve as interpreters and introduction with unknown Indians.

* For a biography of Fray Marcos compare Mendieta '*Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*' (pp. 400, 541, etc.) Fray Juan de Torquemada '*Los veinte i un libros rituales i Monarchia Indiana*' (second edition, 1723, Vol. III, pp. 499-500). Fray Augustin Vetancurt '*Menologio franciscano*' (Reprint of 1871, pp. 117-119). Compare also my '*Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Aborigines of New Mexico*' (p. 7, note 3). He died at Mexico on the twenty-fifth of March, 1558.

† Fray Marcos de Nizza '*Relation*' (in '*Cibola*' appendix, p. 206). Antonio de Mendoza ('*Lettre, etc.*,' Idem p. 288). '*Historia General*' (Dec. vi, Lib. vii, Chap. vii, p. 155), "seis Indios de aquella Tierra, que eran Esclavos, i dió el visorrei al P. Fr. Marcos para su compania, que les havia tenito en Mexico, para que se hiciesen ladinos, i tomasen amor á las cosas de los Christianos."

Elaborate instructions were issued to the Franciscan monk in writing, those instructions speak highly in favor of the viceroy's perspicacity and tact. As an evidence I merely refer to the following sentences:

You shall always seek to travel with the greatest possible safety, to inform yourself of whether the natives are at war with each other. You shall avoid giving them any occasion to harm your person, lest it might compel to proceed against, and to punish them, in which case, in place of doing them good and enlightening them, the contrary would arise.

You will take the greatest care to note the strength of the people, if they are numerous or not, if they live scattered or together, the appearance of the country, its fertility, climate trees, plants, wild animals, the nature of the soil, if dry or traversed by rivers and whether those rivers are large or small, the stones and metals which that soil contains. If you can secure samples of all these objects, bring them along, or send them, in order that His Majesty may become thoroughly informed.‡

Thus instructed—confirmed subsequently by a formal power and authorization of Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Franciscan provincial, (which document bears date: Mexico, August 27 [old style], 1539), Fray Marcos left San Miguel de Culiacan (Sinaloa) on the 7-19 of March 1539. His companions were a lay brother of the Franciscan order called Onorato, the negro Estevanico, and a number of well-trained Indians.|| The negro was instructed by the viceroy, "to obey you in all matters as if you were myself. Should he fail to do it, he would render himself liable to

‡ Don Antonio de Mendoza '*Instruction donnee, au pere Marcos de Niza*' ('*Cibola*,' p. 251). Herrera '*Hist. General*' (Vol. II, p. 156).

|| Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo '*Attestation*' ('*Cibola*,' p. 254). Marcos of Nizza '*Relation*' (p. 256),

the punishments inflicted to persons guilty of disobedience against officers invested by His Majesty with the right to command"*

Well-treated by the few Indians who occupied the country, the missionary reached Petatlan, on the confine of Sinaloa.† In that village he remained three days and here brother Onorato, having fallen sick, was obliged to return to Culiacan, while Fray Marcos, the negro, and the Indians moved onwards, traveling so far constantly near the coast. He now moved among natives belonging to the Yaqui stock. The country was thinly settled, sometimes uninhabited. The people told him that, four or five days beyond and inland, there were large towns whose inhabitants dressed in cotton. He showed his informants specimens of various metals which he had taken along. Their attention was at once attracted by gold which they pointed out saying: that the inhabitants of those settlements had bowls, also nose and ear pendants, made of that material.‡

After moving for three days among people who received him in the most friendly manner, he arrived at a considerable village called "Vacapa." This was in all probability "Matape" of

to-day.§ At all events it was about the centre of the present state of Sonora, and its inhabitants were "Eudeves."||

‡ 'Relation' (p. 260) says that Vacapa was forty leagues (108 miles) from the sea. Compare on the location of the place the map of Father Eusebio Kino (Kunhoe) in P. Joseph Stocklein 'Der neue Weltbott' (Vol. I, second edition, 1728). 'Noticia breve de la expedicion militar de Sonora y Sinaloa, etc.' (Vol. I, "Documentos para la Historia do Méjico," fourth series, Chap. viii. Trip of Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra and F. Eusebio Kino, twenty-seventh of February to sixteenth of April, 1701. p. 327, no title). Bacapa is placed thirty leagues N. W. and six leagues N. and N. E. of Caborca, and the writer says: "y parece es por lo que pasó el ejército de Francisco Vasquez Coronado el ano de 1540." He bases his opinion on the name and on the distance from the coast. The name proves nothing. Pima names, as well as Opatá names, occur in Sonora and Arizona sometimes half a dozen times. I know, from personal visit, two "Bamori," two "Bamochi," two "Nacori," etc., etc. Neither is the distance a criterion. Matape is not one hundred and twenty miles from the sea-shore. It is an old mission, having been founded among the "Eudeves" (a dialect of the Opatá) in 1629. Orozco y Berra 'Geografía de las Len. guas' (p. 344). The distance from Vacapa to the "desert" (112 leagues or 312 miles) points strongly to Matape, so does the description of the country. But there is still another proof in favor of Matape. While sojourning along the coast, inhabitants of two islands, a larger and a smaller one, came to see the father, and they also visited him while at Vacapa (p. 262). The "Isla del Tiburon" and "del Angel de la Guardia" lie almost in the parallel of Matape, whereas from the Bacapa of Kino they are at least two hundred miles due south. It is not likely that Fray Marcos, having had intercourse with the Indians of these islands, would have waited until he was far to the north to send his people back after them.

|| Orozco 'Geografía, etc.' (p. 344).

* Mendoza 'Instruction, etc.' (p. 250).

† 'Relation' (p. 257). Herrera 'Hist. General' (p. 156). The Rio de Petatlan is at present the Rio del Fuerte.

‡ 'Relation' (p. 259). Herrera 'Hist. General' (II, p. 156) "dixeron, que á quatro jornadas la Tierra adentro se remataban las Cordilleras de las Sierras se hacia una Abra llana, i de mucha Tierra, adonde la Gente andaba vestida, que tenian Vasijas de el Oro, que los mostró, i lo traian colgado de orejas, i narices."

Here he resolved to send the negro ahead with directions to explore the country north of it for fifty or sixty leagues (135 to 162 miles). "I convened with him that if he learned of populous, rich, and extensive countries he should not advance any farther, but return in person or dispatch me some Indians with, a token which we had agreed upon. In case that country was of ordinary size, he was to send a white cross of a hand's length, if more important the cross was to be twice that size, and if it was larger than New Spain the sign was a large cross."* Estévanico left in the afternoon of "Passion Sunday, † and very soon Fray Marcos received a message from him in the shape of a cross or crucifix as high as a man. The Indians who carried it urged the priest to start after the negro at once, since the latter "had found people who spoke to him of a country, the biggest in the world, and he had with him Indians who had been there." One of these came to Vacapa with the others, and the substance of his tale was, that thirty days' march from the place where Estévan remained (about two journeys north of Vacapa) the first town of a country called *Cibola* was to be found. He further said that "In this first province there are seven cities, very large ones, who all belong to one sovereign. There are large houses whose terrace walls are of masonry, the smallest are

one story high with a terrace, there are others of two and three stories, and that of the ruler has four well-arranged floors. At the doors of the principal houses there are many ornaments of turquoises, which stones are quite common in that country." ‡

Fray Marcos was anxious to leave at once, still he had to wait yet for the return of messengers which he had dispatched to the coast. When these came they brought him shields of "cowhides," very large, and some of the coast people accompanied them. They were very poor, belonging evidently to the tribe of Guaymas, ¶ a branch of the "Seris." §

‡ Idem (p. 261) '*Hist. General*' (pp. 156-157).

¶ The "Guaymas" were a branch of the "Seris" and spoke a dialect of their language. Orozco '*Geografía*' (p. 354). The Seris occupied, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the coast of Sonora from Guaymas north. Their savagery and ferocity are well known. Compare P. Ribas '*Hist. de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee*' (Lib. vi, Chap. i, p. 359). "es sobremanera bozal, sin pueblos, sin casas, ni sementeras."

§ Compare '*Relation*' (p. 263-266) with the statements of Ribas '*Hist. de los Triunfos*' (Lib. vi, Chap. xviii, p. 392). It is the only valley in Sonora that could correspond to the description of Fray Marcos. I have examined it closely, under the auspices of the archaeological institute, as far south of the line as Babiácora and am convinced that the friar took this route. This is further proven by the well established fact that, the next year, he led Coronado and his forces up the Sonora valley. Castaneda ('*Cibola*,' pp. 44, 157, 158, etc.). Juan Jaramillo ('*Relation, etc.*' '*Cibola*' appendix, p. 367). Castaneda says that when Coronado went from Culiacan to Cibola (by way of Sonora) all the Indians on the line of march knew Fray Marcos (p. 40). That the Opatas were, and still are, the inhabitants of the valley is a well known fact which requires no further proof.

* '*Relation*' (p. 260).

† Idem (p. 260) "le dimanche de la Passion après diner." Easter fell that year on the nineteenth of April, therefore Passion-Sunday on the fifth.

Leaving Vacapa two days after Easter Sunday, the missionary entered the Opatá country, on the valley of the Sonora river.* In his company went three Indians of a tribe living east of Matape, and distinguished by the paint on their faces, chests and arms." Relatives of theirs reside in the vicinity of the seven cities." These Indians were Pimas.†

While traveling up the Sonora river, (which he found well inhabited) Fray Marcos gathered further information about Cibola. All agreed about the number of turquoises found there, that the people dressed in long shirts of cotton and in cow-skins; the Opatas themselves owned greenstones and robes of cowhide which they acquired by trading at Cibola. "They added, that besides the seven cities, there were three other kingdoms called Marata, Acus, and Totontecac." But however earnestly the priest followed in the wake of his negro guide, the latter, disobeying orders, never stopped to wait for him, eager to reach Cibola first, regardless of the commands of the viceroy, Estévan, gradually increased the distance between him and his superior, limiting himself to messages urging the friar to greater haste.‡

The gray cloth in which the monk was dressed attracted the attention of the Opatá Indians. They told him that

at Totontecac there was much of the same material, made out of the hair of animals as large as the two small grey-hounds which accompanied the negro, and that the people dressed in that cloth.||

The friar's route was constantly to the north. Beyond Bacuachi he left the Opatá settlement behind and, entering a region which though, uninhabited, was by no means a waste, crossed the Arizona line of to-day. After four days of travel through this deserted country, reaching the valley of the San-Pedro river, he fell in with the villages of the Sobaypuris;§ a branch of the northern Pimas.¶ Here Cibola was almost a

|| Idem (p. 267). Herrera (II, p. 157).

§ The ruins of any consequence begin at Los Fresnos, but they are old, and Mututicachi, about ten miles north of Bacuachi, was probably the last settlement of the Opatas along the Sonora to the northward. The village was abandoned in consequence of the Apaches. Beyond it the country was deserted until to the middle course of the San Pedro in Arizona, near Contention, a difficult stretch of fifty miles in a straight line, but of seventy at least in following water-courses.

¶ 'Relation' (p. 267-269). "At this latitude," he says, "the coast turns and the Gulf of California terminates." "Elle tourne à l'Ouest." This is absolutely true, though his altitude (35°) is of course wrong. It should be 32° latitude, north.

The Sobaypuris are a branch of the Pimas. Joseph Antonio de Villa-Senor y Sanchez '*Theatro Americano, etc.*' (1748, Vol. II, Lib. v, Chap. xvi, p. 396): "hablan el Idioma de los Pimas, aunque con alguna diferenciencia en la pronunciacion." They inhabited two valleys near Tucson (Id., p. 375), one of which was the San Pedro, but had to leave it in 1763 on account of the Apaches and retire to the vicinity of Tucson. '*Rudo Ensayo, tentativa de una*

† The Pimas of Arizona inhabited, and still inhabit, the Gila within two hundred miles of Zuni. They paint themselves in a striking manner. East of Matape—or rather southeast—are the lower Pima missions and the "Valley of the Hearts."

‡ '*Ralation*' (p. 264).

household word, and he received further information. It was stated :

(1). That the chief place of Cibola was called "Ahacus." (2). That Tontotec lay to the west of the "Seven Cities." (3). That there existed another "kingdom" named "Acus." (4). That Marata was south of Cibola, and that its power had greatly decreased on account of war with the people of the "Seven Cities."*

This information he obtained from an old man, a fugitive from Cibola, who dwelt among the Sobaypuris in south-eastern Arizona. The last village of these people, the priest estimated to be one hundred and twelve leagues (three hundred and eight miles) north of Vacapa ; beyond lay a desert which it required fifteen long journeys to traverse until Cibola was reached.†

On the 9-21 of May he began this last painful march. On the first day he had to cross a river. Then followed eleven days more through and uninhabited country with abundance of game. It was consequently about the second of

June, 1539, that he was "met by an Indian, son of one of the chiefs who accompanied me, and who had followed Estévan, the negro. His face was all dejected and his body covered with perspiration ; his whole exterior betokened great sadness." He indeed told a frightful tale, too often repeated to need detailed mention. Estévan had reached Cibola and its people had killed him.‡

It was a terrible blow to Fray Marcos of Nizza. At the very threshold of the promised land entrance to it was forbidden by the unexpected hostility of its inhabitants. His own Indian companions refused to go further, they rebelled against his weak authority. The course of prudence would have been to yield to their determination and turn back, but mindful of the instructions of the viceroy, Fray Marcos cut the cords which bound the boxes containing cloth and objects of exchange, and inviting his escort to help themselves, beseeched them to take at least one step further, enabling him to catch a glimpse of the the "Seven Cities," and thus report to the viceroy on what he had actually seen.

His inducements prevailed. Even at the risk of their lives the whole party moved on toward Cibola. On their way they met two of the companions of Estévan. They arrived covered with blood and wounds. Here his Indians again refused to go further, and even decided to kill him, but he succeeded in appeasing them and finally came in

prevencional Descripción Geographica de las Provincia de Sonora (1761-62, published by Mr. Buckingham Smith, p. 102, 103, 105). Aricivita '*Cronica serafica y apostolica, etc.* (p. 410) says they compelled abandonment of the Sobaypuri mission in 1769. There are many ruins still extant in the Rio San Pedro and on the Arroyo Babocomari.

* '*Relation*' (p. 263, 267, 269, 271). Herrera '*Hist. General* (II, p. 157.) These names are found yet in all the maps published as late as 1657, which shows what a firm hold the nomenclature of Fray Marcos had acquired.

† '*Relation*' (p. 272). This would leave it in the neighborhood of Fort Grant.

‡ The catastrophe has been often enough described.

sight of the desired place. "It is built in a plain on the slope of a hill of round shape; it appears very pretty; it is the most important that I have seen in these countries." He noted that the houses "were built as the Indians had told me, all of stone, of several stories and covered with terraces. This town is more considerable than Mexico; several times I was tempted to go into it, for I knew I was only risking my life which I had offered to God the day I began my journey. At last, considering the danger, I feared that if I should be killed, the knowledge of the country might be lost." So he limited himself to take formal possession of "the seven cities, the kingdoms of Totontecac, Acus and Marata," in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, erected a cross, and left, regretfully, though hurriedly.*

The return was a flight. The Sobaypuris were angry at the death of their relatives at Cibola and received him with marked unkindness. Only among the Opatas he felt safe again, and further on he thought of reconnoitering the towns of which he had heard in southern Sonora as being inhabited by the people who knew and used gold. From the neighborhood thereof he observed, "seven villages of reasonable size and tolerably distant, a handsome and very fresh-looking valley, and a very pretty town whence much smoke arose. I learned that there was gold in quantity, that the natives manufacture bars, jewels for the ears, and little scrapers out of it." † Here also he planted two crosses

and took formal possession. On the 2-14 of September, 1539, Fray Marcos handed in his official report, written on nine leaves or sheets of paper,* consequently he must have returned to Mexico already in August, if not in July, of the same year.

On the strength of the official report, about whose genuineness there is not the slightest doubt, Fray Marcos of Nizza, has been, since more than three centuries, repeatedly accused of cowardice and of mendacity!

The accusation of cowardice is too silly to merit much attention. In not persisting to enter Cibola, the friar acted faithfully and judiciously. He exposed his person enough during the whole journey to show that he was true to his mission, to the letter and spirit thereof. The simple words: "I feared that if I should be killed, the knowledge of the country might be lost," explains his action and justifies it.

Now to the question of veracity. There is no doubt but that the Franciscan monk reached Cibola, for the following year he accompanied Francisco Vasquez Coronado thither. That commander took the route which the friar led him, and arrived safely and swiftly. But once there, the Spaniards grew angry at the priest, charging him with having grossly misrepresented the state of the country, enormously exaggerated both resources and culture of its inhabitants. ‡ Therefore, Fray Marcos must have been a great liar and deceiver.

* 'Relation' (pp. 274-280).

† Idem. (p. 281). Herrera (p

‡ See the certificate of Juan Baeza de Herrera, notary, appended to 'Relation' ('Civoli,' pp. 282-284).

He retired to Mexico, and his order honored him for what he had done.

Where was *Cibola*? The name furnishes no clue. There is "Civonaroco," the "rock where people slide or fall." In the Opatá Idiom, there is "Chivano-ki," the house of Civano, in the Pima dialect of Arizona, and the proper name of Casa grande. But Casa grande was abandoned long before the sixteenth century.* There is "Shi-wa-na," the name by which the Zuni Indians designated their home, their tribal range. In 1583, Antonio de Espejo positively asserts: "Zuni, which the Spaniards call *Cibola*."† Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, whose model ethnological researches have thrown such a flood of light on the Indians of New Mexico, and on Zuni in particular, has determined that in the sixteenth century the Zuni tribe dwelt in seven villages. Six of these are named in an official Spanish document of 1598.‡ The statement that *Cibola* was Zuni is repeated after 1583!||

It must be remembered that Fray Marcos always tramped as near as possible due north. We have followed him from the Culiacan to the Yaquis, to the

Pimas of central Sonora, the Opatas of northern Sonora, into the valley of the San Pedro in Arizona, to the banks of the Gila river, where he camped. Thence, fifteen days of march would bring him to *Cibola*.

In the sixteenth century, only two groups of Indians, dwelling in houses of stone and mud, lay north of the Gila: the Moquis of Arizona and the Zunis of western New Mexico. All the other "Pueblos" were far to the northeast. In a straight line, the Moqui villages are only about one hundred and eighty-five miles from Fort Thomas, where the friar probably forded the river Zuni, only one hundred and sixty. But the straight line is utterly impracticable, even for Indians. The shortest trip from Zuni to the Gila is about two hundred and forty miles, if we take Fort Thomas or "San Jose del Pueblo Viejo" as terminal point. On his flight, Fray Marcos made at most ten leagues (twenty-seven miles) daily.§ During the advance, when he proceeded cautiously and slowly, with Indians carrying on their backs casks and bales filled with goods for exchange, fifteen to eighteen miles would be a good average. It could have brought him to Moqui as well as to Zuni.

Aside from the fact that the Indians of Sonora, trading as they did periodically with *Cibola*, would, in case of going to the Moqui villages, scarcely have passed Zuni unnoticed—the report

* Castaneda ("Voyage de *Cibola*," pp. 13, 42, 48) is very bitter. He slanders the friar even by the incorrect statement that he knew nothing about *Cibola* but what the Indians had told him.

† Compare my report in the 'Fifth Annual Report' of the Archæological Institute of America (1884, pp. 67-72, 80-82).

‡ Espejo '*Relacion del Viaje*' (Vol. XV, p. 177) has: "Amé, y por otro nombre *Cibola*." Hackluyt's version says: "Zuny, y la llaman las Espanoles *Cibola*."

§ '*Obediencia p vasallaje a Su Magestad por los indios de la Provincia de Aguascobi*' (Zuni, 9, November, 1598, in Vol. XV of "Documentos inéditos," pp. 132-133).

that a similar cluster, called Totontec, lay still to the *west* of Cibola, points to Zuni, and not to the Moqui settlement. In the following year the Spaniards visited "Tusayan," west of Cibola, and thence reached the Colorado river, but found no villages between that river and the former. No Pueblos existed west of Moqui in the sixteenth century. Totontec is an old word in the Zuni Idiom.*

South of Cibola, Marata was another tribe, similarly organized, but in a condition of decadence from war. Marata, as Mr. Cushing has ascertained, is properly "Ma-tya-ta," and is the Zuni name for the group of Pueblos around the salt lakes *south of Zuni*, whose well preserved ruins are still visible. These villages lay abandoned in 1540, but it must be considered that Fray Marcos reports, not from ocular inspection, but after the story of an old fugitive who probably spoke of times long past. Still, the fact is interesting as intimating when and how the Pueblos at "el Carrizo" were given up.

"Hacus" is Acoma, the nearest Pueblo east of Zuni. Its proper name is "A-qo," the Zuni call it "Ha-cu-quin," the Navajos, "Hacu."

"Ahacus," designated as the largest Pueblo of Cibola, re-appears under the name "Aguascobi," as the principal Zuni

village—in 1589.†. It is the "Aguico" of Espejo,‡ the "Havico" of Fray Geronimo de Zárate—Salmeron,||—the "Ha-vi-cu" of the Zuni Indians, whose ruins are still visible at the hot springs, fifteen miles southeast of the Zuni-Pueblo.

All this points strongly to Zuni as the Cibola of old. It also indicates that, so far, Fray Marcos, allowing for the insufficiency of his sources, is *singularly reliable*.

The description of the houses applies perfectly to the many-storied, terraced, Pueblo-buildings. The custom of laying in the frames of trap doors with small turquoises prevailed at Zuni in former times, as Mr. Cushing has found out. The Zuni dressed in cotton and had buffalo robes, which they obtained plentifully through trade. Turquoises they always had in abundance, and as there was a communication between Sonora and the north, the statement of Fray Marcos: that the Opatas and Sobaypuris wore them, is very rational and highly probable. Indian commerce goes slow but reaches remarkably far.

The cloth, woven from the hair of the quadrupeds about as large as small greyhounds, and worn at Totontec, can

† 'Relation' (p. 281): "Le premier jour, je fis dix lieues, puis huit, puis dix."

‡ In November, 1539, the viceroy sent out an expedition to test the credibility of Fray Marcos. The report of its commander, Melchior Diaz, is contained in the second letter of Don Antonio de Mendoza ("Cibola," pp. 292-297). It mentions Totontec and fully confirms the missionary's statements.

|| 'Obediencia p Vasallaje a Su Magestad' (p. 132).

* In 1600. Also in 1626. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron: "Relacion de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el ano de 1538, has a el do 1626." (In Vol. I of third series of "Doc. para la Historia de Mexico," p. 7) Coronado: "Llegó á la provincia de Cuni alojó su réal en el pueblo de Zivola que es la cabecera de aquella provincia."

be found to-day at Moqui. It is no cloth, but a heavy blanket, woven with strips of *jack-rabbit* hair wound around a core of Yucca-fibre. That garment was abundant at Tusayan and even at Cibola when Colorado reached the latter place.*

Lastly, we come to a statement which seems to place the mendacity of Fray Marcos beyond the possibility of palliation or doubt. It is his assurance: that Cibola was larger than the city of Mexico. But how large was Mexico in 1539? The Indian settlement had been destroyed in 1521; its ruins even were obliterated. The Spanish town sprang up in 1524, and it is questionable whether in 1539 it had much over one thousand inhabitants.† A many-storied Indian-Pueblo always looks, from the distance, twice as large as it really is, and even if Mexico had two thousand souls, the comparison, far from being exaggerated, was very proper and truthful indeed.

When Coronado captured Cibola in the succeeding year, the largest Pueblo of the seven was called "Maçaquí."‡

The ruins of "Matza-ki" lie four miles east of the present Zuni village, at the foot of the high mesa. The place was inhabited until 1680, then permanently abandoned.†

In view of all these facts, it appears absolutely certain that Zuni was the Cibola of the sixteenth century, of Fray Marcos and of Coronado.

But where, in which one of the Zuni villages, was this negro Estévan killed? Mr. Cushing tells the tale. There are two traditions to that effect among the tribe. One relates that the first "Mexican" whom they saw was accompanied by two dogs, that his greedy insolence angered the people and they did away with him during the night. The other, more positive one, was that a "black Mexican" arrived at the Pueblo of "Caquima" and was killed there for his outrageous conduct. Soon after the "Mexicans" came in numbers and made war upon the Zunis. Estévan had two dogs with him, he was black, and the year after his death Coronado took Cibola by storm.

Caquima lies in a niche of the southern slope of the great mesa of Zuni, and is plainly visible from the south side only, whence Fray Marcos approached Cibola. His description of a plain—

† Herrera '*Hist. General*' (Vol. I, "Description," p. 17) says that at his time (1610, about) Mexico had four thousand Spanish settlers. At the time of Sir Francis Drake, Mexico, and its surrounding towns, harbored seven thousand Spanish families, three thousand unmarried Spaniards and two hundred thousand Indians. Even this appears an exaggeration. Sebastian Münster '*Cosmographie*' (1623, p. 1714).

* '*Relación*' (p. 118).

† '*Relación*:' "El pueblo mayor y Cabeza de todas es el pueblo de Cibola, que en su lengua se llama Havico" (p. 30).

‡ Fray Toribio Motolinia '*Relación postrera de Sivila y de mas de quatrocientas leguas adelante*' (MSS. 1549, in "*Libro de Oro*," unpublished): "tambien hacen mantas de pellejos de Liebres y de conejos."

'*Voyage de Cibola*' (the French translation, p. 163) has "Muzaque," but the original MSS., on fol. 107, has very plainly "Macaque."

Vetancurt '*Cronica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*' (p. 321) mentions "Mazaquia" as a hamlet, still extant in 1680. I know the place well, having surveyed the Ruins in 1883.

a hill or height on whose slope the village was built—agrees completely with Caquima, as it is seen from a distance.‡

It is noteworthy that Fray Marcos never mentions mineral wealth in connection with Cibola—Zuni; only Turquoises. When he mentions gold, it is only in southern Sonora. He speaks of it from hearsay, and may have been deceived. The Indians judged of the

metal by its looks, and not after qualities unknown to them.§

Cabeza de Vaca never having trod New Mexican soil, Fray Marcos of Nizza must stand in history as the real discoverer of New Mexico, and of its Pueblo Indians. Long mistrusted, often criticized, assailed, nay defamed, he appears at last as a courageous, devoted, sagacious, and thoroughly truthful man.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

AN ANTIQUARIAN'S SCRAP BOOKS.

A COLLECTION of ancient and curious letters and papers, made by a gentleman residing for many years in Western Pennsylvania, was lately offered for sale. The Chicago Historical society, by the fund which Miss Lucretia Pond so generously bequeathed to it for such purposes, was enabled to become the owner. An examination of this purchase has revealed enough of value in it to justify some account of the more interesting documents which it comprises. These are contained for the most part in six large scrap books, a part of which are of some antiquity, having been originally the books of account of a public library in a Pennsylvania town in the latter part of the last century.

‡ Herrera '*Hist. General*' (II, p. 159) says: "en la falda de un Cerro redondo." This is even more appropriate than the French translation, and applies perfectly to Caquima as seen from the south. I surveyed the Ruins in 1883, while enjoying the hospitality of Mr. Cushing. It is well situated for defense.

The oldest manuscript in the collection is a report to William Penn, as governor of Pennsylvania, dated at New York on the twenty-third day of the second month, 1684, made by Thomas Lloyd and William Welsh. We learn from the Pennsylvania archives that there had been a controversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore concerning certain lands on the Delaware, claimed by both, and these gentlemen had been sent to New York to obtain the friendly services of Governor Dongan of that province with Lord Baltimore in the matter. In this report, which they address to their "Honored Governor," they mention their arrival at New York on the day after leaving Philadelphia, but "somewhat late in the night," and relate their interview with Governor Dongan and the preparation of a memorial, which

§ The father was deceived by his own experience in Peru, where the natives knew gold as gold and not simply judged by the color.

was laid before him and his council, but show that one Colonel Talbot, who represented Lord Baltimore, had just preceded them, and had so prejudiced them with Governor Dongan as to make their negotiations more difficult, and signed themselves "thy faithful friends and servants." Governor Dongan, however, addressed a letter to Lord Baltimore in the main as requested. Other documents relating to this controversy are in the archives of Pennsylvania, and have been printed by that state, but no copy of this, which is the original document, seems ever to have been published.

Next in order of time—but sixty years later—is a receipt, dated June 1, 1745, for a payment for fifty acres of land sold for one shilling an acre, signed by Robert Greenway, for the use of the honorable proprietaries of Pennsylvania; and this is followed by a receipt bearing date June 27, 1759, to John Montgomery of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, whose name henceforth appears quite frequently in those papers, for one thousand, six hundred and seven pounds, two shillings and ten pence and one farthing, to purchase whiskey for the use of his majesty's troops under the command of General Stanwix. It has the signature of John Smith, a lieutenant of the Forty-second regiment, the famous "Black Watch," and was issued during the old French war, when the British troops, under Brigadier Stanwix, were marching to the relief of Pittsburgh, which was threatened by the French from *the Illinois*. Whether through the influence of Pennsylvania

whiskey or not, Stanwix was successful, and in the autumn of 1759 he built Fort Pitt, near the ruins of old Fort Duquesne. On the opposite page is an order upon John Montgomery, August 24, 1761, for the payment of "two pounds, ten shillings, to be applied to the building of a church in Carlisle." In 1763 are receipts for contributions from the churches in Philadelphia to be distributed among the poor families in the interior of Pennsylvania who have been banished by the Indians, and a letter announcing that "the Corporation of Philadelphia, having considered the distresses of the frontier-inhabitants who have fled from their dwellings thro' fear of the savage Indians, have agreed to spend One Hundred and Fifty Pounds for their relief, without regard to religious distinctions or denominations." There is an autograph of Francis Alison, a leading Presbyterian divine of that day, who in early life was the instructor of many of the most eminent men of the Revolution. Two letters written in 1774 by John Penn, proprietary governor of Pennsylvania, to John Montgomery, relate to certain arms and ammunition which the governor begs him "to forward to Captain St. Clair as expeditiously as possible." This Captain St. Clair, then engaged in protecting the Pennsylvania frontier against the Indians, in what was known as "Lord Dunmore's war," was afterwards to be one of Washington's most trusted generals, president of the Continental congress and governor of the Northwest Territory. John Penn, sometimes called "the American Penn,"

was the grandson of William Penn, and the last royal governor of Pennsylvania, who, refusing to give his parole when his government was ended by the declaration of independence, was kept in confinement for a time and lost the largest estate confiscated in the Revolution, for which the English government, until recently, has paid a pension to his heirs.

At this time the war of the Revolution was coming on apace, and in the succeeding letter written from London, January 16, 1775, we catch a glimpse of events just preceding its commencement. The writer, from whose hand are four long pages, is William Trent, a famous Indian trader and soldier in the early day, an associate of Washington, and one who held important commands in the service of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Great Britain and the Continental congress. In the published accounts of his life it is stated that nothing is known of him during the periods now in question. But this letter shows that he was then in England on business for a company, and is partly devoted to his private affairs; but turning to public matters, he writes as follows:

By the public prints, which will reach you before this letter, you will find that the Merchants, Manufacturers, and West Indian Planters have taken the alarm. The resolutions of the Congress have awakened them out of the lethargy that had seized all Ranks of them, and they are now convinced they are ruined, if Administration persists in their Plan of enslaving America; and you may depend on it that their own Interest (if not the interest of America) will stimulate them to get all the acts repealed and America put on the same ground she stood on before the Stamp Act—what the Congress in behalf of America demand. It is said, however, that Administra-

tion are determined to pay no regard to the Petitions of the Merchts, but will pursue their plan. This, however, I do not believe. But one Thing I am certain of, if the Americans religiously and faithfully abide by the Resolution of the Congress—that the Distresses of the Merchts and Manufacturers will oblige the King to part with his present ministry and bring in those who only can save this Country from Ruin. I mean Chatham, Camden and their Friends. Long before this you must have got the Proclamation prohibiting Arms & Ammunition being exported from this Country. Surely, the Ministry have not Common sense, or they would have considered that it will force the Americans to resort to the Resources they have within themselves; and they ought, if they do not, know, to be informed that the best Gunpowder is now made in North Amca, that the Country abounds in Sulphur, that they have Numbers acquainted with ye process of making Salt Petre, that they do now make as good as any made in Europe or the East Indies, and can make any Quantity they please; and of Course, have Nothing to do, but to erect more Mills, set more hands to work in making Salt Petre and procuring Sulphur, to provide themselves with all the Gunpowder they want; That as good Cannon and small Arms as any made in England are made there, and that they can make any quantity they like. Can you believe that any Man, trusted with the Management of a State, whose very existence depends upon its Trade, unless they had lost their Senses, would force their best and almost only Customers to manufacture for themselves? But such is the infatuation of the present Administration.

The Americans ought to be very cautious how they write to their Friends on this Side the Water, as many of the Letters that come by the Packet, as well as by private Ships, which are generally put in the Post Office at some of the Out Ports, are opened at the General Post Office. By this Means the Ministry are acquainted not only with all the publick, but every Man's private Business. I am in a hurry and have not Time to correct what I have written, and can only add I most sincerely wish a speedy Establishment of American Freedom, and that I am with my Compliments to Capt Callender, Col. Armstrong, Mr. Miller and all my old Acquaintance, who are so kind as to enquire after Me, dear Sir,

Your Sincere Friend & very humble Servant,

WILLIAM TRENT.

Two days later the scene changes;

and he has just room at the foot of his letter to add a postscript, dated the eighteenth, in which he says, "It is reported 1 Reg. of Horse & 3 of Foot are to be sent to reinforce G. Gage. No regard is paid to the petition of the Merchts."

With the coming of these reinforcements the war began, and a letter written from Baltimore, April 9, 1775, by Samuel Purviance, John Montgomery's correspondent there, shows how eagerly the people of the other colonies were contributing to the relief of those upon whom the first brunt of the conflict fell. He says: "I shall gladly follow whatever directions are sent me about ye contributions for Boston from your or any other country. I charge nothing for Stores, Portorage or any expense of shipping off such contributions to our suffering Brethren." We would naturally expect to hear next of the mustering of American soldiers to meet Gage's reinforcements, and accordingly we learn from a letter dated July 16, 1775, that the Cumberland county companies are completed and either ready to march or on the march. It is written by James Wilson, one of the most distinguished men of the Revolutionary period, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in opposition to the majority of the Pennsylvania members, and later chairman of the committee which reported the Federal constitution, and judge of the supreme court of the United States. His published works are in the Chicago Historical library. At this writing, he was thirty-four years of age, and a member of the

Continental congress from Pennsylvania. His letter is as follows:

DEAR SIR: I have not, for a long time, been more shocked than by the Intelligence I received from your Letter and Col. Thompson's, enclosed. I have been proud, and have often expressed my pride in the Spirit and Vigour of Cumberland County to the great American Cause; Guess, then, what my Uneasiness and Disappointment were, when I was informed that matters were carried on in a Manner disagreeable to our Sanguine Hopes and Wishes. One happy Circumstance attended your Letter: The Bearer's Horse got lame, and I did not receive it until the day before yesterday. This fortunate Delay prevented the Chagrin which I should otherwise have felt for two or three Days. About an Hour after I had read your Letter, and while I was ruminating upon it in a manner that you will easily conceive, I was pleasingly surprised by Mr. Jesse Lukins with an Account that the Cumberland Companies were Completed and either ready to march, or on their March towards Reading. I expect Col. Thompson here to Day. Since Capt. Little has declined going, I am determined to use every possible endeavor to procure Mr. Magaw to be appointed Lieut. Colonel. His Zeal and Activity merit to be distinguished. I hope I shall succeed.

We have not lately received any material news from the Northward. There is in one of the Papers a particular Account of the killed and wounded among the Regulars at Bunker's Hill. Their number amounts in the whole to 1,492. I presume Mr. Blaine will furnish you with all the late Papers; As I write at Mr. Turner's, it is not in my Power to do it as usual; I enclose the only one I have. The edifying Speeches of the Commons to the King, and of the King to *his* parliament, will give you great Satisfaction. Our Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms you have in the Newspaper; as also our Address to the People of Britain. I send you a Copy of our Rules and Articles for the Government of the Army.

Indian Affairs have been under the Consideration of the Congress. As I am at Liberty to communicate any part of this Business which I think ought to be publicly known, I take this Opportunity of informing you that we are anxious to take every Step which will have a Tendency to preserve Peace with the Indians. For this Purpose we have divided them into Three different Departments; and appointed Commissioners to hold Treaties and make Presents in each Depart-

ment. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Henry of Virginia, and I are Commissioners for the Middle Department. We have not yet determined upon the Time or Place of Holding a Treaty. But Speeches are prepared, and the Bills are getting ready. I should be glad you would take the first Opportunity you can find of conveying this Intelligence to Westmoreland County. It will give Satisfaction to the Inhabitants there to learn that the proper Measures are pursuing for preserving their Tranquility. Perhaps you will write to Captain St. Clair. Make my Compliments to him, and tell him that tho' I have not now Time I will seize the first Leisure Moment to write a long Letter to him.

I observe what you say concerning an Indian Treaty, and shall be glad to have any further Thoughts you may judge proper to hint concerning that Matter. I cannot tell what to say about Croghan : I think it dangerous to employ him, and dangerous to let him alone. Give little Polly a kiss for me—Now I have said something ; but Nothing with more Truth than that I am, Dear Sir,

Yours Sincerely,

JAMES WILSON.

16th July, 1775.

Colonel Montgomery.

Who Polly was, these papers do not tell, and history is silent on the subject, but doubtless she was some dear little girl, the recollection of whom was a comfort and a joy to this busy public man.

Hard upon the rallying of the forces of the colonies came the hurried journey to Cambridge and the exchange of shots with the enemy ; and the next letter in this collection gives so graphic an account of these matters that as we read it we seem almost to hear the tramp of the sturdy minutemen and the crack of their deadly rifles. It is written to the committee of correspondence at Carlisle from the "Camp at Cambridge, August 13, 1775," by Robert Magaw, a young lawyer, who had closed his office in Philadelphia to join Major Thompson's rifle battalion on its way

to the front. This was composed of nine companies of riflemen, raised in Pennsylvania in pursuance of resolutions of congress to serve one year. Major Magaw says :

DEAR GENTLEMEN :—I came here with three Companies of our Battalion on Wednesday, the 9th instant, in the forenoon, having been but twenty days on actual march between this place and Carlisle. We became so accustomed to walking that sincerely think we could have continued 6 months. We made 177 miles the last week. The country we passed through from Delaware to this place is poor, hilly and very stony, and in many places the roads as bad as in our Mountains. The Country well improved, notwithstanding the poverty of the soil. Stone Fences and Neat Frame Houses almost always in View. You will perhaps be surprised when I tell you that we by no means Experienced the same friendship & hospitality in Connecticut & Massachusetts which was shown us in the Jerseys and N. York. The nearer we approached to Boston the less appearance of Danger and Distress ; & here I have not yet seen a Melancholy Countenance or heard the least Complaint or uneasiness. A great number of Individuals must have suffered. Perhaps time and custom has made their losses sit easy, but far the greater part must be making Money fast by Supplying our great Army. They take care to ask enough for everything they sell ; however, the Army is well supplied with fine Beef and tolerable bread. 160 barrels of flower we consume every day. The Commissary Gen. told me yesterday that he could as easily supply 50000 as the present number, which I am told is about 22000. The Massachusetts Bay troops are Numerous, but the least respectable of any. Small and great, old & young, some negroes & Mulattos are among them. Their dress is much against their appearance, some with Long Coats almost trailing the ground, the next naked to their middles, in general but ill Officered. The Connecticut & N. Hampshire men appear better. The Rhode Islanders are allowed to excell the other New England Troops ; a Number of their Officers are very Genteel Men. You will think me vain should I tell you how much the Rifle Men are esteemed. Their Dress, their Arms, their size, Strength and Activity, but above all their great eagerness to Attack the Enemy, entitle them to

the first Ranks. The Hunting Shirt here is like a full suit at St. James. A Rifle Man in his dress may pass Sentinels & go almost where he pleases, while Officers of the Other Regiments are stopped. Since we came here the enemy dare not show their heads. It was diverting some days ago to stand on our Ramparts on Prospect Hills & see Half a Dozen Rifle Men go down to the Water side, & from Behind Stone Walls, Chimneys, etc., pop at their floating batteries, at about 300 yards distance—'tis said we killed several. A few Shots from the Rifles always bro on a fire from the floating Batteries & Bunker's Hill, where the enemy are entrenched, but without any other effect than to afford us amusement, as they seldom knew where to fire, & when they did their great Guns threw the balls so wild and uncertain that there is very little Danger. Our people went often in search of the Cannon Balls & brought some into Camp. By Order, given out yesterday, our men are prevented from firing at them, as it did very little service & the enemy had suggested that we had fired at their flag of Truce. I can't yet give a particular description of Our Lines, as I have not had time to Visit them all. They extend about 9 miles, as I am informed. The most easterly are on Winter Hill, near Mistick River; those are numerous and very strong, much like our Breast Work, though but about 5 feet & 4 & ½ feet high, some ten, some 8, some 15 feet broad at top, soddod on the Outsides, within filled with earth and stones. The many angles, half Moons, etc., etc., of which all the Works are composed would require an abler engineer to describe. Prospect Hill is within 3 or 400 yds. of Winter Hill, within a Mile & 1-4 of Bunker's Hill, & about 1 mile & 3-4 from Boston. It is also strongly fortified. From this we Command a View of Bunker's Hill, the Ruins of Charlestown, Boston, Castle William & a Number of Islands in Boston Bay. From this place, with glasses, we can clearly see almost everything the Enemy do. About 5000 Men are encamped on those two hills, including four Companys of Vizt Doudles, Londons, Nagles and Smiths. This Department is commanded by Gen. Lee, with Gens. Sullivan & Green under him. General Putnam's Division consists of about 5000, and are stationed from Prospect Hill to this Town, about a Mile in Length. Chambers, Henricks Millers (Northampton) & Rosses Companys are to be in this division; the three first are yet in the Meeting House waiting for Tents. Rosses

not yet come. The Marylanders and Virginians are under Gen. Ward at Roxbury, who Commands 8000 there. Some other Regiments are in other places. The Country for about 9 Miles is covered with tents. Besides the College, a Very large pile of buildings, ab't 3 times as big as that of Philada, the Meeting House and Church, are full. this Town is situated on a Beautiful Plain. Irregular and scattered everywhere, fine avenues, some tall locust trees, all planted; Some of the most elegant Buildings I ever saw, *tho' framed*. The best of these the general Officers are in possession of. There is scarcely a good house in this Town or Neighborhood that is not the property of Tories, who have fled away and left room for the Sons of Liberty. By a Deserter who made his escape from the Enemy last night, we are informed that Capt. Fox, youngest Son of the late Lord Holland, died the day before yesterday of the wounds he received from Capt. Doudles' men, who Attacked the Guard in the Night about two Weeks ago, took two Prisoners & killed some besides this gent. This deserter says the enemy are much terrified on Acct of the Rifle Men.

I have been politely Treated by the Gens., and Dined, on Arrival, with Gen Putnam (a rough, stout old veteran). Next day with Gen Washington, & yesterday Gen Lee. General Gates gave me share of his Bed at Gen Washington's till I could be provided. Our Army are Healthy & in high Spirits. Gage has no hole to creep out of but by sea. If the God of Armies be but with us, the Liberties of America are safe. I shall be very glad to hear from any of you, & shall write frequently.

I am, my Dear Gent,

Your Ever Affect Friend & Servant,

ROBERT MAGAW.

The Committee of Correspondence, Carlisle.

The next letter from this young major of riflemen is headed "Rifle Camp on Prospect Hill, August 29, 1775," and reads thus :

DEAR GENTLEMEN :—I wrote to you on the 12th instant. On the morning of the 16th I was ordered to Cape Ann, a Town on the Sea Shore about 37 Miles to the Eastward of this place, in consequence, I suppose, of intelligence that the enemy intended to burn the Town. I had 260 Chosen Rifle Men, 12 Officers, and some volunteers under my command. We remained there 5 days, but hearing nothing of the Enemy we were

ordered back & made the march in one day, to wit the 23d. On Saturday Night Last about 2000 of our Army with 100 of our Battalion took possession of Plough Hill—this hill lies a little to the left of a direct line from our Camp to Bunker's Hill near Mistick river, about 3-4 of a mile from us, & very little more from Bunker's Hill. The Possession of it has for a considerable time been deemed an object of much importance both by the enemy and by us. They discovered our Work only on Sunday Morning, & soon began a very heavy Cannonade from Bunkers Hill & Two Floating Batteries which continued the whole day, & altho' their Artillery was conducted by some of the best Engineers in the British Service & shot amazingly true, all the loss sustained was two killed in the fort and two wounded nearer to the Enemy where 50 of our Rifle Men were placed all day among Orchards, Cornfields etc., sustaining and returning a heavy Fire with the Enemy's Musketry, the Cannon Balls Shot at Ploughed Hill constantly hissing over their Heads. Poor Billy Simpson was the only person who suffered of ours. He had his Foot and Ankle shot off by a Cannon Ball as he lay behind a large Apple Tree, watching an Opportunity to Fire at the Enemy's Advanced Guards. There appears no Danger of his recovery. Two of our twelve pounders, placed at Temple Farm on Mistick River, disabled one of their Floating Batterys. She was with great difficulty towed ashore. Our People continued to intrench during the whole Cannonade. Yesterday about 12 o'Clock a Signal was given by our People at Maldon that the Enemy were in Motion. It was thought they would come out by Charles Town Neck. A great number of our Troops were ordered to reinforce those on Ploughed Hill, & immediately marched from the Camps on Winter Hill & Prospect Hill. Seven Companys of our Battalion went out there be no more here. Capt. Miller's company is at Maldon. The Bedford Company not yet come—can't ascertain the Number but think they amounted 5000, & as many more to assist in case of need. The ardor to come to Action, & the Activity in compleating the Works and Strengthening the Hill, was agreeably surprising. Coll Hand with Daudel's and Nagles' companys was posted on the Declivity of the Hill near Mistick River, and there threw up Intrenchments. Coll Thompson and myself, Chamber's, Hendrick's, Smith's, Rosses & London companys were posted on a line, from near Ploughed Hill extending towards Cobble Hill. We soon made a good Breast work by pulling up a great

Number of Posts & Rail Fences & placing them two or three Deep against Stone Fences, &c. Our Rifles were all in fine Order good Powder, our Men cool but wishing to engage. We must have done great execution. We waited until night & then marched to Camp. The Enemy fired only four Cannon Shot during the whole ev'ning, without any other Damage than Shooting a 12 Pounder thro' a Soldier who was working at the Lines at the foot of the Hill. At Night they threw 4 Bombs without any Effect. I assure you the Enemy's Artillery rather excites Diversion than Fear. The Soldiers and Boys I have seen fifty times run after the Bullets before they Fell, & some have been hurt by attempting to Stop them before they had done running. The Boys often pull Hair for who shall be first at them. Our Army are in high Spirit & every day improving in the Art of War, Regularity & Discipline under our Worthy Generals, who spare no pains or fatigue in the Publick Service. It is the general Opinion that the Regulars dare not come out. They durst not when we were but half the Number we now are—undisciplined & unfortified. We are now respectable in each of those points. The Universal Wish & desire of the Army is that they would come and Attack us. I am affraid they have more Sense than to do any such thing—Our duty has been severe since the taking possession of Plough Hill, besides our being up and under Arms before day along the Lines of our Fort on this Hill & remaining there untill Sunrise. A Picket Guard of 100 of ours is almost constantly on Duty night & Day, at Ploughed Hill & frequently our whole Battalion is ordered on that Service. Poor Simpson whom I heard this Morning was in a good way is Since Dead. Our Battalion is the second in the Army, & Coll. Thompson is next in Command to General Fry & consequently takes the Command of all the Collonels. He presents his Love to you. This Letter will serve for us both as he is much Engaged at this Critical period.

I am, Dear Gentlemen, with great Esteem,

Your Affect Friend and Servant,

ROBERT MAGAW.

The Committee for Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Pray send a copy of this to Mr. Wilson, if he be not at home as soon as possible.

This battalion became the Second regiment of the Army of the United Colonies, commanded by His Excellency General George Washington, es-

quire, general and commander-in-chief. So reads a return dated "Headquarters at Cambridge, August 18th, 1775," by which it appears that it had a total of 798 officers and men fit for duty. A number of gentlemen accompanied it as independent volunteers, among whom was James Wilkinson, afterwards commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States. On the first of January, 1776, the new army organization commenced, and this rifle battalion became the first regiment of the Continental army. On January 6, Major Magaw was commissioned colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania battalion and on March 1, Colonel Thompson was made a brigadier-general, and Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Hand became colonel. In these old books there is a letter from him also, though written at a later date when he was serving as a member of congress after peace was declared. During the war he commanded his rifle regiment at Trenton battle, and rose to be a brigadier-general, and was then adjutant-general, and major-general in the United States army.

Other revolutionary letters are from William Irvine, colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania battalion, who was taken prisoner with General Thompson at the action at Three Rivers in Canada, June 8, 1776. He was exchanged in April, 1778, and afterwards became a brigadier-general and was charged with the defense of the northwestern frontier. He says: "There is no news except that people are constitutionally mad." His lieutenant-colonel was Thomas Hartley,

who was in command subsequent to the disaster at Three Rivers, and writes as follows from Ticonderoga, July 19, 1776:

DEAR SIR:—Your kind favor of the 27th of May I received a few days ago—I am much obliged to you for your Favorable opinion of me and the Regiment and shall always make it my Study to merit a Continuance. Sorry am I to think of the uneasiness our misfortunes must give you and other Friends, but I hope a Day of Retaliation will come. Our Regiment, has suffered much—we have lost the Colonel and five other Officers prisoners—two Officers killed and about 80 Privates killed or prisoners. By these accidents and others, our Regiment has diminished above 100 since we left New York. From Fatigue & badness of Provision, we had 150 sick when we came to Crown Point. Many are since recovered. Notwithstanding all this I have the pleasure to tell you that I have about 400 rank and file daily in actual Service—the Men in good spirits and ready to face danger when called upon—Insomuch that in no Enterprize between the Isle Aux Noux or Crown Point, was your humble Servant or some of the Regiment absent. I lately commanded a party of 250 men towards St. Johns. We took 10 Indians Prisoners, made some important Discoveries and gave great Satisfaction to the General Officers. I shall always consider the Honour of Cumberland and York Counties at Stake for our Regiments and endeavor not to have it sullied. Our men have become disciplinarians, and as I now have the honour of Commanding at Crown Point, I hope to perfect them much. Major Dunlop is returned—we have now two Majors which is approved of by General Gates. Major Dunlop will be exceedingly useful in this Country. The army is recovering their Health fast. Should General Burgoine pay us a visit, we shall be able to give him a genteel reception, in return for his real Politeness to two officers taken Prisoners. We have now several armed vessels—Gondolas are daily building—so that in a short time we shall have such a Force as to prevent the Enemy from coming up the Lake, if we please. The army will be much improved under General Gates. Your son behaves very well; he is now a Lieutenant. All the Officers have repeatedly shown themselves worthy of the offices they were recommended for. Should we survive the present Campaign, I hope we may be

useful to our Country again. As General Thompson and Col Irvine are safe and treated well, I hope their Families will not be uneasy.

I am, Sir, with great regards, Your most obliged humble Servt,

THOS. HARTLEY.

Thomas Hartley, in after life, became one of the foremost lawyers and ablest statesmen of Pennsylvania.

We hear again from Robert Magaw who, as colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania battalion, was in command of Fort Washington, New York, from which place he writes thus :

MOUNT WASHINGTON, August 15th, 1776.

DEAR SIR :—This Moment I received your agreeable favor of the 31st of July. My heart smites me for not Writing sooner ; you kindly Attribute the Neglect to Hurry of Business ; 'tis true, I have had enough of it, but as Mr. Shenstone, an elegant Writer, says, " no Man should plead Business as an excuse for not Writing, but a Gobbler who has a Wife & Six Children depending on his Labor for their support." The true reason is, I despaired of my Letters reaching you at Fort Pitt, & waited your return.

We came with two Pennsylvania Battalions on the 22d of June last to this Place, 11 Miles above N. York, on Hudsons river. Gen. Mifflin, your Friend, Commands us ; the Situation is very high, above 300 feet perpendicular above the River commanding a Prospect of 20 Miles up & near the same distance down to the Enemy's Encampment on Staten Island. The country round us is exceeding hilly, rocky, covered with large Timber, Cedar, Spruce & abundance of Laurel. We have Labored like Horses and compleated a Fort said to be one of the Strongest in America. Thirty Cannon, Mounted Magazines & Plenty of Ammunition & all Kinds of Military Stores. Indeed the post is Deemed of the greatest Importance, as it commands the communication between N. York and the Eastern Colonies ; about 5 Weeks ago the *Phoenix* of 44 Guns & the *Ross* of 40, favored by wind and tide, passed by N York notwithstanding the fire from our Batterys there and by our fort, tho' we struck them several times with our Cannon Shot & took their Station in *Typond Bay*, about 15 Miles up the River, in order, I suppose, to take in Tories &

cut off the Communication by Water between us & Albany. The Shore on both sides has been too well guarded by the Militia for them to have any intercourse with the inhabitants who might be their friends. About 10 Days ago 6 row Gallies went up & attacked them. After a heavy Cannonade for near two Hours, the Gallies retired with one Man Killed and two Mortally Wounded (since dead). Three Nights ago we sent up two fire Ships, one of which Grappled the *Phoenix* ; she was saved with great Difficulty. The other run foul of & burned their largest Tender. This Morning at 5 o'Clock they took the Advantage of an Eastern Storm & tide of Ebb & passed down with almost the Swiftness of Race Horses, tho' not without receiving three of our Balls. Above 200 Shots were fired at them from the Batteries at N York, I'm told, without much Effect ; they are now with the Fleet at Staten Island, much Pleased (I dare say) at their escape. By Deserters from the enemy, we hear the foreign Troops are not yet all arrived, that the Yellow fever is among them, carries off great numbers, etc. ; that they intend an immediate Attack. 4 companys of mine, Consisting of Light infantry and Rifle Men, and the same Number of Colonel Shee's are by General Washington's Order exempted from Duty & fatigue two days ago, & are to march at a Minute's Warning, in Case of an Attack on N York. About 2 Weeks ago, in New York, Long Island & this Post included, we had not more than 10,100 Men fit for Duty. Since that Time great Numbers, some say 750 on an average per day, have arrived from Pennsylv, Connecticut, & other Parts, & continue to come in great Numbers. I am not surprised at the Choice our Good People have made of Convention Men to *Gobble the State*. I expected no better. I often think myself happy that I am at this time abroad & engaged ; was I at home I should do nothing but fret. However, I hope Virtue will yet meet with its Reward & rise Superior to the Vile, Dirty Opposition.

I am heartily sorry for our Friends Thompson and Irvine, but don't despair of seeing them again. Sammy is well at Crown Point, the last Accounts. The Batalion is coming to Tyconderoga. 'Tis correctly reported that a Fleet of sixteen Sail of French ships of the Line are arrived at the River St. Lawrence, & that Burgoyne's army is returning back to Quebec ; I wish it may be true. I'll write you frequently, if I don't get knocked in the head. My Compliments to Mr. Yeates and all Friends. I wish

you both all Possible Success in your very Important
& Difficult Negotiations, etc., am, my Dear Sir,

Your affect Friend & servt,

ROBERT MAGAW.

Col Jno. Montgomery.

There are, I am told, Numbers of Carlisle & Cumberland People in the militia at N York & the Jerseys, but I have not had time to see any of them.

It is sad to record that he was obliged to surrender his post, after a brave defense, to a superior force of the enemy, November 16, 1776, and still sadder to relate that Sir William Howe's success in the capture of Fort Washington hinged largely on the treason of one William Demont, adjutant of Magaw's battalion, who deserted to the enemy a week before the assault with plans of the fort. This was suspected at the time, but has only recently been confirmed by the discovery and publication, after the lapse of more than a century, of Demont's letter claiming compensation for this treachery. Colonel Magaw was not exchanged until October 25, 1780, almost four years after his capture, and died and was buried at Carlisle, January 7, 1790.

Here then we have the autograph letters of four Continental colonels, a very precious possession in themselves, aside from their vivid pictures of men and affairs in the Revolution, which make what they saw in that great struggle far more real to us than any formal history can. There is also a letter from John Dickinson, one of the ablest statesmen of that time, and the founder of Dickinson college. He writes to John Montgomery concerning the portraits of the ill-fated Louis XVI. and his queen, Maria Antoinette, in these words :

PHILADELPHIA, April 27, 1784.

DEAR SIR :—Congress are informed, I presume, that Pictures of the King and Queen of France, presented to them by His Most Catholic Majesty, are now in the City at this Minister's House.

They are upon the floor, and perhaps their continuance there may be inconvenient. If at any time their Removal shall be thought proper, I am assured, Council would with pleasure place them in the most safe room of the Statehouse, & have the best Care taken of them, under the direction of Mr. Peale. This communication is made that you, Sir, may have the necessary Information if the Disposal of the Pictures should be mentioned. I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate, humble servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Honorable John Montgomery, Esquire.

The Peale referred to here is evidently Charles Wilson Peale, father of the celebrated artist, Rembrandt Peale.

There are several communications from Richard Peters, at first a captain of volunteers in the Revolution, then secretary of the congressional board of war from 1776 to 1781, and later a member of congress and United States district judge for Pennsylvania. In one dated March 17, 1781, he reports that the "Maquis de la Fayette, with about fifteen thousand men, going down the bay from the head of Elk, had a narrow escape from two British frigates sent to intercept him. He is, however, happily arrived safe at Annapolis. He got there at night and the frigates were seen off the town the next morning." Another dated the nineteenth of July, 1781, reads :

DEAR SIR :—I have just time to inform you, lest you should hear more Unfavorable accounts that the affairs in Virginia, wherein the Pennsylvania Line were engaged, ended in a manner which does honour to the Bravery of our Troops, who, tho' obliged to give Ground, prevented the enemy from Reaping any important Advantages. Indeed, so far from making any further Attempts that Ld. Cornwallis

retreated over James River & left our wounded to fall into our Hands. I am sorry to inform you that your son is among the wounded but I have Reason to believe not dangerously & I can assure you he is not a prisoner but safe with our Army.

I am, with much esteem,

Your Very obedient servt,

RICHARD PETERS.

In the list of wounded officers there is a Captain Montgomery of Thompson's regt, & I presume this gentleman to be your son.

The total killed and wounded of the Pennsylvania Line is 92, 64 of whom are wounded. No officers killed. 11 officers wounded.

John Montgomery, Esq.

In the next, written from Philadelphia, November 29, 1782, he says :

We have no news from Europe. A Person is just arrived from Charlestown who confirms the Report, which has long prevailed, of the Intention to evacuate Charlestown, which, however, had not actually taken place the 4th of this Month. There are strong Probabilities of the Like Intentions as to N York. Everything looks like Peace this Winter, but much will Depend on the Fate of Gibraltar, about which everyone forms their own opinions but none have any Certainties to proceed on. The Sooner I see you the better, and if you can bring me good News about my Nancy, this will be an additional Pleasure at our Meeting.

The last of Peters' letters contains so fine a tribute to that noble German soldier, Baron Steuben, to whom the Continental army was under such obligations, that I quote it entire :

This will be handed to you by our friend, the Baron Steuben. He is going to Congress for their Determination respecting his affairs. I fear there are too few in the house acquainted with his merit and services. I wish you to read a report of a committee made last Winter in his Case. I regret that I have it not in my Power to do Justice to this worthy & useful Man. I am of my own Knowledge certified of his having saved immense sums to this Country. His Regulations and Perseverance produced Order and Economy out of Chaos and Waste. He would be content to be indemnified so far as to be put in the same Situation as to Revenue in which he was previous to his Arrival among us. I always thought

Congress should make him a present of ten thousand Guineas. He would, I believe, give up all his claims for Pay Commutation, &c., which I believe amount to 23 or 24000 Dollars for some certain provision; two thousand Guineas in hand, the rest funded. He is the Last on the list of foreigners, &, in my opinion, the first in Merit. He made no Bargain on his Arrival here, &, therefore, is now thrown on the Generosity of this Country. I Hope he will not find his Dependence a slight one. He has given up all his European Expectations, & it would be scandalous in us to abuse his Confidence. I will only give you one out of many Instances of the Savings introduced by him. We used every Year to make an extra Provision of 5000 Muskets and double the Number of Bayonets for the Waste of our Troops. This lessened every year until finally it appears by his Inspection Returns in the War Office there were lost only 3 muskets and one or two bayonets the last year the army were together. You may carry your Ideas from this into every other Branch of Military Expenditures & you will find the Savings, so far as depended on the Police & Discipline of the Army, proportionate. The Officers have their Share of their Merit; but it requires a good Teacher to produce good Scholars. This letter is long enough, after my promising I had little to say to you & therefore, I will only add my sincere Assurances of the Esteem with which I am

Your Obed Servt,

RICHARD PETERS.

The Baron is yet in Service & acting under orders, but his Subsistence has been stopped. Some mark of Honour should be given besides his Pay A Sword or other Honorable Distinction.

John Montgomery, Esq.

And there is furthermore a letter from Ephraim Blaine, commissary-general of the Continental army at Yorktown, grandfather of James G. Blaine.

Perhaps the most notable autograph in these volumes is that of Benjamin Franklin, which, with that of James Wilson, is affixed to this letter to John Montgomery, dated July 5, 1776 :

SIR : The Congress have appointed you one of the Commissioners of Indian affairs in the Middle Department, and we are desirous to Inform you of your Ap-

pointment. A Treaty is to be held on the 20th of this Month at Pittsburgh. The Congress hope you will attend on that Occasion. This may be attended with Inconvenience to your private Affairs, but your Regard for the Public will, we know, prevail every Consideration of this Nature. You will hear further from us in a few Days. We are, Sir

Your Very Humble Servants,

B. FRANKLIN,
JAMES WILSON.

Philad, 5th of July, 1776.

John Montgomery, Esq.

Montgomery did attend at the making of this treaty, and among these papers is the little almanac carried by him upon that trip. It is entitled, 'Father Abraham's Pocket Almanac for the year 1776, fitted to the use of Pennsylvania and the neighboring provinces,' and it thus appears that the name of "Father Abraham" was known in revolutionary times—a prophecy, perhaps, of the great Father Abraham who was to preside over the destinies of the civil war. Upon the fly leaves are some notes of the journey made from day to day. Thus he sets down the names of the Delaware and Mingo chiefs whom he met, such as On-yet-hon-daw, or Set-the-skies afire, Chaugh-cass-lida, or the Flying Raven, and Gough-saw-way-law-shion, or Cut-half-the-town-off. And he quotes the following speech made by the Flying Raven on his arrival: "The great God has appointed that you and we should meet here together this day in council. You see we are come hither according to your invitation. We are one hundred and fifty in number, and are ready to listen to everything that is for mutual advantage." One of the Delaware chiefs was Captain Kill-buck,

a renowned warrior who was present as the representative of his tribe at the treaty of peace made May 8, 1765, with Sir William Johnson, as the representative of the British government; and again at the great treaty of Fort Stanwix, on the site of the modern city of Rome, New York, on October 24, 1768, which settled the boundary line between the colonies and the Indians, and by virtue of which the ministers of George III. stubbornly claimed the whole northwest territory almost to the close of peace negotiations on 1783. Kill-buck made speeches on both of these occasions, and doubtless held forth at the conference with Colonel Montgomery. He writes further in his little almanac: "Ninth November, 1776, left Pittsburgh escorted by Eleventh light horse. Two men killed at Great Cannoway, twenty-second October, about one hundred yards from the bank of the river. Carried off six horses. The Shawnees informed the garrison that a party of Mingoes was then out and desired them to be on their guard. Men killed one-half mile from the fort. . . . A letter from Conshocking advises the English are proposing to build a fort at Porpuquill, and that as soon as a proper depth of snow, intend to attack Fort Pitt and Connoway and another place between those pots, that reinforcements are arriving at Niagara and Detroit. . . . While Mingo sets out for Plugler town to-morrow with a belt from the six nations, one from the Sinzies on the Allegheny and one from the commission—he is to return in thirty-five day,. If any murders are committed after that time,

Plugler and his party to abide by the consequences. The Mingoes unfriendly."

During this absence of Colonel Montgomery from his home at Carlisle, his young daughter Esther writes him a letter which gives us a pretty clear idea of the condition of affairs among the people on the frontier in those trying times, when wars and rumors of war were all about them, and their defenders were called away—some to the east to meet the red coats, and some to the west to meet the red skins. Her letter reads :

DEAR FATHER: It made us very uneasy the reports that we have up here, that there was 10 hundred Indians ready to attack Fort Pitt, and intended in a very little time; there was one Girty that came express here & asserted it for truth, and that there was some hundreds of white people killed up the river. I and a great many believe it here. I thought if there were any such thing you would mention it in your letter. A gentleman that brought your last letter said he had great difficulty to keep the people from flying as he came along. There has been a very severe battle at Long Island. A great many of our men were killed and taken prisoners; there is two Generals taken and several other principal officers. We have heard since the newspaper came that Col. McPherson's son and Mr. Scot of Shippentown is among the slain. Mr. William Smith and his wife is here on their way home from the warm springs. Mr. Smith says that three of the Virginia Delegates that passed through Frederick old some Gentleman there that three of our delegeat were to meet Lord Howe on a hill below New York to settle terms for peace, but don't suppose that they will offer terms that we can with safely accept. Mr. Blain is returned from the Camp. He was in the engagement. There were two of his company killed, he says he saw Sam Alexander about a week before he came away; he thinks Sam will not get away; that he will be obliged to join the flying camp, I have kept store shut ever since you went, only the two first weeks. Aunt Smith said she thought I might as well open it as not and take money while it was a going. She came over herself twice or three times every day. As you have sent positive order not to sell anything I don't only Coffin Handles and screws, and them I am obliged to sell as there none in

town but what we have. There is scarcely any article in town but what is in this store, so that I am very much plagued to open store. They think it hard that we should have what they want and will not sell to them. Sidney and Polly Buchanan went home about two weeks ago; their brother Bob came for them; the family was well then, we have not heard from them since. Bob Smith has come home from Newark; he came a week before the School broke up. Bill expects a horse to be sent for him; I don't know how it will be sent, as there is no one here we can send for him. He told Bob Smith if he would have to walk again he never would go back, I enquired at Greigs they say that Nordven Greig has a horse there, so that I think he will be obliged to take his foot for it or stay where he is, Granny has been very sick but is recovered. You may be assured that I will take great care of her and will let her want for nothing. Jenny Waters stays constantly beside her, the boys go very well with their work. They have got all the ground stirred. Mr. Byer and Mr. Davis was both there looking at their work. They think it is best for them to put in the rye first, and then put in as much of the wheat as can before the season is out. Major Smith is very ill. He took sick the very day he was to go to camp. He was at Philadelphia, but returned to get more of the battalion to go there—his six companys going out of that battalion. Aunt Smith goes to Baltimore to-morrow to stay a couple weeks. Mr. Morgan sent goods here for the treaty, to put in the store house, he expected to (be here) before the goods but if not you should pay the carriage. I had to pay the man, Bob Smith came over and seen that all the goods was there.

I am, your affectionate daughter,

ESTHER MONTGOMERY.

September 13th, 1776.

Toward the close of the Revolution, John Montgomery was chosen one of the delegates to represent Pennsylvania in congress, together with James Wilson, Richard Peters, Thomas Mifflin and Thomas Fitzsimmons. The official notice of this election, contained in this collection, reads thus :

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY; }
November 12th, 1782. }

SIR : The general assembly of this Commonwealth

having the fullest Confidence in your Patriotism, Integrity & Abilities, have this Day appointed You one of The delegates to represent this State in Congress the ensuing Year, as you will perceive by the enclosed list. At the same Time it is their wish that You take Your seat in that Honorable Body as soon as circumstances will permit, this state being at present unrepresented. Wishing you Success in the arduous Undertaking, I have the Honor to be, with much Esteem, Sir,

Your most Obedt & very humble Servt,

FREDK. A. MUHLENBERG, Speaker.

Honble. John Montgomery, Esq.

The enclosed list reads thus :

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, }
IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, }
TUESDAY, November 12, 1782, A. M. }

Pursuant to the order of the Day, the House proceeded to the election of Delegates to represent this State in Congress, and the ballots being taken it appeared that the Honorable Thomas Mifflin, Thomas Fitzsimmons, James Wilson, John Montgomery and Richard Peters, Esquires, were duly elected.

Extract from the Minutes.

PETER ZACHARY LLOYD,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

The notice is in the handwriting and bears the signature of Frederic A. Muhlenberg, then speaker of the state legislature. He had been a member of the old congress, and was afterwards president of the United States constitutional convention, and speaker of the First and Third congresses, and his casting vote carried Jay's treaty into effect. His name is among the foremost in the period next succeeding the War of Independence, when our constitution was formed and our nation created.

Two letters dated in May, 1784, are of special interest to people of the west, for these are from the pen of Thomas Hutchins, the founder of the system of land surveys under which the whole western country is laid out. But this is not his only claim to our regard.

He was the author of a rare and valuable work entitled 'A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, etc., with a plan of the rapids of the Ohio, a plan of the several villages in the Illinois country, etc.,' published in London in 1778. This is an authority upon early Illinois. His descriptions of the country and the old French settlements are exceedingly interesting and his map has been followed and reproduced by Francis Parkman in his works. His life also was full of romance and adventure. Born in New Jersey in 1730, he visited the west before he was sixteen years old, entered the British service as ensign before he was of age, and rose to be captain of the Sixtieth regiment of foot. He served as engineer in Bouquet's expeditions against the Indians in 1764, and probably supplied the materials for the published narrative of that campaign. The remarkably fine maps of Bouquet's two expeditions are his work. He also distinguished himself in operations against the Indians in Florida. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was in London, and being suspected of correspondence with Franklin in France, was thrown into prison and his large property was confiscated. Liberated shortly after, he returned to America, and was made geographer of the southern army, and after the war geographer of the United States. In 1784 he published, at Philadelphia, his 'Historical Topographical Description of Louisiana

and Florida,' another very valuable book. These are his letters :

DEAR SIR.—Your favor of the 10th I had the honor of receiving the 17th Instant, and with pleasure embrace this first opportunity of tendering you my sincerest thanks for the friendship you have evidenced in communicating the hints you conceived might prove beneficial to me. The Office of Register which Congress are about to establish on an Extensive Scale would undoubtedly be very acceptable to me, and is what I most ardently wish to obtain. Should congress, therefore, honor me with that appointment, they may be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part to discharge with fidelity the trust they may repose in me.

With respect to Exploring the Western Country, it would afford me great satisfaction to be employed on that Service, could it be accomplished without clashing with the office of Register. This bids fair for being, if not permanent at least of a long Continuance ; the other being not only temporarily, but of a very short Duration, points out to me which of them I ought to prefer. It gives me pleasure to think that your Opinion and mine in this matter correspond, that the office of register will be profitable and well worth acceptance. I shall ever retain the most grateful sense of any Service you may render me on this occasion.

Doctor Ewing proposes setting out with me on the first of June next to run the Line between this State and Virginia. That business will probably take up three or four Months, after which I shall be ready to comply with the Orders which I may be honored with from Congress. I hope it will be convenient to them before they Adjourn to attend to my Memorial which has long, very long since, lain before them. I shall then be able to settle and close my publick acct. in the Geographers Department before I enter on a new Appointment, should I have that advantage.

I wish you health and happiness, and have the honor to be with great Respect,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged Friend and very humble Servant,
THOS HUTCHINS.

Philadelphia, 19th May, 1784.

DEAR SIR :—The bearer, Captain Adam Hoops, who I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance, is a Gentleman who early entered the Service of the United States and continued in it through the whole course of the Revolution. He has been much in-

jured in his circumstances by the ungenerous advantage taken by those who were indebted to him in paying him with Money in its depreciated State. He has qualified himself for the business of a surveyor, and, as he understands Congress will soon lay out four New States, is anxiously solicitous of being appointed Surveyor of one or more of the districts. Should congress honor me with the appointment of Register of one of the States, it would afford me a great pleasure to have him in a District over which I may preside. His probity, activity and abilities are my sole motives for recommending him to your favor and countenance, and should he be so fortunate as to succeed, I shall consider it as a very particular favor done. Dear Sir,

Your Sincere and very Obedient humble Servant,
THOS HUTCHINS.

Honorable John Montgomery, Esq.

Philadelphia, 26th May, 1784.

Under a congressional ordinance of 1785, for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the western territory, he was directed to commence the survey of the government lands on the north side of the Ohio, and instituted the general plan, which has ever since been followed in congressional surveys. While engaged in this the first survey of government lands, he was taken sick and died at Pittsburgh, in 1789. Whoever has occasion to speak of the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter of the west half of section so and so, or, to use terms of similar import, pays a tribute to the memory of Thomas Hutchins. These phrases are his perennial requiem, and "Township and Range and Principal Meridian" unite to form his everlasting monument.

Among the most interesting of the remaining letters are three from the famous inventor, Robert Fulton, while in London, to his friends in this country. In the first, dated May 20, 1793, to his brother-in-law, David Morris,

who was the nephew of Benjamin West, he tells him that his "uncle West is now at the head of his profession, and presides at the Royal academy over all the painters in England. But he is a great genius, and merits all the honors he has obtained." In the next, to the same, of April 1, 1794, he says :

As to Europe, it is all in alarm ; the united efforts of England, Prussia, Spain, Holland, Germany, Russia and all the allied powers have not been able as yet to mount another thing on the back of the French Nation. It is almost incredible with what vigor the French meet their enemies, while "Give the Republic" is the constant song and "Liberty or Death" their Motto. . . . I can assure you there are numbers who do not hesitate to say that Monarchial Governments are going out of Fashion.

The last letter written, October 20, 1805, speaks of his absence from his country for eighteen years ; and it would seem that his attachment to water, for the purpose of navigation, had made him an enthusiast upon the general use of that element. For this epistle is mainly a vigorous temperance discourse, and he expresses "a kind of contempt for the being who is so imprudent as to extinguish the little sense which falls to the lot of a man in the poisonous fumes of ardent liquors—such a person has not sense to be their own friend, and does not merit the friendship of others." Passing over many letters from persons of less note, which yet are full of interest, and throw many side lights on times and events, I pause only to mention one from Henry Clay, dated March 23, 1829, accepting an invitation to an entertainment in his honor, at Washington, Pennsylva-

nia, addressed to a committee of its citizens.

And, as in the earlier portion of this account I have touched upon the correspondence of the soldiers of the Revolution, I should not fail to mention also a modest note preserved in these papers from the foremost soldier of our civil war. General Grant writes thus, on the eve of an engagement, to a friend :

I fear it will be too late for you to see what you desire in this neighborhood, as we are now within a few miles of the enemy, and a great battle may take place any day.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

It is fitting that a memento of him should find a place in a collection so rich in memories of the men of the Revolution, for his name stands now and forever more side by side with those of the heroes of 1776.

These volumes comprise much else besides correspondence, which I have no time to dwell upon. Old newspaper clippings, ancient legal documents, verses, papers relating to slaveholding in Pennsylvania, manuscript biographies, Confederate newspapers printed on wall paper, programmes, notices and the like, I pass over with the merest mention. The collection of letters from which I have quoted alone is a prize not often obtained at the present time. And when it is considered that their range extends from the days of William Penn to those of Ulysses S. Grant, and that they give us an epitome of the founding of the colonies, and their differences with each other, the border conflicts with the savages and their inroads upon frontier

homes, the old French war and the march of armies through the wilderness, the outbreak of the Revolution, and the gathering of armed men from all the colonies to resist the mother country, and the campaigns of that great struggle, the foundation of our nation and the establishment of our constitution,

the rise of great men of later times, and the general course of events down to the conclusion of the War of the Rebellion, the Chicago Historical society may well be congratulated upon its acquisition of "An Antiquarian's Scrap Books."

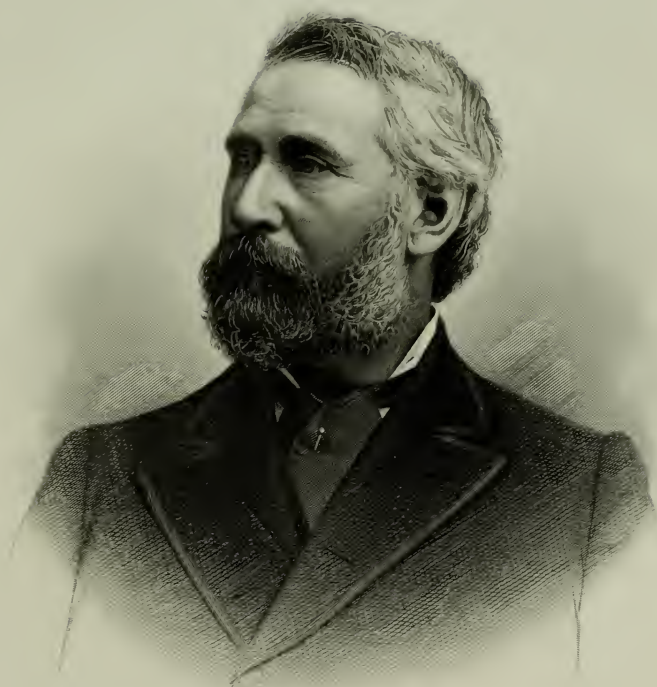
EDWARD G. MASON.

I. N. TOPLIFF.

AMONG the men who have made Cleveland famous as a manufacturing centre the world over, and who have sent Cleveland goods into the four quarters of the earth, I. N. Topliff deserves a high and honored place. He is not only a manufacturer, but an inventor as well; and the improvements of usefulness and economy he has given to the line to which he has devoted himself, are many and substantial. Like so many of our foremost men, he is self-made, and all that he has become or gained is the fruit of his own genius and industry.

Mr. Topliff was born in Mansfield, Connecticut, on January 16, 1833. The branch of the family from which he is descended came from England about the year 1680, and settled on the farm on which Mr. Topliff was born, it having been held by members of the family for nearly two hundred years, and passed into stranger hands only a few years ago. Mansfield and all eastern Connecticut is a rugged, hilly coun-

try, and only New England thrift and industry could make its stony surface produce enough for the needs of those who till the soil. The subject of this sketch was the twelfth child of Horatio and Sarah Topliff, and on his mother's side was descended from the Seargeants and the Howes, two of the oldest and best New England families. His early days were divided between the school and the farm. He received a good common school education, after which he was given a course at Williston seminary, at East Hampton, Massachusetts. After the age of twelve he was put to the severe labor of the farm, only securing three or four months in winter time for his school. When he was seventeen years of age his father died, and the care of the farm fell upon his young shoulders. He accepted the charge with willing courage, but after giving to it one year of service, the old desire for a better education and the purpose to secure it came back with a power that would not be resisted. In



J. V. Fapliiff.

December, 1851, he went to New Jersey and took charge of a district school, being then less than eighteen years of age. He followed teaching for three years, finding great enjoyment in the work, and at the same time pursuing his own studies and adding to his stock of knowledge. But the teaching of school was by no means the line of life the young man desired. Like many others, he had only made of it a stepping stone to something else. He had early learned that he had a gift for mechanics, and felt the call of duty as well as desire to make the best use of the talent with which he had been specially endowed. From early boyhood he had put in all his spare time in making water-wheels, windmills and other simple mechanical devices. The suggestion of future work and opportunity found in the pastime of these early days, was such that it decided him upon his course of action when he made the final choice of mature years.

In the fall of 1854 Mr. Topliff came to Cleveland, and after a few days went on to Elyria, Lorain county, where he engaged in learning the business of carriage making in all its branches. In the spring of 1859 he removed to Adrian, Michigan, where he opened a carriage factory, and in a few years built up the most extensive establishment of that character in southern Michigan. His mechanical ability added to his rare qualities as a business man, aided him in this enterprise, and enabled him to command success despite all difficulties and against all competition.

During the early days of the war Mr.

Topliff was among the hardest working and most public-spirited citizens of his adopted state, spending time and money in the raising and equipment of troops, with such result that the ward in which he lived was never compelled to meet a draft.

In the fall of 1869 Mr. Topliff returned to Elyria, having in the meantime made some inventions in carriage hardware that he wished to have manufactured and placed on the market. He remained in Elyria some ten years, during which time the business had so grown that he found another factory necessary. Accordingly, in the latter part of 1879, he removed to Cleveland and built a large factory for the making of his patented specialties. The venture met with such success that he has been compelled to enlarge his factory from time to time, until at present it is the largest establishment in the United States for the manufacture of specialties in carriage hardware. The sale of one article alone, the bow-socket, for the first six months of 1886 was enough for over one hundred thousand buggies. This sale has not only extended into every state in the Union, but to many foreign countries as well. The active industry added to Cleveland by this new establishment was felt from the first, and the Topliff works, on the junction of Prospect street and the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad, are counted among the busiest and most useful of the manufactories of Cleveland.

The bow-socket referred to above, is one of the inventions that have revolutionized the methods of buggy making during the last decade. The invention

is simple yet complete. The old way of making a buggy-bow was by the use of wood, the upright parts of which were covered with leather. The bow-socket, which takes the place of this wood and leather, is a tube made of sheet steel, enameled to resemble leather. While the improvements in carriages during the last twenty years have been many, no one thing has been so successful and so generally adopted as this. It has completely revolutionized the old way of making tops, and the inventor's name is well known in the twenty thousand carriage factories of the United States and Canada. While Mr. Topliff has applied his inventive genius to a number of other things, having taken out twelve patents in all, and while many have been very successful, the one described above has been the means through which he has had the widest usefulness, and from which he has received the largest returns.

While Mr. Topliff has given his chief attention to the one line of business chosen thirty-five years ago, he has touched the business life of Cleveland and northern Ohio in ways needless to detail here. He is a stockholder in several manufacturing companies and banks, and has been useful to this community in many other directions. While close application to business has been his purpose and practice from the first, he has found time for reading and study, and has kept fully abreast with the knowledge and culture of the times. The fac-

ulty of applying himself with thorough earnestness to the one thing at a time in hand, is one of his distinguishing features. An earnestness of purpose is suggested in his manner and conversation. A humane employer, an upright and generous man in all the relations of life, a good citizen, and a most capable manager of business affairs, he has earned and deserved the high success he has achieved, and has been of use to the world as well as to himself. The moral and intellectual suggestions of the old New England life in which his early years were passed, have ever remained beside him, and he has always been on the right and humane side of each question that has arisen. How much this country owes to the New England influence exerted in that way can never be known, but the debt is a great one. There are children of those Puritan fathers all over the land, who have preserved the morality of the old life without its austerity, and have thrown their influence on the side of public right and justice wherever they have been placed.

Mr. Topliff was married in Detroit, Michigan, on December 11, 1862, to Miss Frances A. Hunt, the eldest daughter of Hon. C. W. Hunt of that city. They have but one child, Mrs. Will P. Todd.

Mr. Topliff has found time for travel despite his many business cares, and besides visiting many parts of his own country, has spent two seasons abroad.

J. H. K.

MICHIGAN JURISTS.

II.

HON. ALPHEUS FELCH.

Michigan has bestowed high honor of official station upon many of her sons, who in turn have honored her by the manner in which they have administered the important trusts committed to their hands. But there are few among them who have given a more extended service to the state, or made that service a greater source of public good than Hon. Alpheus Felch, who is now living in a useful and contented old age in the scholastic quiet of Ann Arbor. His record is a part of the history of Michigan. His services have been given to so many lines of public labor that it would be impossible to write of any branch of the powers of the state and make no mention of him. And in all his positions of trust he has made the good of the public his one great study, and sought to bend all its resources and all his own powers to the advancement of the general welfare. In each office he has shown that high-minded honesty and honor that have been the main features of his private career; and even in the warmest hours of political strife no word has ever been breathed against his good name.

Mr. Felch is of American birth, and has all his life been in sympathy with the best forms of American thought and

progress. He was born in Limerick, York county, Maine, September 28, 1806. His grandfather, Abijah Felch, was a soldier in the Revolution; and, when a young man, having with others obtained a grant of land between the Great and Little Ossipee rivers, in Maine, moved to that region when it was yet a wilderness. Mr. Felch's father, the youngest of several children, was brought up on the farm, but soon after attaining his majority entered upon a mercantile life at Limerick. He was the first person to engage in that business in that section of the country, and continued in it until his death, at the age of thirty-five. His family consisted of six children, Alpheus Felch being the only son. The death of the father, followed in a year by that of the mother, left the orphans to the care of the family relatives. The subject of the present sketch, then only three years of age, found a home with his paternal grandfather, with whom he remained until the latter's death. He enjoyed the usual advantages of early education in the district school, and afterwards in the neighboring academy. In 1821 he became a student at Phillips Exeter academy; and subsequently entering Bowdoin college, graduated with the class of 1827. He had already discov-

ered the line of professional work along which his natural powers and own inclination urged him to advance, and immediately after graduation he commenced the study of law, and in the autumn of 1830 was admitted to the bar at Bangor, Maine. In the same year he engaged in the practice of his profession at Houlton, Maine, a new and sparsely settled portion of the state, where he continued until 1833. In the meantime the severity of the climate had so impaired his constitution, never very robust, that he found it necessary to seek a residence in a warmer climate. In the spring of 1833 he disposed of his library and departed to seek a new home. His intention was to join a friend then living in Vicksburgh, Mississippi, but on his arrival at Cincinnati Mr. Felch was attacked by the cholera, and after recovering sufficiently from that disease to resume his journey, found that the danger was too great to permit a voyage down the river. He therefore determined to return to the north, and went to Michigan. In that state he first commenced the practice of his profession at Monroe, and continued there until 1843, at which time he removed to Ann Arbor, which has since remained his home. He was elected a member of the state legislature, from Monroe county, in 1835, and continued a member of that body during the years 1836 and 1837. While he held this office the general banking law of the state was enacted and went into operation. After mature deliberation, he became convinced that the proposed system of

banking could not prove beneficial to the public interests, and that instead of relieving the people from the pecuniary difficulties under which they were laboring, it would result in still further embarrassment. He therefore opposed the bill, and pointed out to the house the disasters which, in his opinion, were sure to follow its passage. The public mind, however, was so favorably impressed by the measure that no other member in either branch of the legislature raised a dissenting voice, and but two voted with him in opposition to the bill. Early in 1838 he was appointed one of the bank commissioners of the state, and held that office for more than a year. During this time the new banking law had given birth to that numerous progeny known as "wild-cat" banks. Almost every village had its bank. The country was flooded with depressed "wild-cat" money. The examination of the bank commissioners brought to light frauds at every point, which were fearlessly reported to the legislature, and were followed by criminal prosecutions of the guilty parties, and the closing of many of their institutions. The duties of the office were most laborious, and in 1839 Mr. Felch resigned. The chartered right of almost every bank had, in the meantime, been declared forfeited and the law repealed. It was subsequently decided to be unconstitutional by the supreme court of the state.

In 1842 Mr. Felch was appointed auditor-general of the state, but after holding the office only a few weeks was commissioned by the governor as one

of the judges of the supreme court of Michigan, to fill a vacancy that had been caused by the resignation of Judge Fletcher. On the convening of the state legislature in 1843, Mr. Felch was nominated by the governor, and confirmed by the senate, not only for the unexpired term of his predecessor, but for the full term of six years that followed, as well. He was not long allowed to remain in the comparative quiet of the supreme court, as the people of Michigan had gained enough knowledge of his native force, powers of mind and executive ability to desire that he should be called to a higher and more important position. In 1845 he was nominated to the office of governor by the Democratic party of that state, and on election entered on the duties of the office at the commencement of the following year. At the session of the legislature held in 1847, he was elected a senator in congress for six years, and at once retired from the office of governor by resignation, which took effect on the fourth of March, 1847, when his senatorial term commenced. While a member in the senate he acted on the committee on public lands, and during four years was its chairman. At the close of his senatorial term, in March, 1853, he was appointed by President Pierce one of the commissioners to adjust and settle the Spanish and Mexican land claims in California, under the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, and an act of congress passed for that purpose. He went to California in May, 1853, and was made president of the commission. The duties of this office were

of the most important and delicate character. The interest of the new state, and the fortunes of many of its citizens, both the native Mexican population and the recent American immigration; the right of the Pueblos to their common lands, and of the Catholic church to the lands of the missions—the most valuable of the state—were involved in the adjudications of this commission. In March, 1856, their labors were brought to a close by the final disposition of all the claims which were presented. The record of their proceedings—the testimony which was given in each case, and the decision of the commissioners thereon, consisting of some forty large volumes, was deposited in the department of the interior at Washington.

Early in the summer of 1856 Mr. Felch returned to his home in Ann Arbor, where he has since remained. He gave himself to the practice of his profession once more, and continued therein until he permanently retired, in 1873. During that time, however, several efforts were made to lead him out of that quiet of public life he had so well earned. He was once nominated for governor, once for United States senator, and twice as judge of the supreme court of the state, but the party to which he belonged, the Democratic, being in the minority in the state, he failed of an election in each case.

In 1875 Mr. Felch made a tour of Europe, and on his return home again gave himself to the quiet of his books and home at Ann Arbor. In 1877 Bowdoin college conferred upon him

the degree of LL. D. In 1879 he was appointed professor of law in the University of Michigan, and performed the duties of that position for four years.

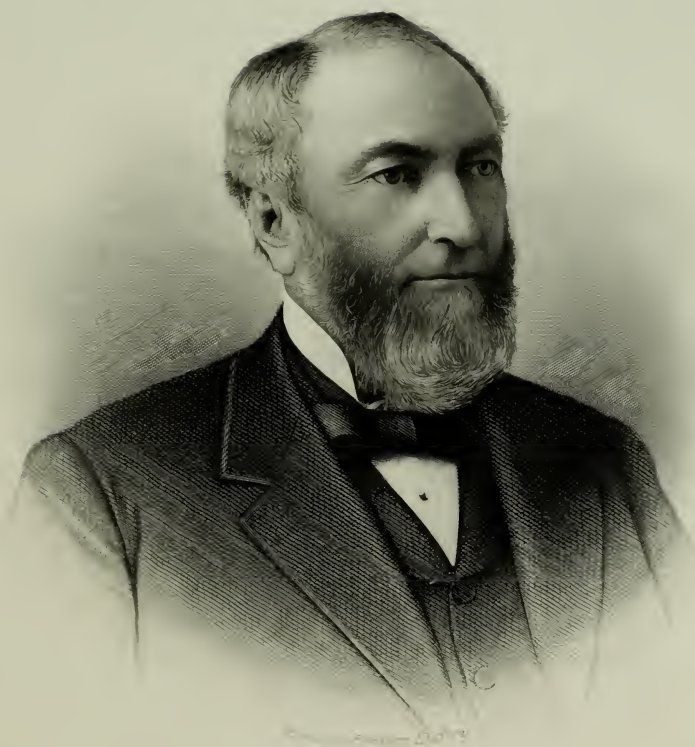
At the present time it can be said of Mr. Felch that he is the oldest surviving member of the Michigan legislature from Monro county ; the oldest and only surviving bank commissioner of the state ; the oldest surviving auditor-general of the state ; the oldest surviving judge of the supreme court of Michigan ; the only surviving member of the California land commission, and the oldest surviving United States senator from Michigan.

Governor Felch's life has been one of honorable usefulness, and the regard in which he is held by the people of Michigan, irrespective of party, is but a tribute to his worth and to the manner in which he performed the duties of every public trust. His personal qualities are such as to win for him the respect and confidence of every one with whom he comes in contact. Modest, generous, just, and ready to do a good action whenever opportunity offers it, his old age is fruitful of many blessings and filled with the quiet peace that can come only in the knowledge of a long life well spent.

JOHN W. CHAMPLIN.

John W. Champlin was a descendant of Geoffrey Champlin, who in the year 1768 came to this country from England and settled in Rhode Island. His descendants as a family are distinguished by many marked characteristics. They

are strong in body, firm in conviction, with that well adjusted balance of the faculties which is called common sense. The subject of this sketch exhibits in a high degree the characteristics of his family. His father, Geoffrey Champlin, married Ellis Champlin, a descendent of a distant branch of the same family, who in early colonial times settled in Connecticut. The newly married pair removed to Kingston, Ulster county, New York, where on the seventh day of February, 1831, John W. Champlin was born. The family afterward removed to Harpersfield, Delaware county, where the father engaged in farming and the son continued to reside with him except when at school until he was twenty-one years old. It is the same story which opens the life of so many of our public men, working beside his father and brother on the farm in the summer, laying up resources of health and strength with which to meet the active duties of life, in the fall and winter attending the village school, and at thirteen entering the grammar school at Stamford, afterwards the academy of Rhinebeck, Delaware county, New York. After completing his study at Harpersfield academy he took a course at civil engineering at the Delaware institute, Franklin, New York, and even commenced the practice of that profession in his native county. Seeking a wider field he came to Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1854, whither his brother, General Stephen C. Champlin had already preceded him and engaged in the practice of the law. Here first he conceived the idea of entering that profession, and in 1854 com-



John W. Champlin

menced its study in the office of his brother. He was admitted to the bar in 1855, having passed his examination before Judge Martin, who was afterwards chief justice of the state of Michigan. Comparatively the district in which he commenced was a new one, yet, as is frequently the case, at the local bar at that time, there were many men of marked ability, men whose vigorous intellect and natural sagacity made the conflicts which necessarily arise in the profession, a rather hard but very useful school for the young attorney on the threshold of his practice. One further benefit he derived from the position in which he found himself. In a new country where population is rapidly advancing and changes and additions have to be made to the machinery of local government to adapt it to the wants of the increased population, many new and important questions arise, involving the powers of the local municipalities. It so happened that circumstances led Judge Champlin very early to give great attention to this branch of the law. At the time he commenced his studies his brother was prosecuting-attorney, and naturally these questions were brought to the attention of the student. In the year 1857 he was chosen to prepare the charter of the city of his adoption, and the result of his work has been the basis of all the charter legislation of that city since. He held at different times the office of city recorder, city attorney, and mayor, and thus became acquainted not only with the theory but what is far more important with the workings of

the municipal government. The value of this experience to a lawyer, situated as Mr. Champlin was, is shown by his subsequent life. Probably there was no lawyer in the district where he lived whose opinion was more widely respected upon questions of municipal law than were his.

In the spring of 1876 Mr. Champlin was placed in the position of mayor of the city of Grand Rapids, in which it became his duty to oppose the bonding of the city for the purpose of making donations to railroads under the law, which was afterwards declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of the state; it is probably owing to him more than to any other man that that city did not mortgage its chances for future prosperity by incurring liabilities beyond its power to meet. From the time he entered the practice of law, the personal attention of Mr. Champlin was given to it almost entirely, especially during the sixteen years prior to his entering upon the bench. The growth of his practice, his reputation, rendered it necessary for him to devote his whole time to the many intricate questions which naturally arose in the course of a large civil practice. The years of conscientious work brought with them not only increase of practice and reputation, but also that growth in legal knowledge, and in that wide and accurate judgment, the possession of which constituted the most marked excellence of a lawyer. In the trial of cases when at the bar, Judge Champlin was uniformly courteous to the court, his opponent, and to the witnesses. He cared nothing for mere dis-

play, never losing a point for the sake of creating a favorable impression with the audience; seeking to impress the jury rather by the weight of the facts in his favor, by argument than by any appeal to their prejudices. In discussions of the principle of law before the court, he was remarkable for his clearness of statement and for his candor. He sought faithfully for firm ground on which to plant his feet, and when once he found it nothing could drive him from his position. His zeal for the client would not lead him to argue for what, in his judgment, was not the law. In this way his conceptions of legal principles were generally clearly cut, and he preserved intact the edge of his legal judgment.

The life of an attorney presents few points of attraction which the biographer can present to the general reader. The important and varied interests presented for his consideration, the questions new, difficult and intricate with which he has to deal; the constant mental application, and the habit of taking and meeting responsibilities, develop more rapidly than any other profession, we believe, the mental character. But the process can scarcely be made interesting to the general reader.

In 1883 Mr. Champlin was nominated by the Democratic party for the office of judge of the supreme court; he was elected by a majority which was so far in excess of the vote of his own party, that it furnishes a very strong evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the people of the state, and took his

seat as a member of that court in January, 1884. He brought to the bench not only a reputation but a character for integrity unquestioned and unquestionable; a wide knowledge of the law and of the difficulties which attend its perfect administration in practice; a mind which, while it did not readily adopt for its own the opinion of others, was quick in the apprehension of an argument upon which an opinion should be based, and logical in carrying that argument to a conclusion. While his career as a judge has been too short to form a basis for a final judgment, it can be truly said that he has already exhibited the characteristics which go to the making of an excellent judge.

So far we have dealt with Judge Champlin as a lawyer. There is a wide circle of his cotemporaries to whom this sketch would seem impertinent if nothing was said of the genial kindness and helpfulness by which the many who know Judge Champlin are bound to him. In politics he is in principle a Democrat, but declined to follow that portion of his party who opposed the war, and for the last few years he has taken part in public affairs only as one does who would not shirk his duty as a citizen. On the first of October, 1856, he was married to Miss Ellen Moore, the union a singularly happy one. Three children, all surviving, have been born. He is a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, in the city where he resides, and was for a long time one of its vestry. True to his duties in the several relations of life, he is loved and honored in the community in which he lives.

ROGER W. BUTTERFIELD.

HISTORY OF OHIO.

I.

THE EXPLORATIONS IN THE GREAT VALLEYS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE AND MISSISSIPPI—DISCOVERY OF THE OHIO RIVER.

ONE of the most notable events in the history of the world was the sailing of Christopher Columbus from Spain in 1492, and his arrival the same year at one of the Bahama islands. The most important maritime enterprise immediately succeeding was that of John Cabot, who, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1497, saw the coast of Labrador—the first of civilized men to discover the western continent.

Twenty years after the first voyage of Columbus, Florida was visited by Juan Ponce de Leon. Other adventurers, within a few years, followed in his footsteps, all meeting with disasters, but all fully persuaded that great wealth lay in ulterior regions. Gold—"garnish, glittering gold"—sent De Leon into these unknown wilds. Before this, El Dorado had not been reached, neither had the marvelous Fountain of Youth; yet the wealth of Montezuma was known to be a reality; and what was there to discredit the stories of even greater riches to the northward and northwestward? There was at least one adventurer daring enough to test the truth of these reports.

De Soto (for of him we speak) was a Spaniard. His expedition was a private

one. His munificence was unbounded. As soon as the projected enterprise was announced, the eagerness to join it brought forward many more applicants than could be received. Six hundred young men—the very flower of Spain—were selected; but many who had sold houses and lands to equip themselves for the expedition, were obliged to remain unwillingly at home. Everything being in readiness, the splendid fleet set sail for Cuba, in 1538, reaching Florida in May of the next year. Landing his soldiers and horses, De Soto sent most of his vessels back to Havanna. At the head of a more formidable force than had been employed in the subjection of Peru, he set forward to acquire for himself unbounded wealth in unknown regions—the *terra incognita*—of the north. After terrible hardships, the autumn of 1540 found him and his followers some distance above Mobile, in what is now the state of Alabama. Here, a sanguinary battle was fought with the Indians. The Spaniards were victorious. Meanwhile ships had arrived from Cuba, with which, on the coast of the gulf, De Soto had a chance to send tidings of his march back to Spain; but, unwilling that his failure should be

known, he resolved that the particulars of his march thus far should not be known—it was his determination to communicate nothing until he had made some important discoveries.

De Soto now directed his course to the north, his troops having been reduced by sickness and warfare to five hundred men. Another winter was passed in what is now the state of Mississippi. He then took a westerly direction. After a tedious march through forests and marshes, he came at length to the banks of the Mississippi. He and his band were the first of civilized men to behold the famous river. No page of American history more readily awakens enthusiastic admiration than that which recites the discovery of the magnificent stream upon the banks of which the weary commander and his faithful companions now rested. At the point where they first beheld the noble river—not far distant from the southern boundary of the present state of Tennessee—it was over a mile wide. Never had the Spaniards before seen any stream at all comparable with this. The current was strong; its channel deep; and, in all its leading characteristics was the same then as now. The imagination delights to paint the picture—often drawn by the artist—of the adventurers gazing with mingled wonder and surprise out upon the panorama of moving waters!

It had been well for De Soto had he been satisfied with his great discovery—more important, indeed, than he perhaps imagined—and retraced his steps. But hopes of reaching wealthy and pop-

ulous regions, like the deceitful and alluring mirage of the desert, enticed him on to his destruction. Crossing over to the western side of the Mississippi, the march was resumed, first along the banks of the river, then west into the mountainous districts of what is now the state of Arkansas. In the valley of a stream not far distant from the great river, the now thoroughly disappointed adventurers spent their third winter since landing upon the coast of Florida. Early in the spring they followed down its course to its junction with the Mississippi, where De Soto died. The chivalric Spaniard slept in the embrace of the mighty stream. He had found a burial place but no gold. Greatly reduced in numbers by hunger, fatigue, and combats with the natives, the disconsolate band built small vessels, floated down to the gulf, coasted along shore until they reached a settlement in Mexico; whence, in September, 1543, they were enabled to return to Spain. Thus ended the expedition of De Soto; its opening pageant grand and imposing, its closing scenes a succession of disasters. One hundred and thirty years passed away before any other adventurers saw the Mississippi above the uppermost point reached by the Spaniards.

From the southwest let us now turn our attention to the northeast, to see who was the first to approach the Ohio country from that direction. The discovery of the river St. Lawrence and of the great lakes, which pour their superabundant waters through it into the gulf, was not the least in importance of the events which signalized the opening

of the history of the New World. The credit of having first spread a sail upon the majestic river of Canada, and of obtaining such information as afterward led to a knowledge of the whole of its valley, belongs to James Cartier, a native of St. Malo, a port in the north of France. Cartier was a skillful mariner. On the twentieth of April, 1534, he sailed from his native place under orders of the French admiral for the coast of Newfoundland, intent on exploring unknown seas and countries washed by them. He took with him two ships of fifty tons each, and in twenty days saw the large island lying between the ocean and the river he was soon to discover. Favorable winds had wafted him and his hundred and twenty-two sailors and adventurers to inhospitable shores, but at an auspicious season of the year.

Having sailed nearly around Newfoundland, Cartier turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered a bay, which he named *Des Chaleurs*, because of the midsummer heats. A little further north he landed and took possession of the country in the name of the French king. His vessels were now at anchor in the smaller inlet of *Gaspé*. Sailing still farther north, Cartier, in August, discovered the river *St. Lawrence*. He moved up its channel until land was sighted on either side, then, being unprepared to remain through the winter, he sailed back again to the gulf, crossed the ocean, and moored his vessels in safety in *St. Malo*. He made the return voyage in less than thirty days. This was, at that

period, an astonishing achievement. The success of the expedition filled the whole of France with wonder. In less than five months the Atlantic had been crossed, a large river discovered, a new country added to the dominion of France, and the ocean recrossed. All this had been accomplished before it was generally known that an expedition had been undertaken.

The remarkable pleasantness of this summer voyage, the narratives of Cartier and his companions, and the importance to their discoveries, aroused the enthusiasm of the French, and, as might be expected, a new expedition was planned. Three well furnished ships were provided by the king. Even some of the nobility volunteered for the voyage. All were eager to cross the Atlantic. On the nineteenth of May, 1535, the squadron sailed. But Cartier had not, this time, a pleasant summer cruise. Storms, raged, the ships separated. For seven weeks they buffeted the troubled ocean. Their rendezvous was the Straits of *Belle Isle*, which they finally reached; but the omens were bad. The adventurers had confidently looked for fair winds and a quick voyage, and these expectations had all been blasted. Now, however, they arrived in sight of Newfoundland, and their spirits rose. Carried to the west of that island on the day of *Saint Lawrence*, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the gulf which opened before them. The name was afterward made to include the whole of that body of water, and was also given to the river Cartier had previously discovered.

Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the St. Lawrence, reaching, in September, a fine harbor in an island since called Orleans.

Leaving his two largest ships in the waters of the river now known as the St. Charles, Cartier, with the smallest and two open boats, ascended the St. Lawrence until a considerable Indian village was reached, situated on an island called by the natives Hochelaga. Standing upon the summit of a hill, on this island, and looking away up the river, the commander had fond imaginings of future glory awaiting his countrymen in colonizing this region. "He called the hill Mont Réal, and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions," for on that island now stands the city of Montreal. While at Hochelaga Cartier gathered some indistinct accounts of the surrounding country from the savages, and the of river Ottawa coming down from the hills of the northwest. Rejoining his ships he spent the winter in a palisaded fort, on the banks of the St. Charles, with his vessels moored before it. The cold was intense. Many of his men died of scurvy. Early in the spring possession was again taken of the country in the name of the French king; and, on the sixteenth of July, 1536, the Breton mariner dropped anchor in St. Malo—he having returned in two ships; the other was abandoned, and three hundred and twelve years after was discovered imbedded in mud. France was disappointed. Hopes had been raised too high. Further expect-

tations, therefore, were, for the time postponed.

Notwithstanding the failure of Cartier's second voyage, the great valley of the St. Lawrence was not to remain very long unknown to the world in any of its parts. It was thought unworthy of a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise, and one more trial at exploration and colonization was determined upon. Again the bold mariner of St. Malo started for the St. Lawrence. This was on the twenty-third of May, 1541. He took with him five ships; but he went, unfortunately, as subordinate, in some respects, to John Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, whom the king of France had appointed viceroy of the country now again to be visited. The object of the enterprise was declared to be discovery, settlement, and the conversion of the Indians. Cartier was the first to sail. Again he entered the St. Lawrence.

After erecting a fort near the site of the present city of Quebec, Cartier ascended the river in two boats to explore the rapids above the island of Hochelaga. He then returned and passed the winter at this fort; and, in the spring, not having heard from the viceroy, he set sail for France. In June, 1542, in the harbor of St. John, he met the Lord of Roberval, outward bound, with three ships and two hundred men. The viceroy ordered Cartier to return to the St. Lawrence; but the mariner of St. Malo escaped in the night and continued his voyage homeward. Roberval,

although abandoned by his subordinate, once more set sail. After wintering in the *St. Lawrence*, he, too, abandoned the country—giving back his immense viceroyalty to the savages.

In 1578 there were three hundred and fifty fishing vessels at Newfoundland belonging to the French, Spanish, Portuguese and English; besides these were a number—twenty or more—of Biscayan whalers. The Marquis de la Roche, a Catholic nobleman of Brittany, encouraged by Henry IV., undertook the colonization of New France (as the country discovered by Cartier was then called) in 1598. But the ill-starred attempt resulted only in his leaving forty convicts to their fate on Sable island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. Of their number, twelve only were found alive five years subsequent to the voyage of La Roche. In 1599 another expedition was resolved upon. This was undertaken by Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, and Chauvin, a captain of the marine. In consideration of a monopoly of the fur trade, granted them by the king of France, these men undertook to establish a colony of five hundred persons in New France. At Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, they built a cluster of wooden huts and store houses, where sixteen men were left to gather furs; these either died or were scattered among the Indians before the return of the spring of 1601. Chauvin made a second voyage to Tadoussac, but failed to establish a permanent settlement. During a third voyage he died, and his enterprise perished with him.*

In 1603, a more systematic attempt to explore and colonize the region watered by the *St. Lawrence* was undertaken. The leading spirit in the enterprise was a young man, poor in purse, but of a noble family, enterprising, sagacious and persevering, unawed by terrors such as would overwhelm most men, and seldom discouraged under the most dispiriting circumstances. Such a man was Samuel de Champlain.

A captain in the French navy was this man, who, with a small band of adventurers, sailed from a port in France in two vessels, one of twelve tons, the other of fifteen, intending to make a preliminary survey of the valley of the *St. Lawrence*. The little vessels having crossed the Atlantic in safety, entered the broad river, sailed past the lofty promontory on which Quebec now stands, and reached the island, now the site of the city of Montreal, then, of course, a wilderness. Here they anchored, and Champlain, with a small party of natives, continued the ascent of the river in one of the ship's boats. But in the rapids above they found, as had Cartier, sixty-two years before, an insuperable obstacle to a further advance. So Champlain returned to his ships. But he was not idle. From the Indians he learned of the further regions—southward and westward. The natives drew for him rude maps of rivers, lakes and rapids far beyond the point where his predecessor, Cartier, had been obliged to relinquish his explorations.

John Nicolet, in 1634, with a sketch of his Life.' By C. W. Butterfield, Cincinnati. Robert Clarke & Company, 1881, pp. 11-16.

* History of the discovery of the Northwest by

This information inflamed his curiosity. He resolved one day to visit the countries so full of natural wonders ; but, for the present, he must return to France.

It was five years before Champlain again set foot upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. Winter proved as disastrous to this expedition as it had to similar ones under Cartier, many years before. However, in the spring of 1609, Champlain, with sixty Indians and two white men, entered the River Sorel, determined not to turn back. In twenty-four canoes they glided up this beautiful tributary of the St. Lawrence, on their way to an important discovery. The river widened as they progressed, until, on a brilliant day in June, Champlain beheld to his great delight, the placid waters of a lake, called by the Indians Saranac, but which has ever since borne among civilized nations the name of Champlain. After advancing far up the lake, the courageous band was stopped by a war party of hostile Indians. It was in the evening, and mingled war-cries pealed over the gloomy waters of the lake. Early the next morning a fierce engagement took place ; but the fire arms of the whites so terrified the savage enemy that victory was not long in doubt. The foe was vanquished. After this conflict Champlain and his two white companions returned to their ships upon the St. Lawrence, and their Indian companions to their homes in the wilderness.

Three voyages across the ocean to his native country were made by Champlain before again advancing in search of the great lakes, a knowledge of which

he had obtained, as already mentioned, from the friendly natives. This time the undaunted explorer resolved to push his way up the great northern tributary of the St. Lawrence—the Ottawa—and verify the Indian accounts of a fresh water sea beyond. The company, besides himself, consisted of ten savages and two Frenchmen, one of whom acted as interpreter. They had two canoes for the long journey. But they were preceded by a zealous missionary, who had gone up among the Indians to learn their language and to labor for their spiritual welfare ; for Champlain had induced several pious fathers to leave France and cast their lots with him in the new world. Both parties traveled up the Ottawa to the Algonquin villages ; passed the two lakes of the Alouettes ; threaded their way to a well-trodden portage, crossing which brought them to Lake Nipissing ; thence they floated westward down the current of French river, to what is now known as Georgian bay ; afterward, for more than a hundred miles, they journeyed southward along the eastern shores of that bay to its head, and there was the home of the Hurons. They had discovered what was virtually Lake Huron.

Champlain was soon, with a naked host of allies, on the march from the Huron villages against the Iroquois, moving down the River Trent, as since named, to its mouth, when his eyes were gladdened with a view of another of the fresh water seas—Lake Ontario. Boldly they crossed its broad expanse, meeting the enemy at a considerable distance inland from its southern shores.

Defensive works of the Iroquois defied the assault of the besiegers. The Huron warriors returned in disgust to their homes, taking Champlain with them. He was compelled to spend the winter as the guest of these savages, returning to the St. Lawrence by way of the Ottawa, and reaching Quebec on the eleventh of July, 1616. He had seen enough of the region traversed by him to know that there was an immense country to the southward and westward, ready to be given to his king the moment he should be able to explore and make it known.

Before the final departure of Champlain and his savage allies from the Huron country against the Iroquois, south of lake Ontario, Etienne Brûlé, his interpreter, with twelve of the most stalwart Hurons, was dispatched on a dangerous journey to a distant tribe dwelling to the southward or south-westward of the Five Nations, to urge them to hasten to the fort of the Iroquois, as they had already received word from them that they would join them in their campaign. Brûlé and his dusky companions were successful in reaching their place of destination, "but not without exposing themselves to risk, since they had to pass through the territories of their enemies, and in order to avoid any evil design, pursued a more secure route through thick and impenetrable forests, wood and brush, marshy bogs, frightful and unfrequented places and wastes, all to avoid danger and a meeting with their enemies." The tribe they visited inhabited the country south of the Senecas, and in going thither they did not cross Lake Ontario, but took their course by way of the Niagara river, without, however, seeing Lake Erie—reaching, finally, the upper waters of the Susquehanna.*

Notwithstanding the caution exercised by Brûlé and his associates in their journey, they encountered some hostile savages and an engagement ensued. Four of the enemy were killed and two taken prisoners. The latter were taken along and delivered to the tribe which the Frenchman and his Hurons were now visiting.

Brûlé and his companions were received by their strange friends with every demonstration of rejoicing—with great affection, a cordial welcome and good cheer, with the dances and banquets with which they were accustomed to entertain and honor strangers. After the Frenchman had explained the object of his visit, the savages assembled in council to deliberate on his proposition to have five hundred of their warriors march with him against the enemy. It was finally determined to send the men asked for, but they were very slow in getting ready, although urged to make haste by Brûlé, who explained to them that there was danger of their being too late to aid the Hurons, who, with Champlain, were to attack the foe by crossing Lake Ontario and marching against their stronghold. At length the number

* Compare in this connection the dotted line shown in the well known map of Champlain of 1632, south of Lake Ontario, running first in a southerly then in an easterly direction to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, which line is undoubtedly intended to represent the route of Brûlé and his Huron companions, after crossing the Niagara river.

proposed set out, but they arrived two days after the departure of Champlain and the Huron warriors from the defensive works of the enemy; so the five hundred savages had to return to their village, and with them returned Brûlé. The indomitable Frenchman was obliged to stay and spend the rest of the autumn of 1615 and the ensuing winter with the friendly Indians for lack of company and an escort home; but he was by no means a man to idle away his time, so he explored the Susquehanna to its mouth. On his return, in the spring of 1616, a few of the Indians offered to guide him towards his countrymen. But on his way he encountered a band of Iroquois; his party was scattered, and he was lost in the deep woods. When nearly famished, he found an Indian footpath which led him to a fishing party of savages, who proved to be Iroquois. They tied him to a tree tore out his beard by handfuls and burned him with fire brands. He thought his end was nigh, but a sudden storm arising and breaking over the heads of his tormentors, they were stricken with fear and left their victim, when one of the chiefs cut him loose, and, leading him to his lodge, dressed his wounds. He was afterward guided four days on his way toward the Huron country, which he reached in safety. He afterward joined a party of Hurons who made a descent of the Ottawa to meet the French traders at Montreal. This "pioneer of pioneers" had not, it is true, reached the Ohio country, but he had approached nearer to it than

any other civilized explorer at that date.*

Ten years subsequent to the escape of Brûlé from his tormentors, a nation of Indians living in the country immediately north of Lake Erie, called the Neutrals, was visited by a Franciscan friar—La Roche Dallion. "Their country, about forty leagues in extent, embraced wide and fertile districts on the north shore of Lake Erie, and their frontier extended eastward across the Niagara, where they had three or four outlying towns." If the friar saw Lake Erie, no mention is made of the fact. His visit, however, probably brought him nearer the Ohio country than that of any white man previous to his visit. But the extent of the lake just named was not the only one of the "inland seas" that was unknown in 1626. Lake Michigan had not been heard of, nor had Lake St. Clair. By the year 1632, it was understood there was some kind of a waterway connecting Lake Huron with Lake Ontario. A little knowledge had been gathered by the French upon the St. Lawrence (more especially by Champlain) of a great body of fresh water lying beyond Lake Huron towards the northwest, now known as Lake Su-

* The story of Etienne Brûlé, as related by Champlain, may be found in the narrative of the latter of his voyage of 1618. See Lavidere's reprint, '*Œuvres de Champlain*' (Quebec: 1870), pp. 621-629. There is an excellent translation into English by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M., in his '*Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*,' Vol. III, pp. 208-216. The substance of the narrative is given in Parkman's '*Pioneers of France in the New World*,' pp. 377-379.

perior. As the outlet of this "great lake" was what was described by the savages as a considerable rapid, the present Sault St. Marie, in the St. Mary's river—the stream which, it is well known, flows from Lake Superior into Lake Huron. It was declared by the Indians that it took full thirty days in canoes to traverse the lengths of these two lakes. There was, it was said, a copper mine on an island in one of these "fresh seas;" and south of the rapid before mentioned were, it was affirmed, other islands—the Great Manitoulin, Drummond and Little Manitoulin, of the present day. Some idea, too, had been gained of a river south of Lake Superior, very large, evidently, but flowing north into the lake last named. This was probably a confused account of the Mississippi.

Of the Indians of the far northwest, some knowledge had been gleaned: the Winnebagoes, Mascoutines, Sioux, Illinois and Chippewas had certainly been heard of. Then there was a nation of Indians called the Neuters, concerning which the Indians had given some information to the French. They lived somewhat to the southward or south-eastward of Lake Huron, while all the other tribes named had their homes to the westward or northwestward of that lake. Such was the limited knowledge in possession of the civilized world of the upper portion of the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi to the year 1634, when the daring exploration of an indefatigable Norman let in a flood of light upon the hitherto almost impen-

trable darkness of the Upper Lakes.* We speak of John Nicolet.

In the year 1618, Nicolet arrived from France at Quebec, and was soon dispatched by Champlain to the woods that he might learn the language, manners, customs and habits of the savage Algonquins. Other young men had been sent before by the Canadian governor for the same purpose. His object was to open friendly relations through them, when the proper time should come, with the Indian nations not yet brought in close alliance with the French. After a sufficient length of time had elapsed Nicolet returned to civilization, being recalled by the government, and employed as commissary and Indian interpreter. He took up his residence in Quebec and was in high favor with Champlain. We have already seen that the Winnebagoes had been heard of as a nation of savages living beyond Lake Huron. Now, these Indians were called the "Men of the Sea" by the Algonquins, who gave information concerning them. And beyond them was another people, it was said, without hair or beards, whose costumes and manners resembled the Tartars, who came to trade with the Winnebagoes in large canoes on a "great water." A live imagination converted these Souix coming from the west into Chinese or Japanese, and the rivers Mississippi, Wis-

* What little was learned of the upper lakes and contiguous regions for sixteen years following Champlain's visit to the Hurons, is to be gleaned from Sagard's '*Histoire du Canada*;' from Champlain's '*Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France*;' and from the '*Relation*' of Le Jeune, of 1632.

consin and Fox, into a sea leading to Asia, so it was determined that the Winnebagoes should be visited and that Nicolet should be the visitor. This was in 1634. The object of his visit was a three-fold one: (1) to determine if there was a near route in that direction to the ocean which washed alike the shores of Asia and America; (2) to negotiate a treaty of peace between the Winnebagoes and Algonquin tribes east of Lake Huron, with whom they were at war; and (3) to make the fur-trade more profitable and add more countries to the crown of France, by making the Indian tribes French allies.

Nicolet was first accredited to the Huron villages which Champlain had visited in 1615. But why? The Canadian governor was desirous that these Indians should come to terms with the Winnebagoes, and therefore they must be visited and the matter explained to them. Besides, a few Hurons it was desired by Nicolet should accompany him on his visit to the "Men of the Sea." The daring Frenchman made his way up the Ottawa river to the Mattawan, a tributary, and by means of the latter reached Lake Nipissing. Thence he floated down French river to the Georgian bay. After a considerable canoe navigation, coasting along to the southward, he finally set foot upon Huron territory and was soon in their villages.

After all ceremonies and "talks" with the Hurons were ended, Nicolet began preparations for his journey to the Winnebagoes. He was to strike boldly into undiscovered regions. He was to encounter savage natives never before vis-

ited. It was, in realty, the beginning of a voyage full of danger—one that would require great tact, great courage, and constant facing of difficulties. No one, however, understood better the savage character than he; no Frenchman was more fertile of resources. Seven Hurons accompanied him. Around him, when on land, frowned dark forests. A birch-bark canoe was to bear the first white man along the northern shores of Lake Huron and upon St. Mary's strait to the falls. Once there, and Nicolet was the first of civilized men to set foot upon any portion of what was more than a century and a half afterwards called the Western Territory—"The territory northwest of the River Ohio"—now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Returning down the St. Mary's, Nicolet soon beheld another great body of fresh water—Lake Michigan—never before seen by a white man. He is fairly, therefore, entitled to the honor of its discovery. He glided along on the clear waters of this out-of-the-way link in the great chain of lakes, fearlessly paddling his canoe along its northern shore until he entered Green bay; thence up that body of water to the mouth of Fox river, and up that stream to Winnebago lake, and Nicolet and his dusky Hurons were with the Winnebagoes—with the "Men of the Sea"—whom he had, for many days, been anxious to reach. He found the tribe he was now visiting a numerous and sedentary people, speaking a language radically different from any of the Algonquin nations or the Hurons. The news of Nicolet's coming spread

through the country. Four or five thousand people assembled of different tribes. Each of the chiefs gave a banquet. One of the sachems regaled his guests with at least one hundred and twenty beavers.

After attending to the objects of his visit, Nicolet must needs see some of the neighboring tribes in their homes. So he ascended the Fox river to the village of the Mascoutins, in what is, probably, the present Green Lake county, Wisconsin. He now heard of a "great water" only three days journey beyond. What he really was informed of was the Wisconsin river, which, by the tortuous channel of the Fox river, could have been reached in three days. The accounts given him produced no very clear conception of what was spoken of, but he believed he was near the sea. Strange to say, the persevering Frenchman seemed now, for some cause, to be derelict in his duty, for he did not attempt to visit the ocean that he so confidently believed in. Possibly, he might have been forcibly turned back by the natives. Upon this subject history is silent. Nicolet then, it is supposed, turned his course southward, and, upon the beautiful prairies of what is now the state bearing their name, visited the Illinois. They lived at no great distance—their territory extending eastward to Lake Michigan, southward, it is not known how far, and westward to the Mississippi. From smoking the pipe of peace with the Illinois, he returned to the Winnebagoes.

Before Nicolet left the country, on his return to the St. Lawrence and Quebec, he obtained some knowledge

of the Sioux—those traders from the west, who, it will be remembered, were represented as coming in canoes upon a sea to the Winnebagoes; the same "sea," doubtless, he so nearly reached, but did not behold—the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. Although without beards, and having only a tuft of hair in their crowns, these Sioux were no longer mandarins—no longer from China or Japan—but, as he supposed, they were residing somewhere on the borders of the ocean.

Having wintered with the Winnebagoes, as it is supposed, Nicolet started with his seven Hurons on his return. He had yet one tribe near the Winnebagoes to visit—the Pottawatomes, who were located upon the islands at the mouth of Green bay and upon the mainland to the southward along the western shores of Lake Michigan. On these Algonquins—for they were of that lineage—Nicolet, upon his return trip, made a friendly call. He continued his route homeward by way of Mackinaw, and along the south shores of the Great Manitonlin island to the home thereon of a band of Ottawas. He proceeded thence to the Hurons, retracing, subsequently, his steps to the mouth of the French river, up that stream to Lake Nipissing, and down the Mattawan and Ottawa to the St. Lawrence and Quebec.*

* 'History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet, in 1634, With a Sketch of His Life,' Since the publication of that work I have reached the conclusion that the Winnebagoes, when first seen by Nicolet, were living in the immediate vicinity of Lake Winnebago, instead of around the head of Green bay, as there stated (p. 60).

In the month of November, 1640, it having been determined by the Jesuits to establish a mission in the Neutral nation, which occupied, as we have already seen, that part of Canada lying immediately north of Lake Erie, two missionaries — Jean de Brébeuf and Joseph Marie Chaumonot — were assigned to that field. By this time the lake just mentioned had become well known. The mission, however, proved a failure.

The first fruits of Nicolet's daring were gathered by the Jesuits even before his death; for, in the autumn of 1641, those of them who were among the Hurons received a deputation of Chippewa Indians, occupying "the country around a rapid, in the midst of the channel by which Lake Superior empties into Lake Huron," inviting them to visit their tribe. These "missionaries were not displeased with the opportunity thus presented of knowing the countries lying beyond Lake Huron, which no one of them had yet traversed;" so Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault were detached to accompany the Chippewa deputies and view the field simply, not to establish a mission. They passed along the shores of Lake Huron to the Sault Ste. Marie, where they harrangued two thousand Indians of the Ottawa and other tribes. In 1659 two fur traders passed the winter on the shores of Lake Superior, where they heard of the ferocious Sioux and of the Mississippi, on which they dwelt. Thus a positive knowledge of the great river again began to dawn upon the European world; for its discovery by De

Soto had well-nigh been forgotten. Then followed the attempt of Father René Mesnard, in 1660, to found a mission on the same shores visited by the two traders, but he perished in the wilderness. However, other efforts soon after made were more successful, and by the year 1669 two missions had been founded in the northern and northeastern parts of the present state of Wisconsin, and one at the Sault Ste. Marie.

Nearly thirty years now passed before any progress was made towards the exploration of the country lying to the southward, southwestward and westward of the great lakes. But the anxiety to discover the copper mines said to exist in the vicinity of Lake Superior, induced the sending of Louis Joliet to see if they could be found; and, if found, to explore them carefully and report their value. This was in the year 1668. Joliet left Montreal with four canoes and some merchandise for the Ottawas. Besides searching for copper mines, he had been instructed by M. de Courcellès to find, if possible, a more feasible route than the one then in use for the transportation of copper to Montreal. Joliet passed to Lake Huron by the usual route of the Ottawa and French rivers; but, in returning, after failing in his attempt to discover copper, he descended through Lake St. Clair and the Detroit river to Lake Erie, coasting along its northern side until near its foot, when his Indian guide, an Iroquois, who had been taken prisoner by the Ottawas, informed him of the shorter route by way of the Grand river, upon which stream we will leave

him for the present. This was in 1669. All the great lakes had now been seen by civilized man ; but the Ohio country was still an unknown region ; however, its discovery was now at hand.

Réné-Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Salle, was born in Rouen, France, in 1643. When twenty-three years of age he sailed for Canada to seek his fortune. He was "a young man in whom the fire of youth glowed not the less ardently for the veil of reserve that covered it ; who would shrink from no danger, but would not court it in bravado ; and who would cling with an invincible tenacity of gripe to any purpose which he might espouse." The Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Montreal, granted him, in consideration of a medal of fine silver weighing one mark, which was to be given on every change of ownership, a large tract of land at the place, afterwards and still called *La Chine*, above the rapids of the same name, in the River St. Lawrence. No sooner had La Salle reached Canada then he commenced the study of the various Indian tongues, "and with such success that he is said, within two or three years, to have mastered the Iroquois and seven or eight other languages and dialects."

At his home in *La Chine*, La Salle was visited by some Seneca Indians, who gave him an account of a river called the Ohio, which had its rise in their country and flowed into an ocean, but at such an immense distance away that its mouth could only be reached after a journey of eight or nine months ; but the Ohio and Mississippi were, by

them, merged in one stream. La Salle determined to explore the great river ; and he repaired to Quebec to get aid from the governor for the enterprise—which consisted, however, only in letters patent authorizing the undertaking. He was forced to sell his *La Chine* possessions to raise money to purchase the necessary outfit and to hire the proper number of men to accompany him. The Seminary of St. Suplice determined about the same time to attempt the conversion of a number of savage nations to the westward ; but the priests were importuned by the Canadian governor to change their plans so as to act in conjunction with La Salle in discovering and exploring the Ohio, to which they consented ; Francois and Dollier de Casson, with René de Brehart de Galinée as a colleague, were deputed to go upon the journey. La Salle bought four canoes, with the necessary supplies, and hired fourteen men, while the seminary priests procured three canoes and engaged seven men. On the sixth of July, 1669, the adventurers left *La Chine*. In two canoes went the Senecas, who had wintered with La Salle and who acted as guides.

La Salle, Dollier, Galinée, and the residue of the party reached Lake Ontario on the second of August. At Irondequoit bay, on the south side of the lake, they met a number of Senecas, with whom they journeyed to their towns, fifteen or twenty miles distant. Here they hoped to find guides to conduct them to the Ohio. At one of the villages the Jesuits had already established a mission. No guide could be obtained,

and they were assured that, should they proceed on their enterprise and reach the stream they were so desirous of exploring, they would all be killed by the savages living in those parts. La Salle and the two priests concluded, finally, to change their route, on being informed by an Indian who lived near the head of Lake Ontario, that he would guide them to his village and thus show them a better way to the Ohio. So the party left the Senecas, passed the mouth of the Niagara river, as they coasted the south shore of Lake Ontario, and soon reached the home of the guide, where it was learned that the Ohio could be reached in a journey of six weeks.

On leaving for the Ohio with the two guides, one being a Shawanese the other a Nez Percez, they ascended the mountain ridge, which, crossing the Niagara at what is now Lewistown, sweeps around the west end of Lake Ontario. This was near what is now the site of Hamilton. Aided by the Algonquins, who carried their effects, they proceeded to an Indian village situated between the head of the bay and Grand river, reaching the former on the twenty-second of September. And here Louis Joliet was met on his way back from his march after copper in the northwest, already mentioned. It was not long before he related what he had seen in his travels.

The meeting with Joliet caused a material change in the plans of the party so far as Dollier and Galinée were concerned. Being informed that many

tribes in the region of the upper lakes were sorely in need of spiritual instruction, they resolved, despite the remonstrances of La Salle, to journey thither. So, on the first day of October, the priests departed for the distant tribes sitting in the darkness of heathenism, as described by Joliet, while La Salle and his fourteen men were left, as these Sulpitians supposed, to return to La Chine,* and some of his men actually did return, but La Salle himself, with the remainder, determined to carry out his original plan of exploring the Ohio. He went to Onondaga, made his way thence to a point six or seven leagues from Lake Erie, where he came to a branch of the Ohio, and descending it was soon floating on the bosom of the Allegheny. It was not long before the Ohio was reached, down which he floated to the rapids, now Louisville, Kentucky, when his men refused to go further, "and escaped to the English and the Dutch," whereupon La Salle retraced his steps alone.

The Ohio country had thus been discovered and to a certain extent explored, and La Salle has justly the credit of being its discoverer.

C. W. BUTTERFIELD.

* The 'Journal of Galinée,' from the time of the arrival of the party at Irondequoit bay to the final separation when the two priests went one way and La Salle another, may be found translated in Marshall's "De La Salle among the Senecas in 1669," pp. 15-34. Compare Parkman's 'La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,' pp. 13-18.

THE DEFENCE OF THE ALAMO.*

San Antonio is in danger!
Came the news—could aught be stranger?
And the brawny Texan ranger

Stood with merchant and with vender,
And though chance of aid was slender,
Still they sought for a defender.

Timid women hid their faces,
As their death-like cheeks gave traces
Of despair and dread disgraces.

Santa Anna's men were raiding!
Texan liberty seemed fading
With a tyrant foe invading.

Travis was the patriot colonel,
With a bravery supernal
To make liberty eternal.

Scarce two hundred men commanding,
In one noble column banding,
At their head he soon was standing.

“Davy” Crockett, Smith and Bonham
Took their share of work upon them;
Seguin, Evans, all in common.

In the convent they took quarter,
There to rest and reconnoitre;
But they had no time to loiter.

On the walls they raised a pennon,
Posted men and placed a cannon
While they strengthened beam and tenon.

Alamo a fort? bravado!
Convent to a barricado,
Puffing smoke like some volcano.

Round it Santa Anna's pickets
Paced amid the bush and thickets,
Scanning guns and fortress wickets.

* March 6, 1836; Sunday.

Summons came to them, "Surrender!"
And a cannon told the sender
Alamo still had defender.

Colonel Travis, for assistance,
Sent to Goliad in the distance;
Prayed for soldiers for resistance.

From Gondaes thirty enter;
Steal at night past guard and tenter;
Safely reach the fortress centre.

Time was precious, scarce was powder,
And the hostile guns grew louder,
While the Mexicans strode prouder.

Colonel Travis stopped his firing;
Sent a messenger inquiring
Terms of safety for retiring.

"At discretion," said the scoffer;
"Not a pledge of life we proffer
To such traitors—death we offer."

Travis told the situation;
Said he would not leave his station,
And the men gave acclamation.

Then the colonel, with his sabre,
Drew a line, and asked the braver
There to form, who would not waver.

All but one came into column,
And resolved by pledges solemn
To destroy the hated thralldom.

Colonel Bowie, weak and dying,
Had his cot, where he was lying,
Brought in line, the foe defying.

"Death, no quarter!" fiercely sounded
Hostile bugles, and rebounded
Through the village, full and rounded.

Then like tigers came the foemen,
Brutal hosts restrained by no man;
Twice repulsed by sturdy yeomen.

They have entered through the breeches!
'Mid the shrieking and the screeches
For the top a foeman reaches.

Hand to hand they writhe together,
Gun to gun and arms in tether,
Till they singe their helmet leather.

Texans fought with desperation;
Fought for freedom as a nation,
'Mid defeat and desolation.

In the hospital inspired,
From their beds the soldiers fired;
Aimed until their lives expired.

Then a cannon, lank and bloody,
Fed by gunner grimmèd and muddy,
Breathed its death on every body.

With a frenzied shout they followed,
Mind and mercy lost or swallowed,
In the path that cannon hollowed.

“ Prisoners I want not, shoot all ! ”
Shouted Santa Anna brutal;
Prayers for Travis all were futile.

Then, amid the din infernal,
Fell in death the dauntless colonel,
Dear to Texan hearts eternal.

When the glowing sun descended,
All was still; defence had ended,
And the blaze of pyres was blended

With the moon's pale light, and rumbled
Echoes came, and o'er the crumbled
Ashes murmured: “ Hushed, not humbled.”

Thus the Alamo was taken
From that little band forsaken,
While those noble ranks, unshaken,

Wholly perished; and the story
Of their martyrdom and gory
Death renews our country's glory.

—CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.

THE MICHIGAN LUMBER INTEREST AS TOLD IN SKETCHES OF
SOME OF ITS LEADING MEN.

I.

SIMON J. MURPHY.

SIMON J. MURPHY was born in Windsor, Lincoln county, Maine, on the twenty-second day of April, 1815. His father, Edward Murphy, was of Irish blood, but was born in America, as was his mother, Alcy Jones Murphy, who was of Scotch extraction. The elder Murphy was a poor man, who found it no easy matter to support his growing family from the products of a small farm, and who, beyond a sufficiency of plain food and simple clothing, could give them but little. The luxuries—which have now come to be regarded almost as necessities in the simplest home—were quite unknown in the Murphy farm house, and the book education of the children was of the slightest.

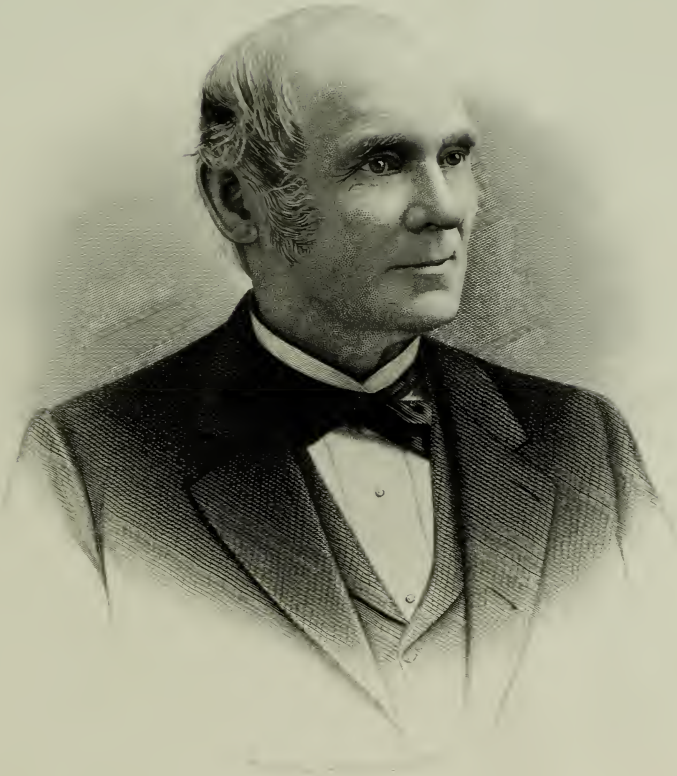
Simon was one of a family of twelve children, of whom one was older than himself and his twin sister, who is still living. He was named for a maternal uncle and his maternal grandfather, who was well to do in California, with most of his neighbors, who early took an active interest in his welfare, though his intervention did not extend to the point of giving the boy any considerable education.

Mr. and Mrs. Murphy were members of the Universalist church, people of

frugality, industry and the strictest ideas as to morality and personal integrity. Such advantages as were to be gained from an admirable home example and training Simon J. Murphy had, and its effect upon a boy of good impulses, strong sense and a sturdy physical nature, was to fit him for the many years of immense labor, self denial and repeated business disappointment through which he was called upon to pass before he attained his first substantial success. This training has also kept him unspotted, simple and kindly under the trying test of the great and continuous prosperity of his later years.

Very early in his boyhood, young Murphy began to support himself by working in a mill. While so employed he accidentally inflicted upon himself a terrible cut with an axe, from the effects of which he was disabled for two years, narrowly escaping from being permanently crippled. From his fourth year he was an inmate of his grandfather's house, and, after his injury, remained assisting in the work upon the farm, as he sufficiently recovered to be able so to do, until he was eighteen years of age.

At that age he set out from his grandfather's house, at Whitefield, and



Simon J. Murphy

walked eighty miles to the lumber region of the Penobscot in search of work. He reached the Penobscot with ten cents in money and the clothing he carried with him.

His first employment was as a hand in a sawmill. The wages were small and the work exceedingly arduous, but he clung to it with untiring industry and saved his money very rigorously.

He remained in this first engagement for fourteen months, and thenceforward, for a total period of eight years, was constantly employed, working in and becoming thoroughly familiar with every practical branch of the business. He worked with his axe in the woods at cutting timber, worked as a raftsmen on the river in bringing the logs to the mills, and as a sawyer in manufacturing the lumber. The work was enough to try the courage and the constitution of any man, and the returns in money were pitifully small, but the experience was invaluable and brought him speedy recognition among the lumber operators of the neighborhood.

In 1840 came a proposition from James Thistle, a man of some means, who thought he saw a profit in Mr. Murphy's practical knowledge, that the two should form a partnership for the manufacture of lumber. To this Mr. Murphy agreed and invested his entire savings, some fifteen hundred dollars, in the venture. The two hired mills and were engaged for three years in the cutting and manufacturing of lumber. During nine months of each of these years Mr. Murphy was hard at work in the lumber camps in the depths of the

woods, never coming out during that time, and having as his only companions the rough lumbermen engaged in the work of cutting timber. When he did come out it was only to raft his season's cut to the mills, at cost of immense labor and hardship, work day and night at the saws until the time came to return to the woods, then purchase his supplies and go back for nine months more of his almost solitary work at the camps.

During all of these three years the charge of the finances of the firm was in the hands of Mr. Murphy's partner, and at the end of that time the firm dissolved, and the former found not only that his investment was wiped out but that he was in debt to the amount of four hundred dollars to a friend.

The work done by Mr. Murphy during the continuance of his partnership with Mr. Thistle was too great for human endurance, and it left him broken not only in fortune but in health. He was incapacitated for the time being for the heavy labor of the mills and camps, and his prospects would indeed have been dark but for the timely aid extended by a friend named Franklin Adams. This gentleman was then a man of some means, and he advanced a sum of money sufficient to enable Mr. Murphy to resume business upon a small scale. He continued with reasonable success from 1843 to 1844, when Mr. Adams, who was himself a lumber operator, offered him the superintendency of his mills, at a salary of one hundred dollars per month, then deemed an extravagant remuneration.

This relation continued until September 4, 1846, when Mr. Adams succumbed to the business depression of the time and failed.

Some three weeks later, Mr. Murphy hired four of the saws in Mr. Adams' mill, in partnership with Jonathan Eddy. This was his first business connection with a singularly able man, with whom he was thereafter almost constantly associated until the death of the latter in 1864.

Messrs. Eddy and Murphy operated the four saws referred to until the month of June, 1847, when Mr. Adams, having settled with his creditors, resumed possession of the mill. Then Mr. Murphy returned to the employment of Adams and continued during the remainder of 1847 and until June, 1848, when he again hired the saws and took possession in partnership with Mr. Eddy. This was the beginning of an independent business career which has never been interrupted and has since been uniformly and increasingly successful.

It is one of the pleasantest reflections of Mr. Murphy's life that he was enabled when, in later years, Mr. Adams fell upon evil days, to repay the kindness received at his hands. The assistance given by Mr. Adams, at a critical time, when Mr. Murphy's health was shattered and his financial position involved, probably had a desisive influence in determining between a future of prosperity and one of poverty, and he deemed it a privilege, in his own days of wealth and ease, to render comfortable the latter days of his early benefactor.

The firm of Eddy & Murphy contin-

ued under that name until 1849, when Mr. Newell Avery, who had formerly been a partner of Mr. Eddy but had for a time retired to his farm, became a partner, and the style was changed to Eddy, Murphy & Co.

Mr. Avery was a man of marvelous energy, tact and ability, as well as of the most scrupulous honesty, and his share in building up the enormous business of the firm was very great, ending only with his death, in 1877.

The firm, during the earlier years of its existence, operated exclusively in the Penobscot region, having its headquarters at Bangor, with mills and large tracts of lumber at numerous other points. Eddy, who had a half interest in the firm, was usually at the principal office in Bangor, while Avery and Murphy were in the woods or at one or another of the mills, superintending the cutting and manufacturing of their stock.

An accident soon turned the attention of the firm to the new field in Michigan, then only beginning to be developed.

Amos and Mark Bailey, brothers-in-law of Mr. Eddy, had bought a tract of timber land on Pine river, emptying into the St. Clair. In this purchase he had been assisted by Mr. Eddy, and the latter took the land which eventually became the property of the firm. Mr. Avery going to Michigan to look after this land, was so impressed with the country and its prospects, that he removed to the state in 1853, settled at Port Huron and constantly increased the interests of the firm in that state until after the death of Mr. Eddy, when

the interests in Maine were disposed of and from that time Michigan became its principal field of operations.

Just before Mr. Avery's removal to Michigan, Mr. Eddy announced to his partners that, as they had all done well and laid the foundation of a substantial competency, and, as he felt inclined to contract his operations, he thought it best to dissolve the firm. While much regretting this step, Messrs. Avery and Murphy had nothing to do but accept, and at once began preparations to close the business and to otherwise occupy their time. Mr. Murphy in fact substantially closed arrangements to lumber large tracts of land in Maine, under contracts with the owners, and the accounts of the partners were so brought down as to have only the formal act of dissolution necessary to ending the existence of the firm. To carry out this last act, the junior partners went to Bangor and met Mr. Eddy, who said: "I have been thinking this thing over, and I have come to the conclusion that I shall be lost without you boys." He then made a proposal that the firm be reorganized, each partner taking an equal interest. The younger men talked of the matter over their chances and afterward acquiesced in it, the former arrangement being immediately carried into effect.

This reorganization was the signal for new and larger enterprise. Mr. Avery, at Port Huron, managed the Michigan portion of the business, which grew daily more important; Mr. Murphy superintended the field and mill work in Maine, and Mr. Eddy remained most of the time in the offices at Bangor.

Mr. Avery constantly bought new lumber tracts for the firm's account, drawing on Bangor for the funds, and pushed his work with an energy which resulted in undermining his health. During the year 1864 he went east to recuperate and Mr. Murphy took his place at Port Huron. During his stay in Michigan the latter made large land purchases, which he deems the most advantageous of his life.

In August, 1864, he returned to Maine, and Mr. Avery, after waiting to spend three days in his company, went on again to Michigan, only to find awaiting him a telegram announcing that on the twenty-fourth day of August Mr. Eddy had dropped dead in the street at Bangor, and that the long and harmonious association was providentially dissolved.

As soon as possible after the death of Mr. Eddy, Mr. Murphy, acting for the firm, closed up the business in Maine, selling its mills and timber lands and turning over the proportionate share of the proceeds to the estate of Mr. Eddy. Notwithstanding all diligence, this was not completed for more than a year. In December, 1865, he removed to Detroit, Mr. Avery having settled in that city during the preceding May, and the new firm of Avery & Murphy having bought the Michigan interests of the Eddy estate, thenceforth made Detroit the base of their enormous operations. How great these operations were, it is impossible to adequately indicate without going farther into the domain of bookkeeping and statistics than is in the province of this paper.

Appreciating how impossible was ade-

quate personal supervision of interests so scattered and enormous, on the part of either of its principal members, the firm adopted the plan of admitting to a share in its profits many competent and trustworthy men, each of whom should have charge of the work in some one field and be personally responsible for its conduct. The possession of such a personal interest went far to insure faithfulness, and so correct was the judgment shown in the selection of men for these charges that, although Avery & Murphy were at one time the holders of the controlling interests in as many as thirty-two such partnerships, they were never, in any instance, deceived or betrayed.

For four or five years before Mr. Avery's death, Avery & Murphy made an annual cut exceeding 100,000,000 feet of lumber through all their partnerships, and owned at the last not much less than 150,000 acres of land, stripped and timbered. Unlike many other lumbermen who abandon their land as soon as they have cut off the timber, Avery & Murphy very generally paid taxes and later sold to settlers, finding considerable profit in the policy.

Mr. Avery died March 14, 1877, and thereafter the partnership was continued by his estate for one year, after which the timber, lands and mill property were equally divided between the estate and Mr. Murphy, the latter continuing the lumbering business in connection with several of his sons. The heavy investments of Avery & Murphy in Detroit city property, amounting to more than two hundred thousand dol-

lars, were, however, maintained together and so much of the old partnership still remains.

For several years after this division in 1878, Mr. Murphy's principal manufacturing interests were at Saginaw, under the name of Murphy & Darr, where extensive mills and salt works were operated and at Montague, under the name of Creppin, Murphy & Sons. In 1885, the Saginaw mills were burned, the salt block was later sold and the business at Montague closed up. This does not, however, indicate a withdrawal from business, but rather an increase with a change of field. For some time Mr. Murphy has been looking towards Wisconsin as a great field for future lumbering operations, and in June last purchased two hundred million feet of standing timber upon the tributaries of Green bay, in that state. He feels every confidence in the future of this region, and was influenced in making the purchase by the belief that the investment would be a profitable one and also by a desire to secure an opening for the continuation of his business by his sons. To this new field he has removed his Montague mills, and they will soon be again in operation.

Three years since he also purchased one hundred million feet of timber on the St. Louis river in Minnesota. He has also recently bought one hundred and fifty million feet of New Hampshire timber with two Maine gentlemen. He has purchased in all four hundred and thirty-five million feet of timber since the death of his late partner.

His investment is, therefore, now a

heavier one than any he held as a member of the old firm, and with the development of these new regions S. J. Murphy & Sons promise to be even more prominent in the business than were either of the former associations with which Mr. Murphy was connected.

In 1847 Mr. Murphy married Ann M., daughter of Charles M. Darr of Bradley, Maine, by whom he has five sons and one daughter, all of whom have now arrived at maturity. Of the sons, all save one are interested as partners in his business.

As a citizen Mr. Murphy is liberal and public-spirited, but his interest in affairs has been always from a purely private position. He is naturally retiring and modest, and has a constitutional disinclination to being placed in any conspicuous position.

He is a strong and consistent Republican in politics, but, though often urged to accept an office or a candidacy, has invariably declined. As

he says: "I never held an office and I do not want to."

He, like his father, is a Universalist in faith, and is one of the trustees of the Church of Our Father, to the erection of which he contributed very largely.

As an investor and director, Mr. Murphy is interested in the American Exchange National bank, the Michigan Savings bank, the Michigan Fire and Marine Insurance company, the Detroit Life and Accident Insurance company, the Edison Electric Light company of Detroit and several other important corporations.

He has been a very successful man; but few men have worked harder, been more self-denying or showed greater perseverance in winning success, and few having won the goal are so simple, kindly and charitable in the use and enjoyment of fortune. All who know Mr. Murphy admit that he well deserves and well applies his wealth, which is his servant. not his master.

W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

HEIDELBERG was one of the five German universities founded in the fourteenth century. The library contains two hundred thousand volumes and two thousand manuscripts, and has a large collection of early editions and antique works. The five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of this university was celebrated the first week in August. The address of welcome was given by the burgo-master of the city to five thousand persons. Vigorous cheers were given for Emperor William and the Grand Duke of Baden. The Choral Union sang the jubilee swan song. A hymn by the poet Wolff was also rendered. The celebration was opened by the Crown Prince Frederick William.

It is well known that Captain Pipe, a war chief of the Delawares, was mainly instrumental in the torturing to death of Colonel William Crawford on the banks of the Tymochtee creek, in the present county of Wyandot, Ohio. Considerable interest is manifested among western historians concerning the life-career of this savage. All writers who have written concerning him (except one) say that he died on the Maumee river a short time before the victory of General Wayne over the Indians, in August, 1794. The writer who dissents is Dr. George W. Hill, in his 'History of Ashland County, Ohio,' p. 195. He gives as authority a letter written by William Walker, in Wyandotte City, Kansas, on the tenth of November, 1873, who says: "Captain Pipe could not have died as early as 1794, for he certainly was at the treaty of Greenville when the pacification took place, in the following year." In this emphatic assertion Walker is mistaken. And he is equally in error in affirming that "old Captain Pipe" resided near the road running to Mansfield, one mile south of

Jeromeville, at the beginning of the war of 1812-15. The latest published authority as to the death of Captain Pipe, in 1794, is the 'Diary of David Zeisberger,' Vol. II, p. 364.

"SOME excavations," says the London *Times*, "lately carried out at Flonheim, near Worms, have lately brought to light some most interesting specimens of Frankish antiquity. In and around the old Romano-Gothic church Franconian chiefs and nobles had their burial places. The new church does not stand on exactly the same ground as the old one, and so it was possible to undertake explorations that would otherwise have been difficult. In one grave a necklace of fine pearls was found around the neck of a female skeleton, with small gold plates adorned with filigree work inserted as pendants between each pair of pearls. There were some heavily gilt silver ornaments, with filigree work, lying on the breast; beside the skeleton a piece of yellow topaz, a silver buckle and a comb of bone. In another woman's grave there were similar ornaments, and also some pieces of glass (unusual in Frankish graves), and keys of a form hitherto unknown in Germany. In a man's grave there were found a gold ring of exquisite workmanship, which could have belonged only to a woman, a pot of singular shape, arrows, a shield, heavy javelin, a sword, a drinking cup, a beautiful buckle of gilt bronze, and a piece of chain of twisted wire."

TWO NATIONAL celebrations are in contemplation, to carry out which movements have already been made. The first is the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of the United States, to take place in 1889. The other is the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of

America by Christopher Columbus, to be observed in 1892. Both are laudable and should be carried out to the fullest possible extent.

THERE was recently an old settlers' picnic in Ogden's grove, Chicago. All the "old timers" who could get there were on hand. There was John Bates, who had continuously resided in Chicago since 1832, and Mrs. George Adams since 1835. The picnic was given under the auspices of the Chicago Turn Gemeinde. Such gatherings are always pleasant.

THE Pittsburgh *Gazette* entered upon its one hundredth birthday on the twenty-ninth of July. It is the oldest newspaper west of the Alleghany mountains. During the hundred years that have passed "it has taken an active and influential part in the discussion of all the great and exciting questions that have arisen, and has made for itself a highly honorable record. It enters upon its second century with every incentive from the past and the present to attain enlarged usefulness in the future."

MR. CHRISTOPHER GIST, in his Journal of 1750-1, published in Pownall's Topographical Description (London, 1776), records, on Monday, the eighteenth of March, 1751, five days on his journey after crossing the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto (having in a zig-zag course traveled, according to his estimate, one hundred and twenty-eight miles in what is now Kentucky), as follows: "N. 45 d. W. 5 m. then S. W. 20 m. to the lower Salt Lick creek, which Robert Smith and the Indians told me was about fifteen miles below the falls." This is either a typographical error or he had been misinformed, for he traveled seventeen miles from there before he reached the Little Cuttawa, now called the Licking. Bancroft ('History of the United States,' Vol. II, [Ed. 1883] p. 366) fails to detect this error, and adds another by stating that Gist ascended the valley of the Kentucky, then called the "Great Cuttawa." Parkman, too ('Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. I, p. 58), is equally in error in asserting that he visited "a deposit of mammoth bones on the south shore [of the Ohio]."

ALBANY is the oldest settlement within the limits of the original thirteen colonies, except Jamestown, Virginia. Henry Hudson reached there in the yacht *Half Moon* in September, 1609. Several other Dutch navigators ascended the river that far in the next three or four years. In 1614 the Dutch built a fort on an island just below the site of the present town. Three years later another was built at the mouth of the stream in that vicinity, and in 1628 one more was erected, this time near the present steamboat landing. It was called Fort Orange. Some years later another fort was built on what is now named State street, near St. Peter's church. These fortifications were demolished soon after the Revolutionary war. The Dutch called their settlement New Orange, and it retained that name until the English took possession of the province, in 1664, when it was changed (like New Amsterdam to New York) to Albany, in honor of the Duke of York and Albany, who afterwards became James II. The place early had great importance as an Indian trading post, and, unlike most points of that kind, was never subjected to a raid. Stranger still, although it was the spot where most of the patriots' large expeditions against Canada were fitted out, it was never invaded by the enemy, though often threatened and early fortified against an assault. Here, in 1754, the first convention looking to a union of the colonies was assembled. Benjamin Franklin and many others, who soon afterwards became famous, were delegates to this body. "The ostensible object of the gathering was union for defense against savages, but the plan of union then drawn up and adopted was the first recorded in the history of the country."

The city was incorporated by patent in 1686; and, to celebrate this event, it has recently been having a "Bi-Centennial." The proceedings have attracted a great deal of attention throughout the country. The celebration really began on Sunday, July 18 (when most of the pastors of the churches delivered appropriate sermons), and continued until Thursday. On that day the President of the United States and many prominent men took part in the ceremonies.

The main feature of the day, however, was an oration delivered by the governor of the state. It was a very able effort. He touched upon many historical points of interest.

THE 'Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. V.,' has recently been given to the public. It is a volume of 535 pages, and contains, as its principal contributions, two histories of the Chippewa Indians: one by William W. Warren, based upon traditions and oral statements; the other by Edward D. Neill, based upon official and other records. The committee of publication, in their prefatory note, say: "The presentation, in a permanent form, of the history of the Ojibways is appropriate for the Minnesota Historical society. Two hundred years ago the warriors of this people, by way of the river, in the state of Wisconsin, which still bears their name, sought their foes in the valley of the Mississippi." But the reader will look in vain for an "Ojibway river" in Wisconsin. Of course the Chippewa river is meant in the extract just given. If the name "Chippewa" is to be ignored, why not write "Ojchipwe" with Bishop Baraga, instead of following Schoolcraft's "Ojibway?"

ON the east side of the Tuscarawas river, in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio, there stood, during the latter years of the Revolution, a stockaded work named Fort Laurens. Its first commander was Colonel John Gibson. He was succeeded by Major Frederick Vernon; the last mentioned by Lieutenant-colonel Richard Campbell; this was "past the middle of June," 1779. While Colonel Campbell was in command, he received from David Zeisberger the following letter never before published. Zeisberger, it is well known, was a Moravian missionary, at that date, upon the Tuscarawas, some distance below Fort Laurens:

[No date.]

SIR:—By a letter I received yesterday of Major Vernon [from Fort Pitt] I learned that he is gone back to Pittsburgh, and that you have taken command of Fort Laurens. I herewith send a bag in which Major Vernon had sent me some flour, for which I am much obliged to him.

My people [the "Moravian Indians"] who are hoeing

their fields, have gathered a few skins, for which they come to buy some flour of you, because they heard that you had a great stock of it. I told them that I questioned whether they would get any, because it was provision for the garrison and not to be sold; yet they think to try, and say if they get none they could bring the skins back again. You will see how you make out with them.

DAVID ZEISBERGER.

Richard Campbell,
Colonel Commandant, Fort Laurens.

THE first newspaper published in Rhode Island was the *Rhode Island Gazette*, at Newport, in 1732; this was the fourth in New England. The first one published in New York was the *Weekly Journal*, in 1733. The *Newport Mercury*, which is now in a more flourishing condition than ever, commenced in June, 1758, and has been published ever since, except from December 2, 1776, to January 5, 1780—about three years—while the town was in the possession of the British.

SPEAKING of newspapers reminds us of the address of General D. W. Wilder, at the Quarter-Centennial celebration of the admission of Kansas into the Union, held at Topeka, January 29. "In 1671," said the speaker, "long after books had been printed in Catholic Mexico and in Protestant New England, the governor of Virginia said: 'I thank God we have not free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years.' Virginia has two hundred and fifty-five newspapers now and Kansas six hundred and seventeen."

THE famous ordinance of 1787 passed congress on the thirteenth of July. The proceedings of that body are given in a few words. "Congress assembled: Present as yesterday. According to order the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio was read a third time and passed." There was but one vote in the negative—Mr. Yates of New York. As this celebrated act forever excluded slavery from the country now constituting the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, it is worthy of commemoration; therefore, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* has suggested that the entire northwest unite in a centennial celebra-

tion next year. The proposition seems to be well received. Certainly it ought to be carried out.

It is a well-known fact that during the Revolution many persons crossed the Ohio river into what is now the state of Ohio, erecting log cabins at various points and declaring their intentions to remain permanently. It is equally well known that, soon after the close of the war, the United States attempted to drive away these trespassers by burning their huts, and, in some cases, removing the occupants by force to the east side of the river. Now, everybody knows that at Marietta was the first permanent *legal* settlement within the present boundaries of Ohio; but some writers have claimed that it was not the first permanent settlement; and, to make good their assertions, have given individual cases of persons who crossed the Ohio some years before 1788—the date of the settlement at Marietta—and remained until after that time; in fact, never returning to the east side of the Ohio to live at all. Thus far, however, all such accounts have been vague, and entitled to little confidence. The question is this: Can any one prove *beyond a reasonable doubt* that any white man settled on Ohio soil before the year 1788, and remained thereon as a settler for a number of years thereafter?

THE *Critic* says that the Frenchman is wedded to just four decided opinions with respect to America and Americans. The first of these is that the whole population is engaged in a desperate and prolonged struggle with the yet unsubdued forces of nature; second, that we are so heterogeneous a mixture of races that we can never attain either a race or a national homogeneity; the third is that we are essentially utilitarian, material, industrial, and therefore doomed to eternal sterility in the arts; and the fourth, that, being incapable of artistic production, we are equally deficient in artistic standards of taste and criticism.

THREE of the counties in the northwestern part of the state of Ohio were named in honor of the captors of Major Andre, namely: Wil-

liams, Paulding and Van Wert. The names of the three captors were David Williams, John Paulding and Isaac Van Wart. The question is, why has the name "Van Wart," when applied to the county, been changed to "Van Wert"?

In the Chicago *Evening Journal*, not long ago, was printed an article on the value of local history, written by Paul Clifford. We give his words:

"Gath" says in one of his letters: "Local history indeed is the true and genuine history of the United States. Any old timer can generalize on large facts, but the industry and consciousness which animate the local historian bring out the really important things of the past." I recalled this sentiment when a gentleman from an interior town told me a few days ago that he was arranging to organize a local historical society in his place. Said he: "There are a great many historical facts connected with my town and county that are well worth preserving. We mean to gather these up, make a permanent record of them and keep them from being forgotten. I have always myself been interested in work and associations of this kind, and there are several other people in the place who have similar tastes. Besides doing a good work for the community in which we live, we expect to find a large amount of pleasure in hunting up these historical facts, discussing their value, authenticity, etc., and putting them in shape for permanent preservation." This is a line of work which could be taken up with pleasure and profit in every town in this county. It may not seem to be very large or important work at first thought, but as Gath well says, it is this local history that is true and genuine, because those who gather up the facts are right on the grounds, and having a narrow field can glean it thoroughly. I believe that societies of this kind are much more common in New England than in the western states, but there is no good reason why they should be. The great, growing, rapidly developing west is rich in those things which go to make up history, and the people now living here ought to begin gathering them for use by the future historian.

"ALTHOUGH," says Humboldt (*"Cosmos,"* Vol. II, p. 603, Bohn's Ed.), "the acquaintance of the nations of Europe with the western part of the earth is the main subject of our consideration in this section, and that around which the numerous relations of a more correct and a grander view of the universe are grouped, we must yet draw a strong line of separation between the undoubted first discovery of America, in its northern portions, by the Northmen, and its subsequent rediscovery in its tropical

regions." There can be no mistake as to the meaning of Humboldt, for he adds: "America was discovered in the year 1000 by Lief, the son of Eric the Red, by the northern route, and as far as forty-one degrees thirty minutes north latitude." Without calling in question the "undoubted first discovery of America" by the Northmen, we will say that it has always seemed to us that the authorities upon which Humboldt and those writers who have taken the same grounds base their conclusions, have not been subjected, as yet, to a test sufficiently crucial.

"PREVIOUS to the laying out of Marion [now county seat of Marion county, Ohio] into town lots," wrote William Walker, in April, 1872, "the locality was only known as 'Jacob's Well.' The real pioneer of Marion county was a man named Ebenezer Roseberry, from New Orleans, as he informed me. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Maumee, September, 1812 [1817], he settled at a spring eight miles south of Upper Sandusky, on what was called the

Radner road, which passed through Big Island into Delaware county."

IN this number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY we begin the publication of the History of Ohio, by C. W. Butterfield. Mr. Butterfield has undertaken the production of such a thorough and complete history of this state as shall satisfy a long felt want. It will be a work of great historical value. Mr. Butterfield has been for more than a quarter of a century a close student of western history; is the author of several historical books of great value, is careful and painstaking, and a clear and able writer. He resides at Madison, Wisconsin, and has the use of the state library at that place—the richest library in local historical works in this country. We can render our readers no greater service than to devote our pages to this valuable history, which the author is preparing specially for the publishers of this MAGAZINE. It will cover the entire field of Ohio history, and when completed will make two large quarto volumes of from 500 to 600 pages each.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

The following is copied from the house journal, Illinois, 1836-7, p. 817, March 3, '37:

"The following protest was presented to the house, which was read and ordered to be spread on the journals, to-wit:

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the general assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same. They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils.

"They believe that the congress of the United States has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

"They believe that the congress of the United States has the power, under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that

power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said district.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN STONE,

"A. LINCOLN,

"Representatives for the county of Sangamon."

AN INSCRIPTIONLESS MONUMENT.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

The following interesting history of a monument without an inscription, which has for many years been standing in one of the principal streets of Savannah, Georgia, has been sent to us by General C. W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, New York. The information was obtained by him from Mr. William Harden, corresponding secretary of the Georgia Historical society:

General Lafayette while a guest of the city of Sa-

vannah, at request of the citizens, laid the corner stones of two monuments, on the second of March, 1825. The one was to be located on Johnson Square in memory of General Nathaniel Greene, and the other on Chippewa Square in memory of Count Pulaski. Efforts were made to raise funds for the erection of these monuments, but the money came in slowly, and the legislature of Georgia, in November, 1826, authorized certain commissioners to raise thirty-five thousand dollars by lottery. The funds obtained, however, were not sufficient to warrant the erection of two monuments, and the commissioners decided to make one answer the purpose of commemorating the services of both heroes. Accordingly the monument in Johnson Square was erected, and it was known as the Greene and Pulaski monument, until 1853, when another was erected on Monterey Square, instead of Chippewa Square, to Count Pulaski. The first monument never had an inscription upon it until May 6, 1886, although the question was discussed in the city council in 1879, at which time a proposition was made that a joint com-

mittee of the city council and the Georgia Historical society be appointed to suggest some plan for finishing that monument. This joint committee accomplished what was proposed, and their labors culminated in the addition to the monument of two bronze tablets, one-half of the cost of which was paid by the city, and the other half was raised by subscription on the part of the members of the Georgia Historical society. The plate on the northern side bears the inscription,

MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

Born in Rhode Island, 1742,

Died in Georgia, 1786.

Soldier. Patriot.

The friend of Washington.

This shaft has been raised by the people of Savannah in honor of his great services to the American Revolution.

The plate on the southern side bears and alto-relievo portrait of Major-General Nathaniel Greene.

The Magazine of Western History,

145 ST. CLAIR STREET, CLEVELAND, OHIO.



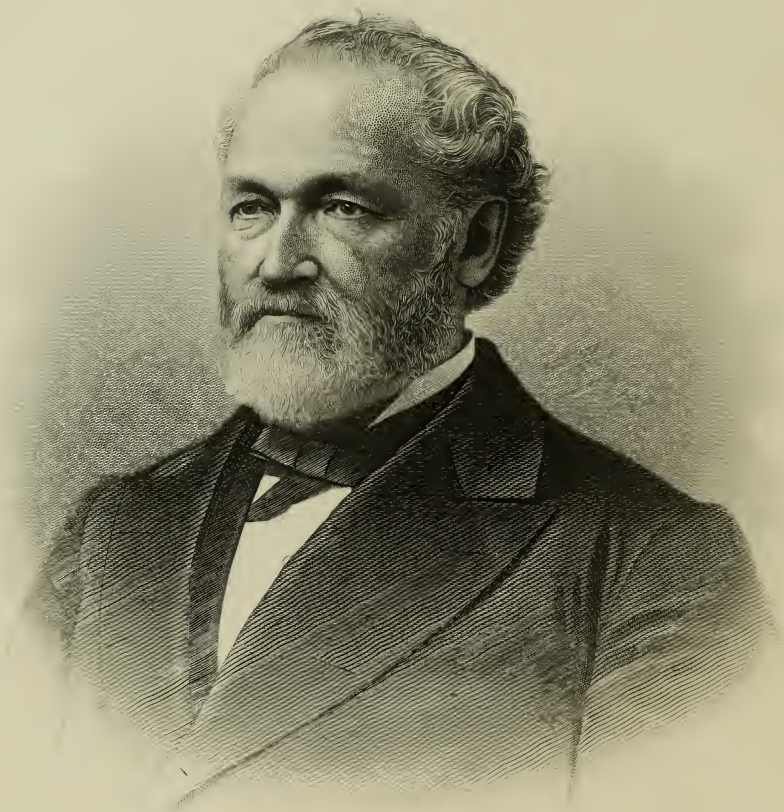
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M. D. Leggett.

Magazine of Western History.

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No. 6.

HISTORY OF OHIO.

II.

MOUND BUILDERS AND ABORIGINAL NATIONS OF OHIO AND CONTIGUOUS REGIONS.

At a remote period there lived in this country a people now designated Mound Builders. Of their origin nothing is known. Their history is lost in the lapse of ages. The evidences, however, of their existence in the territory now constituting the state of Ohio and a number of the other states of the Union, are numerous. Some of their earthworks—the so-called mounds—are yet to be seen. These are of various forms. Many are regularly arranged, forming squares, octagons, or circles; others are like walls or ramparts, while not a few are imitative in shape, having the figure of implements or animals, resembling war-clubs, tobacco pipes, beasts, reptiles, fish, and even man. Some are in the similitude of trees. As to the object of these earthworks, all

knowledge rests upon conjecture alone. It is generally thought that some were used for purposes of defense, others for the observance of religious rites, while many were for burial purposes.

There are, also, scattered widely over the country, both in the present state of Ohio and elsewhere, numerous relics, evidently the handiwork of these prehistoric people, such as stone and copper axes, spearheads and arrowheads, and various other implements and utensils. As these articles are frequently found many feet below the surface of the ground, it argues a high antiquity for the articles. These relics indicate that the Mound Builders were superior in intelligence to the Indians. None of the implements or utensils, however, point to a "copper age" as having suc-

ceeded a "stone age." They all refer alike to one age—the indefinite past ; to one people, the Mound Builders.

The first savages discovered by civilized men having their homes contiguous to the Ohio country, were the Five Nations, or, as they were frequently called, the Iroquois. The Mohawks are said to have been the oldest in the confederacy, and that the Oneidas were the first that joined them, by putting themselves under their protection. The Onondagas were the next, then the Senecas, then the Cayugas.

When first discovered the Iroquois proper had not their hunting grounds as far west as Lake Erie. In general their western boundary (which was also the western limit of the grounds of the Senecas) was the Genesee river.* They had already acquired a decided superiority over the other Indians. For this ascendancy several causes may be assigned. Their geographical position was fortunate and they had the wisdom instead of extending and spreading themselves to remain concentrated. They were there protected against any sudden or dangerous attack on the south by wide ranges of mountains, on the north by Lake Ontario. What was of still greater importance, particularly in savage warfare, they were without doubt more brave and more ferocious than any of the other nations. They were also further advanced in agriculture, in the fabrication of their weap-

ons, and in the few arts of the Indians. On all occasions they discovered a greater degree of cultivated intelligence, in no instance more than in the formation and long continuance of their confederacy, and in attacking by turns the unconnected and disunited petty tribes by which they were surrounded.

The first Frenchman that settled in Canada located upon lands of Algonquins. These and the Hurons were, at that time, at war with the Iroquois, and by the assistance of the whites were able to defeat their enemies in almost every battle. The latter, at length, were in danger of a total extermination. Meanwhile the Dutch had begun their trade in the Hudson river which they profitably carried on with the Iroquois, supplying them with fire-arms and ammunition. Being now able to meet their enemies on more equal footing, they continued the war and with such success that both the Canadian Algonquins and Hurons, in their turn, were nearly all destroyed. It is, however, only necessary, in this connection, to mention what befell those nations having their homes contiguous to the Ohio country ; presuming, however, that the Hurons proper had their ancient dwelling place within the peninsula formed by the Notawassaga and Matchedash bays of Lake Huron, the River Severn and Lake Simcoe ; and that by the middle of the seventeenth century, the bullets and tomahawks of the Five Nations had completed their work and the Hurons were no longer a nation ; their towns were abandoned and their occupants who had survived fled in various direc-

* The Senecas . . . before these periods [1643 and 1655] had resided east of the Genesee.—Morgan's 'League of the Ho-dé-no-zan-nee, or Iroquois,' p.

tions ; none were left alive within their ancient domain.

The Neutral nation, so-called because when discovered by the French they held a neutral position in the Huron-Iroquois war, occupied the northern shore of Lake Erie, extending eastward, as we have already seen, so as to include the Niagara river, and a short distance around the end of the lake just mentioned, to the southwestward. They were called Kahkwas by the Senecas ; but they were known to the Hurons as Attiwandaronk—"a nation speaking a little different language."

The hunting-grounds of the Neutral nation extended from the Genesee nearly to the eastern shores of Lake Huron, embracing a wide and important territory. In this region they reared their rude wigwams, pursued their game and preserved a rigid and singular neutrality between the fierce tribes that waged their bloody wars on all sides around them. According to the Jesuit chroniclers, they excelled the Hurons in stature, strength and symmetry, and wore their dress with a superior grace. They regarded their dead with a peculiar veneration. The survivors of each family kept the remains of their deceased relatives in their houses until they became insupportable ; then scraped the flesh from the bones and displayed them in rows along the walls there to remain until burial, when they were deposited in heaps with many superstitious ceremonies. This was called the feast of the dead.

Although hostile warriors meeting in a neutral cabin were forced to keep the

peace, but once in the open air, the truce was at an end. Yet this people were abundantly ferocious, and while holding a pacific attitude betwixt their warring kindred, waged deadly strife with distant tribes. They burned female prisoners. Indeed, in their ferocity, they had no superiors among the savage nations.

The place which the Neutrals had so long maintained with the Iroquois was destined finally to be broken. Some jealousies and collisions occurred in 1647, which culminated in open war in 1650. Six hundred of the Five Nations attacked them but were routed with a loss of one-third their number. Another Iroquois army, numbering twelve hundred, invaded the territory of the Neutrals the next winter and desolated their country ; but the latter formed an alliance with the Andastes and gained such advantages that the Seneca women and children fled from their towns. In the end, however, the Iroquois were victorious ; the Neutrals left their hunting grounds, some going with the Hurons and others yielding to the Senecas. Their last village was opposite Detroit.

The next aboriginal people to be noted is the Tobacco nation. They had their homes, when first seen by Europeans, in the wooded valleys of the Blue mountains, south of the Nottawassaga bay of Lake Huron. They were really a division of the Hurons. Favored by their isolated position among mountains, this nation held their ground against the Iroquois longer than their kindred—the Hurons and the Neutrals.

At length, however, they too were compelled to fly. They made their way northward to the island of Michilimackinac. With them went such of the Hurons as had sought refuge in their villages. Upon their arrival at the island just named, they were joined by the Ottawas, who with other Algonquins had been driven by fear of the Iroquois from the western shores of Lake Huron and the banks of the river Ottawa. The island home of these confederate bands proved, however, to be too exposed, for they were again attacked by the Five Nations. They, therefore, made another remove, this time to the island at the mouth of Green bay. Even here their old enemy did not leave them in peace; whereupon they fortified themselves upon the mainland, and afterward emigrated southward and westward. This brought them in contact first with the Illinois then with the Sioux. The latter drove them from their country, and they retreated to the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior. Continuing still to be harassed, they returned, about 1671, to the island of Michilimackinac. Thence they soon removed to the mainland near by, where we will leave them for the present.

That the Shawanese nation when first known to Europeans in the west had their principal villages in the valley of the Cumberland river, extending to the Ohio, is reasonably certain. At what period they migrated to that country is wholly unknown. A part of them afterward moved eastward and southeastward. La Salle and his two companions, Fran-

cois Dollier de Casson and René de Brehart de Galinée, had as one object in view in exploring the Ohio, to see the Shawanese living on that river (as they understood the location of those savages).* The Senecas declared to La Salle that the Shawanese were very bad people, who would search for his camp-fires in the evening and then come in the night to kill him and his companions with their arrows, with which they would riddle them before being discovered. Besides, they would run great risk along the River Ohio of meeting the Andastes, who would surely break their heads. At the Indian village near the head of Lake Ontario, whither La Salle and his party had gone as before related, two captives were secured as guides; one was of the Nez Percés, the other a Shawanese. The former fell to the two priests, the latter to La Salle. But the Shawanese were not, although so far away, secure from Iroquois aggression; at this very time, they were warring with them with varying success.

In 1670, Father James Marquette wrote from Chegoimegon bay (where, as will be hereafter explained, a Jesuit

*The Shawanese are mentioned in the Jesuit Relation of 1662 (Quebec Ed., p. 2) under the name of Ontôa-gaunha as living in a warm and fertile country on a river which empties into the Gulf of Mexico or the Vermilion Sea—referring to the Ohio and Mississippi combined. They are first spoken of as in the west, in the Relation of 1648 (Quebec Ed., p. 62), when they are called Ouchauanag; a small band, at that period, being associated with the Mascoutins ("la Nation du Feu"), on Fox river of Green bay, in what is now the state of Wisconsin. The Shawanese were Algonquins but spoke a corrupt dialect—*là ou on ne sait pas parler*; (Relation of 1662) [Quebec Ed., p. 2]

mission had been established), that, when the Illinois came there to visit him, which a number of that nation had done, they passed a great river that was almost a league in width—referring to the Mississippi. "It flows," says he, "from north to south, and to so great a distance that the Illinois, who know nothing of the use of the canoe, have never as yet heard tell of the mouth. They only know there are great nations below them, some of whom dwelling to the east-southeast of their country gather their Indian corn twice a year. A nation they call the Shawanese came to visit them during the past summer. The man who has been given to me to teach me the language [of the Illinois], has seen them. They were loaded with glass beads, which shows that they have communication with the Europeans. They had journeyed across the land for more than thirty days before arriving at their [the Illinois'] country." *

We now come to the savages actually inhabiting the Ohio country during the first half of the seventeenth century. They were called Eries by the Hurons, and by this name were known to the French, their nation—"the Cat nation"—being so called from the number of wild cats in their country.† In their habits and language they seem to have resembled the Hurons.‡ They came, it

is likely, from the northeast; and, when first heard of by civilized man, had occupied the vicinity for a long time. Their ancient abode was the southern shore of Lake Erie, giving their name to that body of water—their hunting grounds extending a considerable distance westward and southward to the Ohio, ranging eastward to near the east end of the lake, where they struck the territory of the Neutral nation. But they had afterward been compelled to retire very far inland by western enemies.§ They were noted warriors, fought with poisoned arrows, and were long a terror to the neighboring Iroquois. They had many towns, some of the principal ones being, it is conjectured, as far eastward as the present Erie, Pennsylvania.|| They cultivated the earth and the Iroquois obtained the paw-paw from them—"apple trees with the fruit of the shape of a goose's egg, and a seed that is a kind of bean. This fruit is fragrant and very delicate. It is a dwarf tree, requiring a moist rich soil."

As we have already seen, the peninsula of Lake Erie had been devastated by the all-conquering Iroquois. The Neutrals, the Tobacco nation, and the Hurons proper had everywhere been driven away or killed. The superiority of the Iroquois' arms, and their numbers and prowess had made them irresistible. They now encountered the Eries, no less brave and warlike than them-

* "Jesuit Relation, 1670" (Quebec Ed.) p. 91.

† They are first mentioned in the "Jesuit Relations" as Eriehronnon (1640: Quebec Ed., p. 35). They were called by the Onondagas—Riquehronnon (Relation of 1660: Quebec Ed., p. 7), "*qui sont ceux de la Nation des Chats*."

‡ Some writers suppose them to have been identical with the Shawanese; but the weight of evidence is against this.

§ As to who these "western enemies" were, history is entirely silent.

|| The name of but one of these towns has been preserved: Kentaienton or Kentayentonga. This town was probably located upon or near the Ohio river.

selves, but lacking firearms. The destruction of the latter was determined upon. Of the relentless conflict which sealed their fate, the leading incidents are preserved. But the immediate occasion of the war was trivial in its nature. It only needed a spark to kindle the flame which was to devour the ill-fated Eries.

The occasion was this: the Eries had made a treaty of peace with the Senecas, one of the Five Nations, and the year previous had sent a deputation of thirty of their principal men to confirm it. While they were among the Senecas one of that nation was killed in a quarrel with an Erie, and, in retaliation, the thirty deputies were murdered. This brought on a war—the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas joining with the Senecas against the Eries. The latter captured a famous chief of the Iroquois and resolved to burn him; but they changed their minds and gave him to a sister of one of the thirty deputies who had been so treacherously slain, to take the place of the dead relative. In accordance with immemorial usage, the sister could either adopt or burn the chief thus presented to her. In revenge for the death of her brother she resolved that he should be burned. This struck dismay to the Eries. They feared the Iroquois would retaliate with a terrible vengeance. But the sister was not to be swayed from her determination; and in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of the Erie chiefs, she insisted on his being tortured to death. The famous chief perished miserably; but he warned his tor-

mentors, as their cruelty began, that a retribution would overtake them all. His words were prophetic.

The Five Nations arose in their might. Everywhere was heard the war-cry. Warriors to the number of twelve hundred or more took the field. They were led by two of their most celebrated war chiefs. The Eries in the meantime prepared for the conflict. They mustered more warriors than their foes, but were lacking firearms. They used, however, their poisoned arrows, which they discharged with great rapidity. They were as skillful in the erection of their forts as their enemies; and they awaited in the west the coming of the ferocious and haughty invaders, determined to fight to the last.

The Iroquois, after reaching Lake Erie, embarked in canoes and were soon in the territory of the Eries; but upon their approach the latter fell back, "withdrawing into the forests towards the west until they were gathered into one body, when, fortifying themselves with palisades and felled trees, they waited the approach of the invaders." The pursuing Iroquois soon closely invested the Eries' fortification. A parley ensued. Two haughty warriors, dressed in the clothes of white men, stood forth and summoned the besieged to surrender. "Yield," said they, "at once or the Great Spirit will kill you all. He is on our side." But the Eries were not easily frightened. Neither the garb nor the speech of the two summoners made any impression upon them. Their words were answered with yells of derision. Now began the assault. Furi-

ously the besiegers rushed upon the palisades and felled trees, but the besieged showered upon them their poisoned arrows and with such effect that many were killed and wounded and the rest fell back. It was a complete repulse. The welkin rang with the defiant shouts of the Eries, though they did not venture to sally forth in an attempt to raise the siege. The Iroquois waited awhile before making another attempt. A council of war was held. A plan at once original as it was novel was agreed upon for the next assault ; and now with unabated fury the warriors from the east again rushed towards the enemy. Over their heads they carried their light canoes which effectually protected them from the poisoned arrows of the Eries until the palisades were reached ; then placing them upright they mounted the cross-bars, and with these impromptu ladders scaled the barricade. The conflict was now most fearful ; but the impetuous fury and fire-arms of the besiegers were too much for the besieged. A panic ensued. The butchery was frightful.

Some of the Eries escaped ; but so large a number was made prisoners that

a thousand fires, it is said, were lighted that night, at each of which perished at the stake a miserable Erie. The victory was most complete ; but it was fearfully purchased. For two months the victors remained in the country nursing the wounded and burying the dead. From the day of their signal defeat, the Eries ceased to exist as a nation. This was in 1655. It was a year or more, however, before the vanquished were utterly exterminated. Deeper and deeper into the western wilderness they penetrated, followed by their implacable foe. The last stand made by the Eries was, according to tradition, upon the banks of the Sandusky ; and, from that day they were no more. Thus perished the earliest possessors known to history of the Ohio country. Their territory was now an uninhabited wilderness. There were no other nations within what are now the limits of the state of Ohio for the Iroquois to conquer ; and, for a number of years, the entire region lying between Lake Erie and the Ohio was the home not even of savages, as far as we have any authentic accounts.

C. W. BUTTERFIELD.

POCAHONTAS.*

AMONG the very few romantic incidents that have been woven into the web of American history is that of the rescue of Captain John Smith from death through the interposition of Powhatan's young daughter, Pocahontas, who is represented as throwing herself upon the bound and prostrate form of Smith and pleading for him until Powhatan† yielded. This incident is very briefly told by Smith in his 'General History of Virginia,' published sixteen years after the event, and appears at the time to have produced very little impression. Those were not romantic days. The new world was then regarded in England more as an outlet for impecunious fortune seekers than as the theatre of romantic incidents, and Captain John Smith was famous more

for what he discovered of this new country than for what he suffered or for the deliverance from danger he experienced. It was only when the events of his time grew into history that his rescue by Pocahontas took on its romantic hue.

It is now attempted to throw discredit upon Smith's relation of this event, and to treat it as a falsehood; and I propose to present here a synopsis of the arguments against the verity of Smith's story, as well as the reasons which prompt me to regard them as lame and inconclusive. There is nothing improbable or strange in the story itself, and unless the reasons are very strong for eliminating it from our historical record it should be left to keep its present place.

* Heckewelder derives *Pocahontas* from *poko*, between two hills, and *hannetas*, the diminutive of *hanne*, a rapid mountain stream. It would therefore mean "a little stream between the hills." This was not her real name, but one of the many endearing pet names bestowed upon her by her father, who spoke of her, playfully, as his "little wanton," and who seems to have been very proud of her.

† *Powhatan's* chief place of residence was near where Richmond, Virginia, now stands, at the falls or rapids of James river. The Chippewas, who speak a cognate language to that spoken in Smith's time, in Virginia on the James river, call the Sault St. Marie, *Pa-wa-tan*, or the Rapids, and in *Pa-wa-tan* it is easy to recognize the elements of *Pow-ha-tan*, the main accent being on the first syllable in both instances. He derived his name, it is plain, from his residence.

The persons attacking the truth of this story are Mr. Deane, who published a small edition of Smith's 'True Relation of Virginia,' with notes, and a Mr. Adams, who, in the *North American Review* for January, 1867, sets forth at some length his reasons for doubting it. The great reason of both these gentlemen for questioning Smith's veracity, in this particular instance, is that he did not publish the story to the world until 1624, some sixteen years after the date of its alleged happening, and that there is no corroboration of it from other and contemporary sources.

There is no question of the fact that there were, in Virginia, at the time the first English colony was sent into it, such persons as Powhatan and Pocahontas, his daughter, nor is there any question that Captain John Smith was a member of this English colony, which landed at Jamestown in the year 1607. It is also unquestionable that Captain John Smith in the latter part of that year, adventured on a voyage of discovery for supplies up the Chickahominy, and was made captive by Powhatan's brother, who afterwards delivered him to Powhatan, and that he returned in safety from this captivity to Jamestown. All that is doubted about the affair is his sentence to death by Powhatan and his rescue by Pocahontas.

The Jamestown colony, which left England for Virginia in 1607, sailed under sealed orders which were not to be opened until the vessel arrived off the capes of Virginia. When they were opened they were found to contain a royal decree putting the colony under the control of a council, whose names were therein set forth, and among these was the name of Captain John Smith. Prior to this, however, there had been much jealousy and quarreling among the colonists on board the vessel, and in one of these quarrels Captain John Smith had been arrested and tried upon a charge of conspiring with others to make himself king of Virginia upon the arrival of the colony. (See *'Generall Historie,'* Vol. I, p. 152, Richmond edition, and Purchas' *'Pilgrims,'* Vol. IV, p. 1688.) The charge was shown to be false, and he was permitted to be sworn

as one of the council. Still his enemies among the colonists do not seem to have forgotten it, and we find that when he returned to England, in 1609, under charges, one of them was that "he would have made himself king by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter." (See Purchas' *'Pilgrims,'* Vol. IV, p. 1731, where the statement is taken from the Oxford Tract of 1612, containing Smith's *'True Relation of Virginia,'* and Richard Potts is given as authority for it.) It is important to keep these facts in mind, as they have a bearing upon this controversy.

The great want of the colony in its first years was food, and its resource for food was trade with the Indians. Captain Smith was several times sent to trade with the natives, and we find one of the causes of complaint against him, among the colonists, was that he had not explored the Chickahominy in quest of trade and provisions, as he had probably at some time promised or undertaken to do. In the *'Generall Historie,'* p. 44, it is said: "Some idle exceptions being muttered against Captain Smith for not discovering the head of Chickahamania, and taxed by the council to be too slow in so worthy an attempt," he concluded, in December, 1607, to make the effort. It was on this adventure up the Chickahominy that he was captured. In order to understand what led up to this, let us go back a little. Captain Newport, who brought out the colony, returned to England for a second supply of colonists, June 22, 1607. His departure was followed by disasters to the colony and

trouble of every description. After months of quarreling, on September 10, Smith united with two others of the council in deposing Wingfield, its president, Ratcliffe being put in his place. It then became absolutely necessary to obtain supplies to keep the colony from starving, and Smith ventured out from Jamestown, up James river, to trade with the Indians for corn. On November 9 he partially explored the Chickahominy and got plenty of corn. Elated by his success, and the friendly attitude of the Indians, he probably boasted, on his return to Jamestown, of his ability to ascend the Chickahominy to its source, and into the very heart of the Indian country; and, being goaded by the reproaches of the colony for not doing so, he undertook the expedition which resulted in his capture. As he himself says, "to discharge the imputation of malicious things that halfe suspected I durst not, for so long delay-ing," he determined to undertake the experiment.

He set out on this expedition, on December 10, in a pinnace, changing afterwards to a barge, and finally, not wishing to endanger the barge, he hired a canoe and two Indians to row it, and with two of his company, Robinson and Emery, he left the barge in charge of his men, with strict orders not to go ashore, and went twenty miles higher up the river. One of the men on the barge, Cassen, went on shore, was captured by the Indians, who, after learning from him which way Smith went, killed him. After penetrating twenty miles up the river, Smith went on shore

to prepare dinner, and while it was preparing he and the two Indians with him, leaving Robinson and Emery with the canoe, went on up the river, probably in search of game. It was while away from his men that they were assailed and killed, and he subsequently captured. He was first taken before Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother, who afterwards delivered him to Powhatan, the principal chief. He was sent back by Powhatan to Jamestown, in January, 1608.

On the very day of his return the old enmity against him broke out in the colony with great violence. He was charged with having sacrificed the lives of his men, Robinson and Emery, and was tried and convicted of their murder, and sentenced to death on the same day; and this sentence would have been executed upon him had it not been for the timely arrival of Captain Newport, from England, that evening.

In the year 1608 Smith wrote a letter home, giving a long account of Virginia and of his experience there. This letter circulated freely and extensively, for some time, in manuscript, among his friends in England, printing not being so easy then as now, but in 1612 it was finally published as a "True Relation of Virginia," by some one, who wrote a preface to it and simply put his initials thereto, "I. H."

Wingfield, the deposed president of the colony, who returned to England in 1608, delivered, on his return, what is known as "A Discourse of Virginia," which was not published when delivered, but remained in MSS. until

published in this country in 'Archæologia Americana,' Vol. IV., pp. 92-95.

The next publication anent this history was the Oxford Tract, published in 1612, entitled 'A Map of Virginia' the map being accompanied by a geographical description of Virginia, written by Smith, and an appendix, written by some of Smith's companions, containing an account of what had occurred among the colonists.

Strachey, who went to Virginia in 1610, and was secretary of the colony, on his return to England compiled a MSS., 'The Historie of Travaile into Virginia,' which was never completed, and was first published by the Hakluyt society in 1849. It was written, probably, in 1615.

Hamor, who did not reach the colony until after Smith left it, published, in 1615, a volume occupied mainly with what happened in the colony while he was there. It is remarkable mainly for the extended notice which it gives to Pocahontas, who, in 1615, had attained to public prominence as the "daughter of an Emperor," such being the supposed rank of Powhatan, in the eyes of the first colonists.

Purchas first published his 'Pilgrimage' in 1613, and it had reached a third edition in 1617. He never was in Virginia, and he follows, mainly, the Oxford Tract of 1612.

These are the authorities which give the history of the Virginia colony up to that time. - 'The Generall Historie of Virginia,' published in 1624 (a copy of the original edition is to be found in the Congressional library), together with

Smith's letter of 1608, contained in the 'True Relation,' his geography of Virginia contained in the Oxford Tract of 1612, and his 'New England Trials' contain all that Smith had himself furnished toward a knowledge of this period.

Now, it is alleged by those who attack the verity of Smith's recital, in the 'Generall Historie,' published in 1624, of his rescue by Pocahontas, in 1608, that in none of the publications here cited and referred to, is any mention made of the Pocahontas incident. Smith, himself, in the 'True Relation,' of 1608, makes no reference to it; Wingfield does not allude to it in his 'Discourse of Virginia,' although present at Jamestown when Smith returned from Powhatan; Strachey, who follows Smith, in 1610, is silent about it; so is Hamor, who also follows shortly after Smith; and the 'Map of Virginia,' the Oxford Tract of 1612 containing a history of the colony by some of Smith's companions, is likewise silent about it. So also is Purchas, in his 'Pilgrimage,' published in 1613, and republished in 1617, after Pocahontas had been in England with her husband, Rolfe. That *all* these authorities should be silent about such an event, and that it should never be mentioned, even by Smith himself, until he published his 'Generall Historie' in 1624, is, it is contended, conclusive evidence that such a thing never happened, and that we owe the apocryphal story solely to the inventive genius of Captain John Smith himself. This is the argument in a nutshell, and it is impossible, in the limits of a maga-

zine article, to amplify it at greater length.

The great strength of Mr. Deane's argument, as here stated, and as Mr. Adams admits, consists in the silence of Smith's letter of 1608. The silence of the other authorities is susceptible of easy explanation, but that of Smith himself is more difficult to understand. Still, I think a full consideration of attendant facts will serve to remove the difficulty. First, are we not apt to overrate the importance of this event in the eyes of the people of that day? To us the incident seems romantic, because it has come down to us shorn of the commonplace surroundings it had in contemporary eyes. We see it as a single fact, through the vista of nearly three hundred years; they saw it, if they saw it at all, as starving, struggling colonists, who had no time or disposition to look long or noticeably at events which distance alone has rendered romantic. What would the romance of Pocahontas be, even if he heard of it, to a starving, matter-of-fact colonist? What he wanted was bread; and his position was too serious to justify him in remembering or talking about such things. We cannot, it is plain, measure their interest in the matter by ours, and it is not at all surprising that they, in writing their experience, should fail or neglect to refer to a matter in which they had no personal concern.

That Wingfield should be silent is not a matter of wonder. Smith and he were enemies, he having been deposed from the presidency of the colony through Smith's action. If he knew or had

heard of the affair, he had a motive for concealing it, but it is not at all probable that he ever heard of it. Smith, it will be remembered, had no sooner arrived at the fort from his captivity than he was arrested and arraigned for murder, tried and sentenced to be hung in the short space of twelve hours. Naturally he would have neither time nor opportunity to relate anything but a very brief account of his capture and escape. The men at the fort were mere brutes, intent more on food and revenge than romance, and, therefore, it is not odd that they did not hear of this affair, or if they did, that they thought little of it and forgot it. To show how speedily and roughly Smith was dealt with on this occasion, it is sufficient to append here what Wingfield says of it:

Dec. The 10th of December Mr. Smith went up the river of the Checkohomynies to trade for corn. He was desirous to see the head of that river, and when it was not passable with the shallop he hired a cannow and an Indian to carry him up further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then he went on shore with his guide and left Robinson and Emmery, two of our men with the cannow, which were presently slain by the Indians, Pamaonche's men, and he himself taken prysoner, and by the means of his guide, his lief was saved; and Pamaonche haveing him prisoner carryed him to his ney-bors wywances to see if any of them knewe him for one of those which had bene, some two or three yeares before us, in a river amongst them Northward and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great Powaton (of whome before we had no knowledg) who sent him home to our towne the viiith of January. . . . Mr. Archer sought how to call Mr. Smith's lief in question, and had him indited upon a chapter in Leviticus for the death of his twee men. He had his trial the same daie of his retorne, and I believe his hanging the same or the next daie, so speedie is our law there. But it pleased God to send Capt. Newport unto us the same evening, to our

unspeakable comfort, whose arrival saved Mr. Smyth's life and mine. See '*Arch. Am.*' Vol. IV.

This, it will be seen, is a very brief, condensed recital, and is most probably all that the unfortunate Smith had a chance, at that time, to communicate. His life was at stake; there was no time for talk of his adventures; and the arrival of Newport turned attention away from Smith, for the moment, to new matters of interest, by which he and his odd experience were overshadowed.

The "*Map of Virginia*," published in 1612, was a tract the first part of which was written by Smith in 1608. It is a geographical description of the colony, with some account of the Indians, but it does not pretend to give a history of the colony, or of Smith while connected with it. Hence it is not surprising that it makes no allusions to Smith's adventure. The second part of the tract purports to be a compilation by Thomas Potts, "from the writings of several colonists;" but as it is only a selection from their writings, it is impossible to determine now what was omitted by Potts in making his selections. These writings may or may not have contained references to the Pocahontas rescue. If they did, the omission of it by Potts only proves his want of editorial taste; and it is not fair to infer from the fact of the omission, that there was no such reference there. If they did not contain such reference, it only follows that they either did not know of the matter, or thought it of little moment for record.

As to Strachey, who came out to Virginia in 1810 as the secretary of the col-

ony, his '*Memoir*,' while it gives some account of the country and of the Indians, does not pretend to give any history of Smith's connection with the Indians. Smith had left the colony before Strachey came; his old companions were either dead or gone away, while those who remained in the colony had too sharp a struggle for life to think of or talk about Smith's adventure, so that Strachey's silence on this point is easily accounted for.

Hamor, whose volume was published in 1815, did not reach the colony until sometime after Smith left, and he undertakes only to give an account of what took place while he was there. His silence merely proves that the struggling colonists, fighting with hunger, if any of them survived Smith, were more interested in their own concerns than his, and therefore did not mention the affair.

Purchas published his '*Pilgrimage*' in 1613. He never was in Virginia. His '*Pilgrimage*' follows the Oxford tract of 1612, and is a mere compilation from what was then public. The fact that his third edition was published in 1617, after Pocahontas arrived in England, and does not refer to the Smith rescue, is used to show that if the Smith incident was true, Pocahontas would surely have mentioned it, and Purchas would as surely have added it to his third edition. But that does not follow. The incident, as we have shown, did not take hold of the popular fancy then, as it has since. It was not a matter that Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, would like to talk about; and Pocahontas her-

self, in a strange country, among strange people, and with poor command of the English language, might very properly refrain from all reference to it. Smith had no public prominence; his rescue was not a matter of any concern to society; and as Pocahontas was a marvel to the English, and a public curiosity, her time in England was mainly occupied in seeing and being seen. Her silence, therefore, on such a topic is not surprising; and there is nothing to show that either she or Rolfe had any confidential relation to Purchas, through which he must have learned of the affair, if either of them mentioned it. They probably never had occasion to mention it.

This leaves us to account solely for the silence of Smith himself, in his letter of 1608, which was published in the 'True Relation of Virginia.' So far as that letter, a private one to personal friends, has been published, it makes no allusion whatever to Pocahontas and her intervention in his behalf. It refers to his captivity, but is silent as to his romantic rescue. That this is a strong point against the truth of Smith's story, I admit; but it is not decisive or conclusive. There are two ways of accounting for it, either of which is probable. The first is that Smith's letter never was *all* published. It was not published by Smith, but by some one who got hold of it and published such parts of it as he liked. It never was intended for publication, and the anonymous publisher admits that it is not published complete. The publisher, whoever he was, wrote a preface to it,

and signed his initials thereto, "I. H.," but has left no other clue to his identity. In this preface he says: "Somewhat more was by him [Smith] written, which being, as I thought, fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it publicke." *What* was omitted has never been discovered, and never can be now. The incident of the rescue *may* have been in the part omitted, and "I. H." may have thought it one of the matters "fit to be private," or his friend, to whom the letter was addressed, may have thought so, and, for prudential, if not for private, reasons, may have interdicted its publication. The very fact that the letter, as published, if not complete, forbids any inference as to what the letter, as written, did not contain.

In the second place, there is good reason, if it be admitted that Smith made no allusion in this letter, as written, to his rescue by Pocahontas, for his silence. The reader will remember that on the voyage out from England to Virginia, Smith was arrested and tried upon a charge of conspiring to make himself king of Virginia; and that although he was acquitted, his enemies in the colony continued to hold that suspicion against him. He appears, from the prominence given him by the colony as an Indian trader, to have been the only one of the colonists who had succeeded in ingratiating himself with the natives. Doubtless he magnified his office no little, and boasted greatly of his influence over the Indians; and if to this he had added, on his return from Powhatan, an account of his rescue by Pocahontas, the "Emperor's" daughter, he would have put

into the hands of his enemies the very weapon they wanted—proof of his ambition to be made himself king of Virginia. Indeed, in 1809, when he returned to England under charges, one of these charges was that “he would have made himself king by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatan’s daughter.” Why this particular specification against him, if there was not the story of the rescue, or a hint or rumor of it on which to base the charge? The very keenness of these enemies of his to get hold of a good accusation of this kind, must have taught Smith to be reticent after the return to Jamestown; and to be particularly reticent on this point, in what he wrote home, since what was written could be produced in proof against him. This necessity for being silent on an incident capable of being so construed against him, continued as long as he was seeking employment in Virginia. It was only when Pocahontas was married to Rolfe that the possibility of such a construction was removed, and, as we shall show, Smith made the incident public as soon after the marriage as he had opportunity. To my mind, this is a very solid and sufficient reason for Smith’s reticence among his comrades in the colony, as well as for his alleged silence in the letter of 1608. He was a shrewd, cunning man, always mindful of the interests of Captain John Smith; and even if he thought the incident a very romantic one, he had prudence enough to keep quiet about it so long as it was likely to subject him to the enmity of his opponents.

That Smith had a strong liking for

Pocahontas, although she was only a child at the time he was in the colony, and that Pocahontas had a child’s romantic attachment to him, is not only probable but provable. One of the colonists writes:

Very oft she came to our fort with what she could get for Captain Smith, that ever loved and used all the country well, but her especially he ever much respected and she so well requited it that, when her father intended to have surprised him, she by stealth, in the dark night, came through the wilderness and told him of it. *If he would he might have married her.*

Doubtless it was this impression among the colonists that prompted the charge against him in 1609, and it is fairly inferable that if the rescue never happened, and Pocahontas was a stranger to Smith, this instance of stealing through the wild woods at night, to apprise him of her father’s treachery, could not have happened. There was as deep a personal devotion in this act as in the rescue, and it is as romantic, though not so striking as the event which is questioned and denied. It was also stated by Ralph Hamor, in giving an account of the subsequent kidnapping of Pocahontas by Captain Argall, that “though she had been many times a preserver of him [Captain Smith] and the whole colony, yet till this accident [the kidnapping in 1612] she was never seen at Jamestown since his departure.” (‘Smith’s General History,’ book 4, p. 18.) The devotion of Pocahontas to Smith and her influence with him is further attested by a fact stated in the ‘True Relation.’ Some short time after Smith’s return from his captivity an effort was made by Powhatan

to get possession of some of the fire-arms of the English, of which Smith had given him a wonderful account. The Indians he sent to steal them were caught by Smith and confined as prisoners under a threat of being put to death. They confessed that Powhatan had sent them, that he might get weapons to fight the English with. Upon hearing of their capture, Powhatan sent Pocahontas to intercede with Smith for their release, and her influence with him was sufficient to secure it. On what basis can this be explained if there had been no rescue, and Pocahontas was nothing to Smith but the daughter of a savage chief who was plotting his destruction? If Pocahontas *did* rescue Smith, this following instance is easily understood. Otherwise it is inexplicable. No savage chief would even have risked the life of his young and darling child by sending her on such a mission, if something had not previously occurred to give that child a hold upon the affections of Smith. All these citations go strongly to confirm the truth of Smith's account of his experience with Powhatan, and the precarious foothold which Smith had in the colony likewise admonished him not to parade it, lest his enemies should therein find occasion to displace him from his employment under the Virginia company.

Pocahontas, as we have here seen, was devotedly attached to Smith while he was in the colony, and rendered him and it signal service; but when Smith left for England she lost all interest in the colony, and remained with her father until 1612. At the time of

Smith's capture she was, according to one account, but eight years old, and according to another ten. Taking the latter as the most probable approach to the truth, she would be, in 1612, but fourteen years old. In that year she was with her father, on the Potomac, somewhere near the mouth of the Rappahannock. Captain Argole, who was on a trading expedition up the Potomac, resolved to capture her, and did so, holding her as a hostage against the savages. It was on board the vessel of Argole that she became acquainted with Rolfe, who subsequently married her and took her to England, where she died. It is to her credit that she would not hear of marrying Rolfe until she was (falsely) assured that Smith was dead. She was true to Smith while she thought him alive; and the fact that she was imposed on, in this assurance, would sufficiently account for the fact that Rolfe avoided Smith on his return to England, and that both Smith and Pocahontas found it prudent to see as little as possible of each other.

But the marriage of Pocahontas released Smith from all cause for reticence about his rescue from the war clubs of Powhatan's warriors; and, accordingly, we find that on her arrival in England, in 1616, Smith wrote for her a sort of letter of introduction to the queen, or, in his own words:

A little booke to this effect to the Queen an abstract whereof followeth, viz: "Some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and being taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, then chief king. . . . I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks

falling among those savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own braines to save mine, and not only that but so prevailed with her father that I was conducted safely to Jamestown.

This purports to have been written in 1616, and if so, is the first written account of the rescue we have. But it was not published until 1624, when it was included in Smith's 'Generall Historie.' Mr. Adams objects to it that its authenticity rests on the authority of the 'Generall Historie' alone; but that objection renders everything in the 'Generall Historie' doubtful, and if it proves anything proves too much. As Mr. William W. Henry says: "If this objection is good, the whole of the early colonial history of Virginia will have to be rewritten and compiled from other sources."

The second published reference to the rescue occurred in 1622, in a letter written by Smith from New England to a friend in England, and published the same year in what is now known as the 'New England Trials.' In this letter, speaking of his experiences with the Indians in Virginia, he says: "It is true, in our greatest extremity they shot me, slew three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled, took one prisoner. Yet God made Pocahontas, the king's daughter, the means to deliver me," etc. The third reference to it was made in his 'Generall Historie,' published in 1624.

It is true, all of these statements rest upon the authority of Smith, but there is a good reason for that, since Smith was the only witness of its truth, except Pocahontas, and she never published

anything. The letter of 1616 was first published in 1624 by Smith, and the allegation that it was written in 1616 rests upon Smith's authority alone. But the 'Generall Historie' of 1624 was published at a time when it was possible to expose the falsehoods of Smith, if they were falsehoods. The 'Generall Historie' was written at the request of the "Virginia Company," which not only had charge of Virginia affairs, but had brought Pocahontas to England and entertained her there. Smith prepared his book at their request and from materials in their office. It is plain that the company had faith in the book and its statements, and Purchas, who also had access to all of Smith's material, testified strongly in behalf of Smith and his book.

Each of Smith's statements about his rescue, in 1616, 1622 and 1624, was made under circumstances which would inevitably have led to his detection had he been guilty of falsehood. If Smith's letter to the queen was really written, it doubtless procured a kind royal reception for Pocahontas, and both Pocahontas and Rolfe would know of it. As they never contradicted it, they were both silent witnesses to its truth. If the letter was *not* written, the allegations concerning it in the 'General History' in 1624 could easily have been exposed, for the king still survived, as did also Purchas and many others who were at court in 1616. It is incredible that Smith should lay himself open to easy contradiction by publishing a falsehood as to his "little book" to the queen, and connect that easily expos-

able falsehood with another falsehood about his rescue. In his letter of 1622 he refers to four living witnesses of his bold treatment of Opechancanough (Powhatan's brother), and almost directly relates his rescue by Pocahontas. Had this last been a fabrication of Smith's, as is now alleged, why was it not so recognized by these four witnesses?

The only other point that remains to be noticed is the fact that Smith's several accounts of 1608, 1616, 1622 and 1624 do not agree. There are, it is plain, various disagreements in them, such as giving Pocahontas' age, in one account, as eight, in another as ten years, and in stating the length of his captivity in one place at four weeks, and in another at six. But these are not fatal disagreements. No man ever related the same story twice in the same way. At first he will omit what he will afterwards supply, and what originally seemed of little importance afterwards becomes of greater. Witnesses in trials, men of unquestioned character, often vary their narratives, and experience proves that ordinary memories are often very treacherous as to details, although trustworthy enough as to main facts. Indeed, if all of Smith's narratives had been exactly alike, there would have been much more reason to regard them as fabrications than there is now. The variations prove the absence of any intention to deceive.

It is noteworthy that all of Smith's references to this affair are brief and modest. There is no dwelling upon details, and there is no attempt to mag-

nify the story or make a great thing out of it. The story is told as that of an ordinary affair, a mere passing incident, and not wonderful in itself. This proves what I have before suggested, that this incident, which seems so romantic to us, was not regarded as such in the first half of the seventeenth century. In that day of rough colonial experiences it was not regarded as wonderful. Time has hallowed it to us; but it stood out, then, as a naked, ordinary fact, without a halo about it. I can conceive of no motive that Smith can have had for fabricating such a story. He was dependent upon the Virginia company for employment, and his recommendations for their favor consisted in his tact and skill as an explorer and colonist. The Pocahontas story could not commend him to them, in any way, nor help his prospects; while a falsehood contained in a book compiled for them, might, if detected, have ruined him with the company. That it *could* have been detected, if false, is too clear, I think, for doubt.

Upon the whole, the preponderance of testimony is, I think, upon the side of the truth of his story. The peculiar circumstances of the case render corroboration of it difficult; but there has not been a single objection to its truth that cannot easily be overcome. There is nothing improbable, as I have said, in the incident itself; and the subsequent history of Pocahontas shows that she was at least twice afterwards ready to sacrifice her life to save Smith; and one of the colonists relates how she also, at another time, intervened to

save the life of another person, and succeeded. Her devotion to Smith was unquestionable, and her kindness to all who were in danger, and whom she could save, is proved beyond the possibility of doubt. It does not require any stretch of credulity to believe in Smith's version of his rescue by her, and it was characteristic of Pocahontas to act as she is represented to have acted.

In conclusion, I cannot forbear referring to two points that have pressed upon me in examining the authorities in this case. The first is the extreme youth of Pocahontas at the time of the rescue. It has always been my impression that Pocahontas was then a young woman, a grown up princess, instead of a mere child of a child, eight or ten years of age. The romance of the thing, it seems to me, is half taken away when we come to look on the rescue as the work of a child. The second point is a very great wonder why Smith did not marry Pocahontas. It is plain that he could if he would. Her attachment to him was great, her devotion unbounded; and when he left Virginia, she refused to hold any further intercourse with the

colonists. Her refusal to marry Rolfe, until she was told that Smith was dead, shows that three years of absence from Smith had not blinded her love for him. Smith, too, I think, was attached to her, and doubtless knew, what the colonists all knew, that he could have had her by waiting long enough for her. While he was at Jamestown she was still but a child; and then there was always that fear of being accused of wanting to be made king of Virginia, which his marriage to Pocahontas would but have confirmed in the eyes of the suspicious colonists. He was, moreover, but an adventurer, dependent for employment on the Virginia company, and between fear of the accusations of his enemies and dread of losing employment, he suffered the chance of winning this noble-hearted girl to slip away from him. One cannot but feel contempt for him for this pusillanimity, and regret that poetic justice, in this case, was sadly cheated of its due. As the wife of Smith, Pocahontas would have been in her right place; as the wife of Rolfe we lose all interest in her.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

LOCAL SKETCHES—DETROIT.

II.

THE implements of husbandry used by the early settlers were very rude. The wooden plow was followed in its round by harrows of equally primitive construction. Spade and hoe farming was better managed, and gardening was carried on very diligently. The culture of vegetables, like that of fruit, was better understood in France than in England. The colonists did not fail to bring with them such seeds and plants as would enable them to enjoy their favorite home dishes. Onions of every variety sent forth their appetizing odors from every door, and flourished green in every garden. Beans and peas, green or dry, were their daily food, not in the solid Yankee form of baked pork and beans, but in the shape of savory soup and pottage. Beets, carrots and delicate squashes were also cultivated largely with the universal cabbage and potato. Buckwheat furnished the means for preparing the ancient luxury of buckwheat cakes, while Indian corn asserted its supremacy as a native and sovereign of the field. When green it was one of the choicest dishes, and was doubtless as universally devoured as it is with us. The late Doctor Cavalli used to describe very humorously his first vision of green corn-eating at one of our hotels on his arrival. He was greatly surprised at seeing large platters of hot corn on the cob laid on the table, and wondered what sort of animals were to be fed in the diningroom with the boarders. But when he saw twenty or thirty of his neighbors seize each an ear, and proceed to gnaw it after the fashion of squirrels, he involuntarily turned round to see if he could discover the long bushy tail that distinguished those corn-eaters. It did not require a long sojourn to overcome his prejudices, however, and add him to the ranks of the *rodentia*. A favorite method of preparing corn was to hull it by scalding it in lye, from which it was afterwards completely rinsed and then dried, and sometimes almost baked. In this way it was made to keep sweet and tender for any period, and entered into many dishes. The Fur company always laid in large supplies of this dried corn. *Medaminaboa*, or corn soup was highly prized by both French and Indians. Their maple sugar they made, as the Indians did, by graining it into a fine white or yellow powder. When made neatly, most persons prefer it in this form to the more crude loaves and cakes into which it is generally run by the American farmers. The husking bee and the sugar camp were scenes of festivity and gaiety worthy of such a lighthearted people.

The live stock next claims attention. Bees are very commonly kept, and were of no small profit. Of course, among a race whose favorite emblem, the cock, flourishes on every steeple, there was no lack of chickens. Ducks waddled along the shore, and incredible numbers of tame geese hissed and squalled at the passers by, aided in their chorus by the yelping of small dogs, which were also quite common enough. Turkeys, wild and tame, abounded. Their cattle were small and not very good. Two of their oxen could perform any heavy amount of labor compared with the average of working cattle to be found now. Hogs were numerous, of such long gaunt proportions and huge heads that they have been generally distinguished as the "alligator" breed, from a caricature resemblance to that ungainly beast. Turned into the woods to forage for subsistence, they became wild and shy. Many years ago the island above Detroit was badly infested with rattlesnakes, and a drove of swine was sent there to destroy them. The hogs soon thinned out the snakes, but in the course of time became very numerous and lost all the habits and characteristics of tame animals. From these the island derived the name it has always borne until it ceased to be euphonic to refined ears and is now known indiscriminately as Belle Isle, and Ile aux Cochous or Hog Island. It is now a city park, awaiting the future of municipal taste or vandalism.

But the most important animal was the horse. In most countries physiologists trace out resemblances in character between this intelligent animal and

his master. How far this is fancy and how far founded in truth it is unnecessary to decide. But there is no doubt the horses of this region possessed characteristics quite peculiar. Authorities differ concerning the origin of the breeds of ponies found here, and the time of their general introduction. From the varying characteristics of the ponies used by the French and Indians, there is reason to suppose them of very different origin. The Indian pony resembles the mule in shape, being generally thin-chested, with drooping head and slouching gait. He was rarely used except as a beast of burden, the Indians having no vehicles; and when ploughing was to be done their French neighbors were called in to do this important work. The powers of endurance of this persecuted animal were great, but if he possessed speed or other showy qualities he got small occasion to exhibit them. He was a very meek-looking beast.

But the French or Canadian pony is another animal. Varying in shape, but always sturdy and nimble, he bore a great resemblance to his master in his tastes and habits. Every landholder was the possessor of one or more, if not of droves of these ponies. They lived at free quarters in the woods and got neither food nor care from the hand of man—until required for use. As water was often scarce in the woods, it was common, on a summer evening, to see a large drove of them gallop down through the city streets to the river to drink, and then return as swiftly as they came to the woods or the common. And often at night the citizens would be waked

out of a sound sleep by the charge of this irregular cavalry as it thundered by in the darkness. Wo betide the unlucky dog that ventured to insult the cavalcade, for his broken bones paid the penalty of his rashness. And if any incautious merchant left his casks exposed, the morning was pretty sure to reveal the work of the rapacious beasts who found these very convenient salt licks, and consumed as much as possible of their favorite equine luxury.

But it was not in his wild state that the Canadian pony exhibited these traits that will hand down his fame to posterity. He is not one of the quadrupeds whose neck is clothed with thunder. It was only when broken that his fine points appeared. Whenever the members of the family wanted to visit town, or a distant neighbor, the *charette* or cart was drawn out to serve in lieu of the modern buggy or carriage. This was a two wheeled vehicle with a body of a light rack or frame, in which all that required transportation was carried, whether human or chattel. Sometimes a hickory chair with a bottom of twisted bark was used as a seat, and sometimes a board laid across served that purpose. For some purposes a box with tight sides and front and a movable board fitting in behind was substituted for the open frame. These carts were the most convenient vehicles for muddy roads that could be devised. They could be backed up to the door and ladies could step in and out as easily as from one room to another. Until within the last forty years they were a favorite mode of conveyance for all our citizens. A good

Buffalo skin or two formed a comfortable carpet to which the over luxurious added ottomans; and thus provided, as many persons as could crowd in were borne through the streets to church or party in glee as well as comfort. No danger of broken springs or upsets deterred them. Nothing could turn a cart over, and no known power could break one. Occasionally a tricky youngster would pull out the pin which held down the cart body in front and let it tilt over backward so as to spill out its living contents, but no bones were broken by such a misadventure. These homely carriages have at last been superseded by the more elegant productions of the coachmaker; but there are few who do not occasionally look back with regret to the old French carts. It must be owned, however, that they are not suited to pavements. When intended for ponies, they were made very light and small, so that it was no great task to draw them at a smart pace. And on those occasions when a merry procession came rattling through the streets to the old church, the men in their best and the women in their bright array, the cortege was as gay if not as elegant as any that now graces Jefferson avenue. But the ponies that hurried along with riders on their backs displayed their speed to more advantage. If the ground was dry enough to make their footing sure, they were all ready for a race, and so swift were their movements that many a little animal has made better time than a tall racer that could step over him with ease. Every pony was trained to work or pace,

and trials of speed were sure to be made whenever two of them came together. It is said the Frenchman of France is not renowned for skill in horse-racing, but yields in this to the English. Certainly the taste for such amusement was native to the French inhabitants of this region. The race ground, however, was one not to be found in France or England. As soon as the ice was strong enough to bear, the river swarmed with *carioles*, each drawn by a pony of mettle, and gliding along the smooth path as swiftly as a meteor glances through the sky. The speed of the ponies on the ice was perfectly marvelous. Their feet flew so rapidly one could hardly see their motion; and if a horse of ordinary size were to move his legs with equal swiftness, the animals of the turf would record such triumphs as now no one dreams of. The River Rouge was the favorite race ground. The stream being narrow was always frozen smoothly; and although somewhat crooked, it nevertheless presented a good track for such trials of speed. Whenever a race was to come off, the river swarmed with sleighs, and going and returning there were many pretty matches hardly surpassed by the regular performances. But when the contest was about to commence in earnest, and every animal was fretting and prancing with eagerness, the spectacle was worthy an amphitheatre. The signal given, they all fly as if blown from a cannon, the cariole only serving to steady and control their motions as they frantically clear the ground in their swift career. The shouts of the drivers

excite the fiery little animals to the utmost, and in an incredibly short space of time the race is over and the winner bragging of his horse, and of his various exploits, past, present and future. The day is spent in irregular races interrupted occasionally by visits to the grocery, and toward night the Detroit river swarmed again with the homeward bound cavalcade, racing as if the horses had not run a rod.

With their smooth, light gait the ponies rarely broke through the ice. Heavy trotters could stand no chance with them on the river. The pony would glide along as if he had skates bound to his feet, but the large horse would frequently strike his foot through the ice, leaving watery tracks through the whole of his course, and would not unfrequently leave his load floundering in the water.

The only carriages of any pretensions were gigs or *calèches*, but these were not common. The carts were so convenient, and so suitable for all purposes of burden and locomotion, that few were ambitious of better vehicles. But the *traineau*, or sled, which served for the more ordinary purposes of hauling wood or other loads, never served in winter the more dignified purposes of the cart. The cariole alone, like the chariot of the ancients, was deemed worthy to figure in the races.

Now all is changed. Everyone has his buggy for summer and his cutter for winter—our mechanics having apparently lost the art of cariole making. No better evidence could be found of the

gradual erasure of the lines of distinction formerly existing between the hab-
itant and the rest of mankind.

If we may believe the poets, the cart was a favorite carriage of the immortals. King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, in his Scottish poems, calls upon Apollo to assist him :

That when I do deseryve thy shyning carte
The Readers may esteme it in their sight.
And speaks of the month of May, when
The golden cairt, and the etheriall King,
With purpous face in orient spring,
Maist angel-lyke ascending in his sphere.
But in the sweep of change
" The beautiful is vanished and returns not !"

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

MORGAN'S RAID.

WHEN the tocsin of war woke up the echoes in our hills and valleys, in that April that already seems to belong to the dim past, although but little more than a score of years behind us, the prophets declared that the valley of the Ohio would be the skirmish line between the combatants, and that the waters of the La Belle river would often be reddened by the gore of those who met in the fray of battle on its banks. And this might have been, so far at least as Ohio was concerned, had not the wise foresight of her governor and the valor of her sons saved West Virginia and made a free gift of it to the Union, and thus put a cordon of defense between her and the rebellious states.

Only once, and that not until July, 1863, was this defensive line crossed by soldiers in arms ; only once were the free men of Ohio forced to fight for " their altars and their fires " on their own soil.

That solitary instance is remarkable not only for its singularity but for its extent, its far-reaching design, and the valor and skill with which it was conducted. It is true the result was disaster to the leader, and to the greater part of his command, but failure could be predicated only by those who were ignorant of the scope and design, as well as the actual results of the expedition. A careful examination will show that to a considerable extent the great raider did what he set out to do.

This will be better shown by a brief recapitulation of the condition and circumstances of Union and Confederate armies in the south and west. General Bragg's army lay around Tullahoma, in the southern part of Tennessee, west of the Cumberland mountains, with his cavalry stretching far out on each wing. General Rosecrans was at Stone river, with a greatly superior force, keeping close watch over General Bragg, and getting ready to pounce upon him when

there seemed to be a propitious time. General Buckner was in East Tennessee, in command of a force altogether inadequate to do what he was attempting—hold the loyal population in subjection to Confederate authority. General Burnside was watching Buckner, and at the same time collecting more troops, so that it would be an easy task, when he was ready, to drive Buckner out of Tennessee and completely overwhelm him. General Judah, with ten thousand troops, five thousand of which were superb cavalry, lay between Rosecrans and Burnside, forming a sort of connecting link, and ready to coöperate with either, as occasion required. In these circumstances Bragg could not weaken his force to help Buckner, nor could the latter assist the former, no matter how urgent the need might be. Bragg could well divine that a battle was imminent, and he, of course, wanted to secure as favorable conditions as possible for the coming trial. He wished to cross the Tennessee and get into the region of Chattanooga, and he also wanted, if possible, to scatter or divide the forces with which he must contend, and which exceeded his own so greatly in numbers. But he could do nothing with Rosecrans watching him, and all the Union forces ready to coöperate with one another, or concentrate if the occasion required. Or if Burnside should attack Buckner, and Rosecrans Bragg simultaneously, Judah could bring up his forces and strike on the flank or rear, wherever he could do most execution. To Bragg there seemed to be no remedy for the

difficulties of his situation but to get up a counter irritation. To save his king he must draw attention to another part of the board, even at the risk of sacrificing some of the less important pieces. If he could get up such an excitement elsewhere as would cause the withdrawal of any considerable force from the ranks of his opponents, his prospects would be brightened thereby and he would have a better chance to execute his plans. That this is not the common notion in regard to the purpose and intent of Morgan's raid is well known. It was said that he crossed the Ohio to escape from Hobson, who was in pursuit. This view would seem to carry absurdity upon its very face. Morgan was in advance of Hobson from six to twenty-four hours. So wily a fox as he could have eluded Hobson and escaped into western Kentucky, where he would have found friends and supporters. By crossing the river he went where every house sheltered an enemy, and where it seemed that another Cadmies had been through the land, sowing dragon's teeth, which sprang up and brought forth a crop of soldiers a hundred-fold more numerous than the seed. The view given here has the look of probability and is sustained by the testimony of Colonel Duke, Morgan's second in command and ablest coadjutor. When General Bragg decided what was the best move he could make, he did not have long to look for an agent to execute his plans. One man in his command had already shown his competency for such work, and besides him

there were few who could be trusted to do what was needed. John Hunt Morgan had proved himself capable of doing whatever reckless daring, unlimited skill and measureless endurance could accomplish. He was born in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1825, but was brought up in Kentucky, his father having moved to Lexington when John was only four years old. When nineteen he enlisted in the army and went to Mexico and served as lieutenant. After his return he went into business, was married, and when the War of Rebellion began he was in possession of quite a handsome property. He had many of the qualities that go to make up a hero and a successful leader of men. Of fine presence and magnificent proportions, his very looks commanded the attention of beholders. He was fully six feet high and of the exact weight for the best effect. His manners were suave, his countenance frank and winning. There was also a look of authority about him that demanded obedience as well as confidence. His power of endurance was so wonderful that he seemed to set aside the common laws that control the need of rest and refreshment among the average of the human race. He was generous to a fault, and unselfish in the sense of looking better after the welfare of those under his command than his own. He exposed himself to dangers that he would not ask his men to encounter. Fruitful in expeditions, quick-witted and ready in emergencies, he was exactly the man to meet the requirements of this occasion. Indeed, he seems only to have needed a good

cause, and a conscience to sit at the helm, to have made a character that history could point to as one to be remembered and admired.

General Bragg wished not only to direct attention and draw off a part of Burnside's troops while he could make good the crossing of the Tennessee, but to occupy elsewhere as large a force as possible until after the battle which he saw must be near at hand. Morgan had already made several raids into the "Blue Grass" of Kentucky, and helped himself and his troopers to as many of the fine horses, for which the region is famous, as he wanted. He had made a reputation in these forays and attached to himself many of the dauntless young men of Kentucky, and had created in them a confidence so entire that they believed that, with Morgan to lead them, they would go anywhere and do anything. On this occasion Bragg proposed to him to make another raid into Kentucky and add to other exploits, if possible, the taking of Louisville. He spoke to ears ready to hear and appealed to a heart ready to dare and do. On one point, however, they disagreed. Morgan wished to extend his operations to the states north of the Ohio river, which Bragg absolutely forbade. Morgan, having more confidence in his own judgment than in that of his superior, told Colonel Duke, his second in command, that he intended to disobey orders and give Indiana and Ohio a taste of the horrors that the south had known and suffered during the war. Besides, he said with apparent force, a raid into Kentucky would not be suffi-

cient in extent and duration to accomplish what they desired, whereas if he crossed the river and invaded Indiana and Ohio there would be an excitement and clamor in those states that would make it necessary, whether it were wise or not, to draw off Judah and occupy Burnside till Bragg could cross the Tennessee and fight the coming battle with Rosecrans. He urged these considerations with Bragg, but to him the risk seemed too great, and desirable as the result might be, he positively forbade his subordinate to undertake so daring a project. Neither convinced the other, and Morgan, as soon as he left the presence of his superior, declared his intention to execute his own plan.

To carry the war into the enemy's country has been a favorite watchword among enterprising warriors from Hannibal to John Morgan. Nor does this Kentucky cavalier seem to have builded altogether a baseless fabric. His followers were born horsemen, full of pluck and daring, and many of them anxious to avenge wrongs and injuries which their friends in the south had suffered at the hands of Union soldiers. Morgan argued that there was no adequate force in Cincinnati to oppose him. If Judah sent Hobson with his cavalry in pursuit of him, as he supposed he would, he would keep out of his way, for no horsemen could ride like his. They would, besides, have the great advantage of going before and taking their pick of the horses, leaving only the lame and halt for their pursuers. The militia in the country through which they passed

could not be organized and made ready to meet them before they would be somewhere else. He could confuse their councils by feints and stratagems, so that they would not know where or when to expect him. Three weeks before he started he sent scouts to examine the fords in the upper Ohio, and had spies and helpers everywhere. It was now July, and at that season of the year it was not difficult usually to find fordable places in the river, or, if it seemed expedient, he could continue his way quite across Ohio and join Lee in Pennsylvania. His plan was far-reaching and comprehensive. He came near accomplishing it. But for, to him, an untoward event which no prudence or foresight could have seen or prevented, his well laid plan would have been executed. An almost unprecedented rise in the river, unprecedented at that season, made it possible for gunboats to ascend, and at a critical moment became a barrier to his career.

After making every preparation Morgan was ready, July, 2, 1863, to make a start. His entire force, according to Colonel Duke, who seems well entitled to credit, consisted of two thousand four hundred and sixty men, four pieces of artillery, a section of three inch Parrotts attached to the first brigade and a section of twelve-inch Howitzers to the second. Morgan, with his troops crossed the Cumberland at Brecksville and Turkey-neck bend almost in the face of Judah's cavalry that lay in very neighborly nearness. But General Judah trusted to the swollen river to keep Morgan on its hither side, and resisted

Hobson's importunities to be sent to watch him. He underrated the enterprise and daring of the man with whom he had to do. Morgan had his men ferried over in two little crazy flats, making the horses swim. He was now fairly embarked in his perilous enterprise. His force would seem altogether inadequate to do what he had undertaken. But his troops were picked men, his popularity having attracted the "first blades" of Kentucky. They were horsemen by instinct, young, ambitious, reckless and revengeful. The experience they had gained in previous raids made them wise in the kind of wisdom they needed. Their confidence in their leader was entire; he had never failed, how could he now? With him to go before and direct them, they would not fear to meet any power, seen or unseen. He well knew that he was putting himself in the way of greater peril than he had ever encountered. He would be obliged to fight infantry, cavalry and artillery. When they crossed the Ohio, they would emphatically burn their ships behind them. If repulsed, they could not fall back behind infantry and recover; if defeated, there would be no place of refuge. When they passed through towns, every house would be turned into a fort from which they might expect attack. But Morgan's plans were definite. He knew exactly what he wanted to do and had a well laid plan as to the way he would do it; and great as was the peril, the end to be accomplished justified the risk. It was an old trick of his to take possession of telegraph offices, and he had

a man with him well versed in the art of telegraphy. By intercepting telegraphic dispatches he would become cognizant of the plans and procedure of the enemy and by sending telegrams to suit himself mislead and deceive. He was capable of great dispatch and would "take time by the forelock." In the kind of warfare he had previously waged, he had learned to do a great deal in a short time. He would put a division of three thousand soldiers into line of battle in thirty minutes. He depended upon celerity, stratagem, bravery and *finesse* for success in this great undertaking, and above all he felt assured by his abounding confidence in his own quick-wittedness and readiness in an emergency. His soldiers trusted in him, he in himself.

With this meagre force of but little more than two thousand men, Morgan set out to cross the states, Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. In two of these states, every man was an enemy and every place swarmed with those whose desire was to bring about his destruction. In all this extent of country there were for him no reserve forces, no safe place of retreat, no help of any sort no matter how sore his need might be. The next day after starting he came to Green river which he was obliged to cross. There he found Colonel Moore in command of a Michigan regiment in a remarkably well chosen position, which they gallantly defended. Morgan was not able to dislodge or defeat them, but he succeeded in pushing by and escaping. He went on through Campbellsville to Lebanon, where he defeated a

Union force sent against him, and hurried on with his prisoners to Springfield, where he stopped long enough to parole them. Here he tapped the telegraph and found that he was expected at Louisville and that they were collecting a force there large enough to give him a warm reception. He decided to decline visiting it and turned to the northwest, made directly for Brandenburg on the Ohio river, forty miles below Louisville. He stopped now and then, as he went along, to do a little mischief by way of keeping his hand in. Here and there he picked up a squad of prisoners and paroled them. Thirty miles from Louisville he captured a railway train bound for Nashville. He crossed Kentucky in five days and stood upon the bank of the Ohio looking at the fair fields beyond. He had sent a courier before him to make arrangements for crossing the river. The order had been well executed. Soon after Captain Taylor reached Brandenburg, the *J. J. Combs*, a Henderson and Louisville packet, came up the river and without dread or fear of danger the crew made fast the boat at the wharf. Captain Taylor, with the thirty or forty men in his command, was soon on board and had taken possession before the officers of the boat well knew what had befallen them. After awhile the *Alice Dean*, a fine boat in the Memphis and Cincinnati trade, was seen coming around the bend. As she showed no signs of landing, the *Combs* was compelled to act a traitor's part and go out and bring her in, and this boat also was in the rebel

service before the officers had really decided as to the nature of the catastrophe. And now the appliances were ready to take these raiders over the river and give them a chance to spread terror and dismay through a peaceful country, that as yet knew nothing of the horrors of war when brought to homes and firesides.

Morgan, at the head of his men, rode into Brandenburg on the morning of the eighth of July. He found Captain Hines waiting for him there with a small force. As if to try his hand he had been over in Indiana on a raiding expedition to "stir up the copperheads" and to get what booty he could. But Hoosier patriotism was too much for him, and his reception was warmer than he relished. So he retreated across the river and was in Brandenburg waiting for his chief.

The ferrying over began at once. But Captain Hines' performance had made the Indianans unusually wrathful, and a force was soon gathered on the opposite bank to try and hinder the crossing. They opened a fusilade with musketry and a small cannon, but Morgan silenced them by bringing up his parrots and sending a few shells across the river. The ferrying was hurried forward and two regiments were already over when a new and formidable obstacle was presented in the way of a gunboat, that came puffing and blowing down the river.

Duke says :

We had watched with great interest her bold, unhesitating advance. When she came within a mile of the town, suddenly checking her way, she tossed her stub-nose defiantly, like an angry beauty of the coal pits, sided a little toward the town and

began to scold. A bluish-white funnel-shaped cloud spouted out from her left hand bow and a shot flew at the town. Then changing front forward she snapped a shell at the men on the other side.

But the men took refuge behind a ridge and were protected from her fire. The two parrotts were placed on an eminence that commanded the town, and answered her fire. "The solid shot skipped about her," continued Duke, "in close proximity, and the shells burst close to her, but none seemed to touch her. . . . This duel was witnessed with the most breathless interest by the whole division; the men crowded in intense excitement upon the bluffs near the town to witness it, and General Morgan exhibited an emotion he rarely permitted to be seen." There was reason for his being moved.

Two of his best regiments were on the other side of the river and without their horses, which had not yet been taken over. He knew that Hobson was coming after him with all the speed he could muster, and there was no knowing how soon he would be upon him. Neither did he know how large a force might be collected on the Indiana side, if delay in crossing gave them time.

It was, therefore, with an intense feeling of relief, that they saw the gunboat, after an hour's sputtering, back out and go up the river. The crossing began again and was urged on with energy. They were none too soon in getting over the river, for Hobson came up that evening in time to use the fires the enemy had kindled. But there were no further hindrances in the crossing, and the troops were all over in time to

make a march of six miles before night-fall.

Until Morgan was fairly across the Ohio and had set his foot on the sacred soil of a free state, his movements had excited but little attention in the states which he threatened with invasion. The white nation was petulant on account of the taking of Vicksburgh and the driving of Lee out of Pennsylvania. Raids into the "Blue Grass" had become commonplace affairs, and that the raiders would extend their operations so as to include a foray into the states north of the Ohio found scanty credence, and was accepted only by those who had an uncommon knack at believing. But when the telegraph flashed the tidings all over the land, that it was no longer a matter of opinion, but an established fact, that Morgan was going to spread terror and devastation in these states, unharmed till now, a great fear fell upon the people throughout the region, and the immensity of belief that pervaded all classes more than made amends for the previous deficiency. He was going everywhere, and would do anything that was horrible and satanic. His force was magnified as though looked at through multiplying lenses. His poor two thousand men became twenty thousand or any number a little short of that. No lower estimate than four thousand appears in any newspaper of the period, and those who placed the estimate so low were thought to be only practicing a pleasant deception in order to comfort the affrighted. Morgan, himself, did all that he could to increase the confusion and mislead as to his real

plans. He uniformly took possession of the telegraph office, when he entered a town or village, and so was well informed in regard to measures adopted for defense, while he sent false intelligence about his own plans. He was going to Indianapolis direct, to burn the state house and get possession of the deposits in the vaults of the banks. He was going here and there. He was going everywhere. Miles and miles away from where he really ever was. Prudent housewives dug holes in the ground and buried their silver spoons, while their husbands hurried the horses up "the run" or into the woods where they hoped Morgan's thievish followers would not find them. It would be impossible to exaggerate the intensity of the scare all over Indiana and Ohio, and the tremor even reached Illinois.

It is upon record that away up in Illinois, four hundred miles from the nearest point that Morgan ever touched, there was an alarm in the night which kept the good people awake and in terror till the dawn of the morning. A happy couple had been bound together by the bands of hymen. Some boys, around with trumpets and tin pans, and the usual musical instruments generally used on such occasions, surrounded the house in the still hours of the night and were celebrating the occasion by a regular *chârvvari*. The noise woke up the sleepers in the town. Nothing but Morgan's men could make such an uproar. The alarm was given. Morgan was at their gates. The boys screamed with delight at the consternation they were occasioning. These new sounds

added to the chorus increased the alarm. They could be nothing else but the screams of the victims of the cruel raiders. The frightened people took refuge in their cornfields, expecting to see bonfires made of their houses. One good son of Scotia, listening to the supposed death groans till his heart ached, exclaimed, "Dinna ye hear the screech? It is awfu', dreadfu'! Ah, mon! but he's a long time a deeing!" The morning seemed long in coming to these poor grieving hearts, but it brought consolation, for it assured them of safety.

The governors of Indiana and Ohio issued proclamations calling for volunteers to come forward and enlist and arm themselves to defend "their altars and their fires." That these calls met with a ready response is proved by the fact that in Indiana, in forty-eight hours after the call was issued, sixty-five thousand men had offered their services and were on their way to their places of rendezvous. More were ready, but were told that they must stay at home, there were enough. After crossing the river Morgan went direct to Salem, a town on the railroad thirty miles north of Louisville. He, however, stopped on his way at Corydon, where there was a skirmish with the militia and a few men killed on each side. One or two facts will help to show the thoroughness with which Morgan prepared for his expedition. At Corydon the citizens recognized in the rebel commander a young man who had recently spent several weeks in the place, and another who had the day previous worked on the fortifications hastily erected for the defense

of the town. In Salem they burned the depot and pillaged from the stores promiscuously, wantonly destroying what they did not want or could not take. Bolts of calico seemed to be one of the coveted things among these troopers, and it was no strange thing to see gaily colored muslin streaming from their saddle bows. Morgan kindly made the offer to a mill owner to ransom his mill from the flames by the payment of one thousand dollars. The miller was glad to accept the offer and handed the chieftain a roll of bills. Morgan asked if there was the required sum in the package. The miller replied that he thought there was. Morgan counted the money and found that there was twelve hundred dollars. He handed back the two hundred in excess and asked firmly, "Do you think I want to rob you?" After doing all the damage they well could in Salem, the freebooters turned eastward and went on through Lexington and Paris to Dupont, taking everything they could find on the way, whether they needed, or would use it, or not. They especially made a clean sweep of the able-bodied horses. Colonel Duke with sly irony compliments the hospitality of the people on the route. He says they found bread and pies baked ready and waiting for them and oftentimes a hot breakfast or dinner smoking on the table, but adds that the hosts and hostesses did not stay to grace the board with their presence. They were unknown and minus quantities as a rule, though there was a glimpse sometimes caught of the women and little ones as they made

their escape from the back door. At Dupont, they stopped to tear up the railroad and burn an expensive bridge. They also found there a new kind of booty. In a packing-house there were two thousand hams. These they appropriated and the troops went on their way with smoked hams dangling from their saddles, making rather an unusual finish to their equestrian outfit. They took anything and everything, apparently from the mere love of taking. One man carried a bird-cage many miles, while another wore a necklace made of skates around his neck. They were constantly coming across militia. Colonel Duke thinks, that during their progress through Indiana, they sometimes saw as many as ten thousand in a single day. But they were not organized and were never ready for efficient service till the freebooters were beyond their reach. He says also that the officers and soldiers in their command were filled with wonder and amazement at the appearance of thrift in the country they passed through and the multitude of people they saw every where. It showed them very plainly how much less terrible the ravages of war had been in the north than in the south. On the thirteenth of July Morgan and his men reached Harrison, which is on the line that divides Indiana from Ohio, and only twenty miles from Cincinnati. They had crossed Indiana, traveling about two hundred miles in five days. When it was known that this rebel band was fairly in Ohio, the consternation that spread all over the southern part of the state cannot be described.

Words are not adequate. No account could by possibility be accused of exaggeration. The uncertainty as to the plans and purposes, of the rebel chief-tain increased the alarm and added to the perplexity. As usual, Morgan took possession of the telegraph office in the towns through which he passed, and while he could thus ascertain the plans for defense, where troops were to be concentrated, and when he was expected, he confused the councils of the defenders by sending false telegrams in regard to his intentions. So that where he was expected he was sure not to go, and it was always the unexpected that happened.

In Cincinnati they kept cool as long as they could. For they remembered the scare and the siege of the previous summer, when they were put into military posture and armed for defense against an invisible enemy and one that persisted in remaining invisible, though to the knowing ones it was evident that the very thoroughness of their preparation was to be thanked for the non-appearance of the enemy. But when Morgan and his men were within twenty miles of their city with their horses' heads turned directly towards it, all fear of ridicule was thrown to the winds and they began zealously to prepare for his coming.

As usual, the accounts of the number of the approaching enemy were greatly exaggerated. There were anywhere from five to twenty thousand men about to be precipitated upon them—men who delighted in bloodshed and were strangers to mercy.

Governor Tod issued orders for arming all the militia in the state, but in the counties bordering on the Ohio river the men were to gather in designated places and remain to defend their homes, which they were very much inclined to do without being ordered. In a short time there were fifty thousand men in the state under arms, ready to be used to crush this invading force, which by this time fell short of a paltry two thousand weary and worn horsemen. Could the force collected to oppose them have literally fallen upon them, they would have crushed them to atoms! But the trouble was the troops must wait to be organized and armed. It was as he had thought it would be. Before they could be ready to offer effectual resistance, he was gone. It was like the pursuit of that celebrated phlebotomist, the flea, when they went where he was he wasn't there! And no one could ever find out beforehand where he was going to be. But something was accomplished by these extensive preparations. His freebooting enterprise was converted into a flight. What was to have been a ride through an enemy's country, admitting sufficient delay to burn and destroy, became a race which allowed but little time to damage the country passed through. To the frightened people Morgan seemed ubiquitous; he was here, he was there, and he was to be—everywhere. Only one law seemed to govern him, where he was expected he was sure not to go.

From Colonel Duke we learn that

from the first it was Morgan's intention to avoid large towns and cities, and keep out of the way of any considerable force of militia, whenever he could, and also to march so rapidly that the militia could not be organized and made ready to oppose him. Upon this he depended in great part for his safety.

Meanwhile Hobson was following on after him with all possible speed. He had three thousand well-appointed cavalry, outnumbering Morgan by one-third. But it was a great advantage to the latter to go first and have a chance to take his pick of the horses, and often he made a clean sweep, so that there remained only "Hobson's choice" for his pursuer, and a very poor choice it often proved to be. Still, Hobson continued to keep within a few hours' ride of Morgan. He was seldom more than a day's ride behind him, and sometimes not more than five or six hours. No more gallant troops could be found in the army than he had in his command, and they had in this case unusual motive to stir them up to effort and make them patient in fatigue and suffering. And if in regard to horses they were at a disadvantage, they were greatly better off as to treatment on the part of the people. Hobson and his brave followers were fed on the best that their larders afforded. Delicate hands prepared tempting viands, and the presence of their entertainers gave a new relish to what they set before them. When they had eaten and were refreshed, grateful hearts gave them a God speed and sent them

on their way with earnest prayers for their success.

In Cincinnati the excitement increased hour by hour and minute by minute after it was known that the enemy had entered the state. General Burnside ordered business to be suspended and the mayor proclaimed martial law. On the twelfth bulletins were issued every hour, and the militia were ordered to parade to-morrow.

During the night, while this city of a quarter of a million of people was fast asleep, with the exception of a few who had some special reason for keeping awake, among whom were the newspaper men engaged in collecting the latest items for the morning edition of their papers, Morgan, the terrible, the dreaded and much-feared, was marching with all the haste he could around the city, quite as anxious to keep away from it as they were to have him. And when in the morning the citizens, while waiting for their coffee to cool, were reading the dispatches, telling where he was last night and when he might be expected, Morgan was on the east of them, driving in the pickets at Fort Dennison and burning a pack of government wagons, having traveled ninety miles in thirty-five hours. He had made a circuit around the city, keeping within a radius of about fifteen miles. Looking at the matter from a rebel point of view, it has been considered a mistake on the part of Morgan that he did not attack Cincinnati. But an attempt to take that city was no part of his plan. He well knew that by the time he could get there there would be collected a force

large enough to utterly crush and annihilate his little troop of men, and besides, if his soldiers, so devoted to helping themselves to whatever they could find, were once to get into the midst of booty so rich and tempting as the city would offer, there would be an end to all discipline, his men would scatter, be captured, killed and demoralized past all help. He, therefore, sympathized most heartily with the Cincinnatians in the desire that he and his men should preserve their character of strangers to the city, and felt that his greatest danger was past when he had gone safely around it.

At four o'clock P. M. they were twenty-eight miles east of Cincinnati, having made the greatest and most expeditious march that even Morgan ever accomplished.

By this time the excitement in Ohio had reached fever-heat, or if possible, gone beyond. No one felt safe, no place seemed secure. He was expected everywhere, and still the numbers grew of the men in his command. Not only nervous women were flurried and thrown off their balance, but wise and sedate men, from whom better things might have been expected, lost their mental equilibrium. Place and authority were not sufficient to steady them. In Marietta, the little mother of the great state, there was rather a striking proof. The town is located just where the Muskingum river empties into the Ohio, and a part of it is on the west side of the river. After many years of strong desire and strenuous effort, a fine bridge had been made to span the river and

connect the two parts of the town. The bridge was not only competent to meet the demands of common travel, but had the strength and audacity needed to make it offer a safe passage to railway trains. Until within a few years before this memorable raid, all passing over the river had been done in a flat propelled by ropes and pullics. When, therefore, a splendid bridge was made to tie together the two banks of the river, the rejoicing was sincere and universal, and there was no little pride felt in "our bridge." The greater part of the town is on the east side. Morgan was on the west side of the river; of course he would come over and destroy the town root and branch. No sacrifice could be too great if this could be prevented. Burnside at Cincinnati, telegraphed the imperative order, "destroy the bridge over the Muskingum!" Now to the sober, unprejudiced mind it would seem that, inasmuch as there was a draw on the west side, so wide or long that by the turning thereof steamboats could pass through, to swing that round would make a chasm sufficient to prevent the most adventurous horseman from passing over. But assurance must be made doubly sure. At all hazards, Morgan must be kept from gobbling up the town with the inhabitants thereof. Besides military duty required implicit obedience to superiors. So the commandant issued the order to destroy the bridge. And in the still hours of the night the inhabitants were awakened by a terrible hammering, which the surrounding hills went into the business of repeating. The work was begun by the knocking off of

the siding as though the enemy were literally "to come in like a flood" and strike the bridge foremost. Some of the honorable men, hearing the noise, left their beds and hastened to the spot to ascertain the cause and animus of the racket. They advised a suspension of the work of demolition and the hammering ceased. Morgan did not come within a score of miles of the place, but for months one side of the bridge remained open in token that he had been expected. In Chillicothe, some scouts were sent out to see if they could *feel* Morgan, who by the way, was not within a hundred miles of the place. When they were returning from their bootless errand, they were taken for a certainty to be some of those wicked marauders, and were fired upon by their patriotic fellow townsmen before they could make their real character known. In Chillicothe, too, a bridge fared even worse than the one at Marietta. There was a fine, expensive bridge over Paint creek, a mile or so from the town. The creek was at the time so shallow that a man could wade across without other help than the instruments of locomotion with which nature had endowed him. But Morgan's men might prefer to cross over on the bridge rather than wet their horses' feet. They should not have the luxury. The order went forth clothed with official sanction. The bridge must be sacrificed. And it was burned, and nothing but ashes and stone remained to tell where the proud structure had stood. Some militia followed Morgan from Camp Dennison to the vicinity of Batavia, where they gave up

the pursuit and started back. On their return they zealously occupied themselves with felling trees and placing other impediments in the road, so that if, peradventure, Morgan should decide to return that way, he would find it difficult to travel with rapidity. While the rebel chieftain was making what speed he could on his way eastward, the telegraph was busy announcing his plans and purposes. He was certainly going to the lake, though what he was going there for, no one could conjecture. Again, he was going to Columbus to burn the capitol and rob the banks. Thousands of militia were hurried to Camp Chase to protect the capital. The railway trains were freighted with men. Not half of the fifty thousand militia were ever within three score miles of the force they were called out to oppose. Meanwhile, Morgan's weary, flying troop were doing their best to get out of the hornet's nest they had stirred up. They were all the while diminishing in numbers from loss in the skirmishes and falling behind in utter exhaustion. Men would dismount and lie down by the wayside. They were so worn out that they were reckless in regard to consequences. For days they averaged twenty-one hours in the saddle out of the twenty-four. It was beyond the power of human endurance to bear up under such fatigue. Morgan pushed on, but not toward Columbus, nor toward the lake; his aim was to find a fording place in the Ohio that would enable him to get out of the state in the quickest and easiest way. He went on through Washington Court House, Pike-

ton, Jackson, Vinton and Berlin, and from thence on to Pomeroy, taking horses and everything that he needed and could get as he went along, but not stopping to do the damage he probably would, could he have taken more time. He had skirmishes with the militia now and then, which thinned his ranks more and more. The first serious opposition with which he met was at Pomeroy. As yet they had not been greatly incommoded. They could congratulate themselves upon having out-generaled and left behind all the troops sent to oppose them in Kentucky. The militia in Indiana had in like manner been distanced in the race, and as yet the fifty thousand men that had been collected and put into military array in Ohio had shared a similar fate.

Pomeroy lies stretched along the Ohio river, occupying the narrow valley between the hills and the river. Morgan was traveling a road back of the town and parallel with it which was crossed by roads coming in from the hills and intersecting it on their way to the town. At these inteserc-tions the fleeing band always found soldiers posted and ready to attack them. They were no longer untrained militia but some of Judah's regularly drilled soldiers. At length, while Morgan and his command were going on their perilous way, they found themselves in a ravine with hills on each side and

Soldiers here on the right of them,
Soldiers on the left of them.

For five long miles they had to run the gauntlet, which they did on the gal-

lop. Colonel Grigsby took the lead, dismounting and dislodging opponents when he would and Major Webber brought up the rear.

The ford where they expected to cross was only a few miles away. Would the fates that thus far had seemed so propitious desert them now when the race was almost won?

They reached Chester about one o'clock. Men and horses were greatly exhausted by the fatigue of the race they had had in their already worn and weary condition. Morgan unwisely halted for an hour or two to rest and gather strength for what he hoped would be the last heat in the race. That delay set the seal upon his fate. As much as they needed rest they needed salvation more, and the loss of that hour or two of daylight prevented their reaching Portland, a little village on the bank of the Ohio, a short distance above Buf-fington island, where they expected to cross the river. During this delay, one of the most atrocious acts upon record against these raiders was committed. A man, venerable in years and renowned for his large knowledge and philanthropic, gracious spirit, was ruth-lessly murdered. Dr. Hudson had long been known as a friend of the oppressed, ready to help when help was needed whether the applicant was bond or free, black or white. He was known as an abolitionist, when that term applied to a man had power to stir up in southern hearts all that was hateful and cruel. A lieutenant in Morgan's command in-quired after him and when he was going from his house to attend to a man who

had been ruthlessly shot down in a yard opposite, the man from behind the fence fired his gun and Dr. Hudson fell mortally wounded near the threshold of his home and before the eyes of those who loved him.

After a little breathing-spell, Morgan started on and soon they were on the bank of the river. It was only fifteen days since they crossed the Cumberland in the very teeth of their foes and started on their perilous undertaking. Only nine days after they crossed the Ohio, they stood again on its banks and looked over to the safe haven beyond. There were friends, there was safety. Would they get over to enjoy these blessings? Unfortunately for them "darkness had fallen from the wings of the night" before they reached the crossing. They found an earthwork thrown up to protect the ford which was manned with soldiers. Morgan held a brief council with his officers and it was decided that it would be unwise to attack a fortification of which they knew nothing "in the solid darkness" which by this time enveloped everything. And so they made another mistake and forged another link in the chain that bound them to ruin.

At daybreak Colonel Duke advanced with two regiments to take the earthworks. But by this time Judah was there with his cavalry and at once began an attack. He was at first repulsed. Duke obeyed the command to hold the enemy in check as long as he could. But up the Chester and Pomeroy road, with colors flying and drums beating, came Hobson's gallant little army that

had chased the foe through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio, and had at last overtaken them and came just in time to be in at the death. When Morgan and his men saw Hobson's guidons fluttering in the wind they felt that their fate was sealed.

Hobson had three thousand as brave men as the army could boast in his command, and for two whole weeks they had been in eager pursuit.

Neither Judah nor Hobson was aware of the approach of the other until the bursting of shells and the booming of cannon proclaimed their nearness. And as if this conjunction was not sufficient to seal the fate that seemed to be impending over Morgan and his men, a gunboat came steaming up and opened fire, thus completing this trilateral attack upon these nineteen hundred weary and exhausted men, whose ammunition was nearly gone and whose cannon were soon captured.

Colonel Duke says :

The scene in the rear of the lines engaged was one of indescribable confusion. While the bulk of the regiments, which General Morgan was drawing off, were moving from the field in perfect order, there were many stragglers from each who were circling about the valley in a delirium of fright, clinging instinctively, in all terror, to bolts of calico and holding on to lead horses, but changing the direction in which they galloped with every shell that whizzed or burst near them. The long train of wagons and ambulances dashed wildly in the only direction that promised escape, and becoming locked and entangled in their flight many were upset and the terrified horses broke lose from them and plunged wildly through the mass. Some of them in striving to make their way out of the valley at the northern end, ran foul of the howitzers attached to the second brigade, and guns and wagons were rolled headlong into the steep ravine.

The unequal combat could not be

very long continued, as Morgan's artillery became useless because the supply of ammunition was exhausted.

Major Daniel McCook, "the father of the fighting McCooks," was killed early in battle.

Negotiations were entered into and terms of capitulation proposed.

The victors would accept no terms but an unconditional surrender, which proposition was at last acceded to, and as the captors understood it, the entire force was included. But when the arrangements were completed it was found that Morgan, with a following of several hundred men, had slipped the noose and was gone!

From this time General Shackleford continued the pursuit. With but little rest the race was again begun. Twenty miles above Buffington the sorely pressed band made another attempt to cross the river and three hundred men succeeded in getting over. Morgan himself was mid-way in the stream when a gunboat came up and began to fire upon them. The chief would not leave his nine hundred followers without a leader in the enemy's country; he therefore returned to the Ohio shore and began his flight anew. No matter how much the judgment may condemn these men of what they had done and wished to do, sympathy will go out to them in spite of patriotism and justice. They had dared so heroically, they had endured so bravely—and now borne down by hardship and exposure, discouraged by defeat, their confidence in the invincibility of their leader and their own good fortune, quite gone—harassed on every

hand, driven hither and thither by forces that seemed to spring from the ground and be everywhere present, they were indeed in a pitiable plight. But again Morgan plucked his men from the jaws of disaster, and again struck out toward the Muskingum. Turned back by Runkle, he took a zigzag course and twice doubled upon his track.

Again he turned toward Blennerhassett's island to try once more to cross the Ohio. One night he halted for a little rest, surrounded on three sides by those who sought to capture him, with a hill on the fourth side so steep and rough that a goat could scarcely clamber along its side. His pursuers thought him so secure that they would wait till morning to demand his surrender. In the morning he was gone. While his would-be captors were taking the rest they sorely needed, he had his men lead their horses along the rough and slippery side of the hill and was well on his way before his escape was known. He headed again for the Muskingum, and at Eaglesport, a few miles above McConnellsville, he found a ford so feebly guarded that he was able to drive away the militia stationed there and ford the river. But he soon found that he had unwittingly gone into a trap. There was a large force lying in ambush and a guard at every road and pass that it was thought possible for him to use for escaping. Meanwhile Sparkleford had come up and was at the shore on the other side of the river that he had just left. No one but Morgan would have found a way out of such a dilemma, and even his courage and skill were taxed

to the utmost. Leading their horses they picked their way through a narrow defile that was thought to be impassable and that was so narrow that the hill pressed against the sides of their horses as they went through. Governor Tod's sagacity was vindicated by the result. Thinking that Morgan would aim to cross the Ohio at or near Bellaire, he had ordered Major Way, in command of a Michigan regiment, to go across by rail and head him off. He was none too soon in reaching a point where he could intercept him. A telegram sent by General Burnside to the governor says, "Morgan was attacked, with the remnant of his command, at eight o'clock July 26, at Salineville, by Major Way, who, after a severe fight, routed the enemy, killed about thirty, wounded some fifty, and took some two hundred prisoners." But Morgan himself was not among them. Again he contrived to escape with a remnant of his command. But he had only a short reprieve. The long race was soon ended. Six hours later Major Rice telegraphed "I captured John Morgan to-day at two o'clock July 26, taking three hundred prisoners, four hundred horses and arms." Thus ended the most brilliant, the most extended and most daring raid of the civil war. Morgan failed in the sense of securing his own safety and that of his followers, but he succeeded to a great degree in accomplishing the object he had in view in its inception. General Bragg was able to cross the Tennessee without being harassed by attacks upon his flank and rear, and the battle of Chica-

mauga was fought before Rosecrans was reinforced to the extent he expected and desired. And to the proud southerner there was consolation in the thought that once at least an invading force, made up of gallant southerners and led by one of their own brave chieftains, had spread dismay, terror and destruction through the rich and thickly populated country north of the Ohio, and had given the people there a little taste of the full cup of woe and bitterness that had been in such measure presented to their own lips. The sacrifice of two thousand men, with even John Morgan at their head, was not too large a price to pay for what was achieved.

General Morgan and the officers captured with him were taken to Cincinnati, and for a brief period lodged in the city prison. From thence they were taken to Columbus and put in the penitentiary. It was decided by the powers that were that these men should not be treated as prisoners of war, but as felons and horse-thieves—not a very magnanimous decision as it would seem. But there was an additional reason for this treatment growing out of Colonel Straight's experiences in the south. To these men, accustomed to a free and active life, the very sight of the prison walls must have been oppressive, and they must have seemed to see inscribed over the heavy door, "Let those who enter here leave all hope behind."

The irksomeness of their imprisonment, without occupation, without books or papers, can, to some extent, be imagined. Morgan was at times almost frantic, and it is not strange that they

set their wits to work to find some way of escape. Plan after plan was suggested, but, after more or less consideration, given up because of some fancied impracticability. For more than four weary months they languished in this dreary confinement. At length Captain Hines concocted a plan and carefully superintended the execution of it, by which Morgan and six other officers succeeded in escaping. With knives taken from the table they cut through the stone floor of their cells and made an aperture into a drain that ran along beneath, and tunneled from that under the walls of the building into the inner yard, then, by aid of ropes made of their bed-clothes, they clambered over the outer wall and were free!

They at once broke into couples, Morgan and Hines keeping together. They had each contrived to get a suit of citizen's clothes, and Morgan had a schedule of the train-time on the Little Miami road. There would be a train westward bound at midnight, and for this they were just in time. They went at once to the depot, bought their tickets and were ready to take their seats in the car when the train came in. Morgan was afraid that in these troublesome times something in the way of a passport would be required, but there were no demands of the sort. When he entered the cars he noticed a Union officer upon one of the seats. He placed himself by his side, thinking that it would be a sure way to ward off suspicion. The train pushed out, and, as it passed the prison, the officer

remarked to Morgan, "There is our penitentiary; it is the residence of the famous John Morgan."

"Indeed, it is there, is it?" responded Morgan, "well, let us drink to the strength of its wall," and, pulling out of his pocket a flask of old whiskey, handed it to the officer, who joined him in the toast.

The train reached the suburb of Cincinnati just as the day was dawning. If they entered the city they well knew that there would be danger of arrest, for the fact of their escape might have been flashed over the wires before that hour. They must leave the train before it reached the depot. But how should they do it? The two had a hurried consultation and arranged their plan. Morgan pulled the bell-rope; Hines applied the break, and, one from the front platform and the other from the rear, leaped to the ground when the speed of the train had slackened enough to make it safe to do so. Two or three Federal soldiers were sitting on a pile of lumber near the spot where they alighted.

"What are you jumping off here for," shouted one of them with an oath.

"What is the use of a man going into the city when he lives out here," answered Morgan, "besides, what business is it of yours?"

"Oh, none," said the man, and he gave them no more attention.

Morgan and Hines were not far from the river and made what haste they could to reach it and get on the other side, where they were sure to find friends and helpers, and could have the river between themselves and their

pursuers. They did not like to trust themselves in a ferry-boat, so hired a boy to take them over in a skiff. When their escape was known, the first clue as to where they had gone or what course they had taken, was obtained from the boy who ferried them over the Ohio.

The authorities in Ohio were much chagrined that Morgan had been able to escape, and an investigation was ordered. It then came out that one of the reasons that they had been able to accomplish that result, was to be found in the fact that, as a sort of indignity, they were required to sweep their own cells, which gave them the chance to conceal the work of excavation while it was in progress.

Morgan had escaped and was again in his old field, where he had won his renown. But his prestige was gone and he could no longer command the influence he had once had. He made another raid into Kentucky, but it was

not attended or followed by the *ecclat* to which he had been accustomed.

In less than a year after his escape from imprisonment he was killed in a kitchen garden while endeavoring to make his escape from the rear of a house surrounded by Union soldiers. He had been defeated by General Gilham at Greenville, Tennessee, and his forces killed, taken prisoners or scattered. He took refuge in the house of a Mrs. Williams, and her daughter-in-law is credited with having gone to the Union authorities and betrayed to them the place of his concealment.

The amount of damage done during this raid, by Morgan and his men, in the states of Indiana and Ohio, was estimated at about ten millions of dollars. They captured, during their progress, six thousand men, all of whom were paroled; they killed two hundred and wounded three hundred and fifty.

MARY CONE.



Wm. G. Rose

THE MUNICIPAL GROWTH OF CLEVELAND.

IV.

AN OFFICIAL GROUP.

THERE have been many men who have given a loyal and earnest service to the city of Cleveland, in various capacities and stations; and while justice cannot be done to them all, it is possible to speak of some with a due appreciation of the value of the work they have performed. In the pages devoted heretofore to the creation and growth of municipal Cleveland, due honor has been awarded to many of the early city officials who won distinction and gained the gratitude of the people. In this chapter the record made by some of like character in later years will find brief consideration.

WILLIAM G. ROSE.

Among these a place of honor should be awarded the gentleman whose name is given above. During the years he has been a resident of Cleveland he has been counted justly as among her most progressive citizens, and the public honors that have been bestowed upon him have been most nobly deserved. Mr. Rose was born in Mercer county, Pennsylvania, on September 23, 1829, the youngest of eleven children. The strong, native vigor of the race is shown in the fact that all of the eleven lived to mature life and became the heads of

families. His parents were James and Martha (McKenley) Rose, the former of English and the latter of Scotch-Irish descent. The father served his country in the War of 1812, his four brothers giving a like service, while ten of his grandsons fought for the Union in the War of the Rebellion. Mr. Rose himself served as a private in a three months' regiment in West Virginia.

Mr. Rose's boyhood was passed in that round of labor, schooling and recreation that was the lot of the farm lad half a century ago, with a large allowance of the first named to a moderate amount of the second, and meagreness in the third. During the summer and fall he worked on the farm, while in the winter he attended school. When he was seventeen years of age he took charge of a school of his own, and from that time forward was engaged in that occupation for several years, alternating it with attendance on several academies, where he acquired not only a good English education, but a fair knowledge as well of Latin, Greek, and the higher mathematics. When twenty-three years of age he was so well advanced that he was at last able to carry out the wish and ambition of his heart. He entered the law office of Hon. Wil-

liam Stewart, at Mercer, Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the practice of law on April 7, 1855. He entered immediately upon the practice of his profession in his home county, and was on the road to success in his chosen career when circumstances and the natural inclination of his mind drew him to another profession. He became interested in the *Independent Democrat*, a weekly newspaper published in Mercer county, as one of its editors and proprietors. Although his antecedents were Democratic, his opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories induced him to join the Republican party at its inception. At its command he was soon led into public life, being elected a member of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1857. He was reelected in 1878. In 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the National Republican convention at Chicago which named Abraham Lincoln as the candidate for President, but was unable to attend because of illness. So far had he won his way in public esteem that he was twice presented by the Republican party of his county as a candidate for congress, the last time, in 1864, the choice being made unanimously. His nomination in the district, which was composed of four counties, and at that time was largely Republican, was only prevented because, under the system then in vogue in that part of Pennsylvania, other counties claimed a prior right to the nomination.

Feeling the need of a more expansive field of operations, and one more nearly fitted for his matured capacities, Mr.

Rose removed to Cleveland in 1865, where he gave his attention to the purchase and sale of real estate, at which business he continued with great success until 1874, when he retired from active business, and made an extensive tour through California and the west.

Mr. Rose from the beginning of his life in Cleveland, made many friends in a social and business way, and as his strong powers of mind and executive ability became understood he was more and more importuned to take part in public life. All such overtures were declined until in 1877, when he accepted the Republican nomination for mayor of Cleveland, and was elected by a vote that showed his popularity already in the new city of his home. From the beginning of his administration Mr. Rose showed the possession of abilities of the highest order, and a mind that could view public questions in a comprehensive manner and with reference to the future, without overlooking the needs and demands of the present. The very opening sentences of his inaugural address to the city council showed the people that one had come to the head of the municipal government who appreciated the grave needs of the day, and was prepared to bravely front them. "The enormous amount of municipal debt," said he, "the depressed condition of all branches of industry; the present low rate of wages, scarcely adequate for the support of the laborer and his family; the vast number of men and women out of employment and seeking in vain for work; and the difficulty experienced by many of our most substantial citizens in

meeting their tax obligations and providing the home circle with the comforts and even the necessities of life; all combine to impress upon those in authority the absolute necessity of scrupulous care and fidelity in the economical management of every department of our municipal government. In times like these it is little short of criminal to consume the hard earnings of the people in extravagant or reckless expenditures." The specific recommendations that followed the above were all in the line of economy, and an administration of the public affairs in such manner as to meet the great needs outlined in the above.

That Mr. Rose faithfully carried out in his own official work the suggestions thus made, was long since a matter of history. He set his face squarely against extravagance of all sorts, and endeavored to put the city finances in such shape as a man would strive to place those of his own in a year following close on the great panic of 1873. He stopped the issuing of city bonds that had been carried on in a somewhat reckless manner, agreeing only to such as were compelled by the absolute necessities of the case. He reduced as far as possible the expenditures of the various city departments, without destroying the efficiency thereof. He held the city to the strict line of the law in all financial matters, and during the period of his official life did much to start the city on the right road, and correct many abuses which had formerly been overlooked or ignored. He had no fear of anyone when his duty called upon

him to act; yet such was his power and influence among men that the majority of those associated with him, willingly accepted his guidance and made his purposes of reform their own. In his message to the council on the completion of his first year of service, Mayor Rose spoke plainly upon these financial questions, and reiterated the suggestion he had made before. "It will be seen from the table," said he, "that the tax levy has been gradually reduced annually since 1874; that the aggregate net collections on the basis of the levy proposed for the year 1878 will be less than those for 1877 by \$135,380.50. This is certainly moving in the right direction, and no backward step should be taken until this tax-burdened community feels material relief. . . . What I desire especially to urge is that at once an impassable barrier be set up and maintained against any addition to our indebtedness beyond existing obligations. The Burns law is an excellent auxiliary in effecting this result. It has already fixed the time when the bond factory, which has been so long in successful operation in our city, must be closed. This law takes us back to first principles, and enforces the observance of that good old maxim 'pay as you go.' If the citizens of Cleveland shall suffer any legislation, state or municipal, to repeal or amend, or evade the provisions of this law for the purpose of legalizing the issue of city bonds, they deserve to be compelled to bear the heavier burden without commiseration. It is time the tax-payers of this city were aroused to a full realization of the

danger of continuing to add yearly to the volume of this municipal debt."

In his final address to the council, in April, 1879, on the conclusion of his term of office, Mayor Rose drew from his experience and close observation through two years of faithful work, many suggestions of value, that have since been acted upon by the city. He took up each department and discussed it with a closeness of detail that showed his thorough knowledge of the inside workings of all. A sentence taken here and there from that address must suffice for the present. "All those confined in the house of refuge" said he, "are children under sixteen years of age. Our duty does not end when we have seen them fed and clothed and protected from the storm, but demands that we do what we can to help them lead good and useful lives. The tender buds of virtue and truthfulness which cluster around the heart of a child will bloom like flowers when nurtured and surrounded by the influences of the good, but may wither and decay from contact with the low and vicious. Nothing but evil can result from bringing these innocent boys and girls into such close proximity to criminals. Aside from this direct mischief, there is another equally unfortunate and far-reaching in its consequences. I refer to the stigma of having spent their youths in a work-house, which will rest upon and embarrass these children in after life. . . . We should send them from our care with no taint upon them, and no check to their ambition. Give them a suburban home removed from

the contaminating influence of criminals, and from the din and smoke of the city." In speaking of the schools of the city he said :

The best condition of society, religious, social and civil, cannot be obtained unless the mental and moral training afforded by the school-room reaches every child at the proper age. . . . We must not rest satisfied with the conviction that we have reached the best attainable results in a system of education. Every change that will enable us to reach a higher standard of excellence should be promptly made. We cannot afford, for the sake of our children, to let our schools deteriorate ; but at the same time we must not forget that economical management in conducting all public offices is indispensable to the best results.

It was during the first year of Mr. Rose's incumbency of the office of mayor, that he was called upon to perform as delicate and dangerous a service as is often allotted to a municipal officer. The "hard times" to which he had alluded in his inaugural, had finally culminated in the great railway strike of 1877. Thousands of men were out in a bitter and determined demand for living wages, the wheels were standing idle on many of the great trunk lines, the Pittsburgh riots had sent dread and the fear of unknown dangers into the hearts of the people everywhere, and no one was prepared to say what explosion might occur at any point, were the fatal spark to be dropped by some careless hand. The problem set before municipal and county officers in the threatened or blockaded districts, was to so conduct affairs that while full justice was proffered the strikers so far as was possible at the hands of the authorities, there should be no destruction to property ; while force enough should be at

hand to subdue any overt act of lawlessness. It was a time that called for tact and good judgment, as well as courage and a desire to uphold the law.

The situation in Cleveland was one of unusual gravity—how grave is only known to those who stood near the headquarters of authority, and saw all that lay beneath the surface of apparent quiet. The fact that this city was the official headquarters of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railway, the line upon which a large portion of the strike's purpose and power was made apparent, and that the main freight yards of the company were located just eastward, at Collinwood, made this city one of the central points of the difficulty. As soon as there were evidences of trouble here, Mayor Rose coolly and quietly applied himself to an investigation, and discovered the need for preparation to preserve peace here, if there should be an out-break in any direction. He also discovered the fact that hasty or ill-considered action on part of the authorities would cause the appearance of that danger of which all had fear, and that a show of force might be the chief means of making that force necessary. It was not the strikers who were feared, but that large body of law breakers who, as at Pittsburgh, were only too ready to burn, pillage and kill at the first sign or riot, or a conflict of any sort. All the dangers of the situation forced themselves on Mayor Rose's mind, and he felt the full meaning of the responsibilities he had assumed. Not a moment was lost. A consultation was held with many of the leading citizens,

and with no show of power and no outward parade, the city was placed within a few hours in such position that it could successfully cope with any disturbance that might arise. The police, the artillery, the militia, and a strong force of organized veterans of the late war were massed and held in such shape that an overmastering force could have been thrown into the streets at the first stroke of an alarm. Newspapers and authorities were discreet, and the great majority of the people never knew until long afterward of the forces that slept on their arms night after night in the armories and police station. All the force was there in shape for needed use, and yet there was no show of that force, and no boast made as to what would be or could be done. Mayor Rose was on duty night and day, and no man could have shown more nerve, courage and determination, aided by a large fund of tact and good sense, than he did all through this dangerous trouble. Those who stood near him speak in the highest praise of his course, and certainly a glance at the admirable results that followed his policy, is its best defense and eulogy. He held one grand advantage that might not have been open to all men in his position. The strikers, and working-men generally, knew that he was their true friend and had their interests at heart; and that while he would enforce the law with power and vigor if need be, he would never allow it to be used as an instrument for their oppression. He was in constant communication with the strikers, and knew all their plans and

purposes ; while its leaders sought his advice, and were held to their law-abiding purposes largely by his influence. It was indeed fortunate for the city that Cleveland possessed a chief executive who held the confidence of all classes, and who had the will and courage to see that the right thing and the safe thing was done, no matter whose purpose might be aided or retarded thereby. It was during the same year that the great strike of the coopers occurred in Cleveland, and the mayor's responsibility and course as described in the above were here duplicated on a smaller scale. Not a life was lost, nor a dollar's worth of property destroyed in either.

During Mr. Rose's occupancy of the office of mayor he was called upon to represent the city in many celebrations and annual meetings, national and otherwise ; and the welcomes he thus formally extended to visitors, showed him in one of his best and strongest lights—that of a hospitable gentleman, whose heart and hand were ever open to any who had the shadow of a claim upon him. He honored the city as he honored himself, on all these occasions, showing in his various addresses a wide reading, supplemented by deep and original thought, and an acquaintance with men and measures the world over. Some reference to the most important of these gatherings, with an occasional brief reference to his views and modes of expression and thought as seen in quotations from these speeches, will perhaps be timely and pertinent here. In welcome to the Catholic German Central Association of the United States,

which held its twenty-second annual convention in this city in May, 1877, among many other things of equal force and power, he made use of the following expressive language :

I have not the honor to be a member of your association, neither am I fully acquainted with its objects and purposes, but there is one association to which, I am proud to say, we all belong, and to which we all owe our highest allegiance, and that is the organization known as the government of the United States. We are all American citizens ; and as such I am here in behalf of the citizens of Cleveland, to tender you fraternal greetings ; to welcome you to our beautiful city, and to extend to you a generous measure of her hospitalities. In the palmy days of the Roman Empire, it was considered a mark of honor to be called a Roman citizen ; but to be a good and faithful American citizen is a higher honor than can be conferred by any king or potentate on earth. It is the crowning glory of the American Republic, that liberty of conscience and liberty of speech are guaranteed to every human being within the jurisdiction of the national government. Here every man has the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience ; and under the constitution no law can ever be passed to deprive him of this inestimable privilege. The fundamental law forbids an established church, and prohibits forced taxation for the support of any form of religious worship. This government recognizes no church, it asks no man where he was born, nor what is his religious or political opinions. Its founders intended that it should be a home for the proscribed and persecuted of all nations, and of all shades of religious belief. There is no country in the world where so many forms of religious worship are tolerated as in the United States. Let us hope, then, that the same spirit of religious tolerance will soon permeate all other nationalities, and that every other kingdom, principality and power that now fetters conscience and muzzles speech, will follow the example of this magnanimous republic.

To the Supreme lodge of the Knights of Pythias, which held its annual session in Cleveland in August of the same year, he said :

You have come to us from the numerous cities and towns, scattered over a vast continent like the stars

in the firmament of Heaven. You have come with the splendor and appointments of a well organized and well drilled army—not for war or subjugation, but for the more noble purpose of cultivating brotherly love. Upon your beautiful banners are inscribed no threats of war, but this glorious motto : " Friendship, Charity and Benevolence," which means peace on earth good will to men. Such a display, coupled with such a mission, eclipses, in moral grandeur, the greatest military pageant the world has ever witnessed. Let us hope that the time will come when the armies of the world, instead of being equipped with the instruments of death, will bear in their hands the olive branch of peace, and, instead of going forth to destroy and desolate, will feed the hungry and clothe the naked. The story of Damon and Pythias will live longer in history than the most brilliant victory ever achieved upon the tented field. The shining example of the Great Teacher, His unselfish and self-sacrificing life, his devotion to the cause of the poor and oppressed, His efforts in behalf of the sick and the afflicted, and his constant endeavor to encourage the dejected and lift up the fallen, will be remembered and admired by the people of every clime, and of every shade of religious belief, whether they regard him as God or man, until time shall be no more.

When the twentieth triennial conclave of Knights Templar was held in this city, Mayor Rose's address was one of the most eloquent heard during that gathering. The loyalty and Americanism of his thought were well illustrated therein. "It is a matter of congratulation," said he, "that so many distinguished citizens, not only of this Republic, but of a neighboring nationality, should meet and fraternize upon American soil. It is the glory of your magnanimous order that it is not bound by state or national lines, but embraces within its broad compass, worthy brothers of every kingdom and power on earth. May the influence of the mystic tie which binds you together so obliterate sectional prejudices, so educate man into the belief and practice

of universal brotherhood, that the time will come when all nationalities, now divided by imaginary lines, will be cemented into one harmonious government ; when the same glorious flag, brightened with the luster of new and more brilliant stars, will be acknowledged and revered throughout the continent of North America ; and when oceans alone will form the boundary lines between nations."

His address to the Women's congress in October of 1877, showed his sympathy with the work they were endeavoring to do, and his breadth of view regarding the promise of that work. In March of the year following, the Irishmen of Cleveland met to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Emmet. Mayor Rose presided, and his address seems almost prophetic in view of what has already transpired across the water, and what bids fair to follow in the days to come. In the course of his speech he said :

The history of the world demonstrates beyond the power of refutation, the fact that every footfall in the march of civilization, and in the interest of equal rights, has been indelibly stained with human blood. Despotism never yields without a struggle ; it disputes every inch of ground, and retreats only at the point of the bayonet. These opposing forces, freedom and despotism, have stood face to face in deadly conflict for six thousand years. This life and death struggle will continue until every form of oppression over the minds and bodies of men shall be banished from the earth. It may take ages to accomplish this result ; but the final triumph of self-government will surely come ; it may cost millions of lives, and billions of treasure ; but come it will as surely as the God of truth is omnipotent over the powers of darkness. Every government that fetters conscience, that muzzles the press, that denies man his God-given rights, is doomed to fall. Every country in which such a government exists, is sure to become a battle

ground. It is only a question of time when and where the next great battle will be fought. It may be in Ireland, Spain, Austria, Italy, or any other country where human liberty is dependent upon the caprice of parliaments or the edicts of kings. Robert Emmet is to Ireland what Washington and Lincoln are to America. His memory is enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen, not that he fell a martyr to the cause of liberty, but because for the moment he was the moving spirit, the life-giving power that attempted to establish the independence of his country. His speech, delivered on the threshold of death, is not surpassed in power of eloquence and grandeur of thought by anything in the English language. His burning words have ignited a flame of patriotism in the hearts of his countrymen that can never be quenched. Ireland is to-day a sleeping volcano; and so is every other country where man is denied the right of self-government, and where obedience to tyrants is compelled by standing armies and brute force. Sooner or later these pent up fires will gain sufficient strength and fury to hurl back the power that seeks to throttle manhood, and denies to a portion of the race the equal and indefeasible rights belonging to every human being born in the image of God.

Emmet's failure and ignominious death did not settle, it only postponed the question. The man was executed, but not the principle. The love of liberty is inherent in the human heart and cannot be destroyed by the persecution of tyrants. It defies the scaffold, mocks at the rack and derides the dungeon. Three-quarters of a century has elapsed since Emmet's death; and yet each passing year has only strengthened and deepened the desire of his countrymen that Ireland shall be emancipated from British rule. On this question the whole Irish race, wherever found, seems to be united. They have sworn by the blood of the martyred Emmet that Ireland shall and must be free, and the day of her deliverance will surely come.

Quotations of equal force might, would space permit, be made from his address to the Ohio editors, Canadian Foresters, National firemen and others. When the great stone viaduct was completed, and a day given to its dedication in December, 1878, Mayor Rose read an elaborate and interesting history of the enterprise that showed

great research, and that has "gone on the record" as the most correct and authentic description of that great structure yet produced.

On the occasion of the visit of Michael Davitt, the Irish patriot, to Cleveland, Mayor Rose, in his official capacity, presided. At a date subsequent to his second term as mayor, Messrs. Parnell and Dillon were warmly welcomed to the city during their tour of America. Mr. Rose's official successor was invited to preside at the great mass meeting held in their honor, but declined. Mr. Rose was thereupon appealed to and accepted, and the enthusiasm of his reception was almost equal to that for the distinguished guests from abroad. His speech was eloquent, manly and plain. While he held out no false hopes and said no word that would encourage them in others, he gave such encouragement as he truthfully could to those who were working for the freedom of their fatherland. The keynote of his address may be found in the following sentences:

But however grievous may be these laws, the government of the United States cannot interfere. It has been the settled policy of this republic, ever since its foundation, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, nor to permit any dictation from foreign powers as to her own. The United States and Great Britain are mutually bound to each other by international law and the solemn obligations of treaties to remain neutral in the event that either country should become embroiled in civil strife or in war with other nations. So long as we are at peace with Great Britain our government cannot permit or wink at any violation of these neutrality laws. But the love of liberty is so deeply implanted in the hearts of the American people that there is no law or treaty which will prevent them as individuals from sympathizing with the oppressed of any country who are struggling to secure their inalienable rights. I trust the time

wi'. never come when the citizens of this republic will look with indifference upon the heroic efforts of any people to free themselves from the yoke of despotic power.

Mr. Rose's record as mayor was such, and his personal strength and reputation had so grown throughout Cleveland and the state, that he was hardly out of the one office before there were many demands made for the use of his name in connection with places of higher honor and responsibility. Attempts have been made again and again to persuade him into the congressional race for his district, while calls have been made upon him again and again to become an active candidate for governor. But he has steadily resisted them all. In 1883 the Ohio Republican state convention, in session at Columbus, after naming Judge Foraker for governor, was determined that Mr. Rose should become the candidate for lieutenant-governor. The idea once broached, it was taken up with the greatest enthusiasm by delegates from all parts of the state. Mr. Rose was then at his home in Cleveland, but there were those in the Cleveland delegation who had authority to speak for him. They declared with the utmost emphasis that Mr. Rose was not a candidate and would decline the nomination if conferred upon him. They were honest as well as earnest, as Mr. Rose did not want the nomination. But it was all of no avail; and when a delegate arose and declared that William G. Rose was not the man to desert any duty laid upon him by the Republican party of Ohio, the statement was met by the wildest applause, and the nomination

was made by acclamation. It was Mr. Rose's set determination not to accept, but the pressure was such that he finally allowed his name to stand.* The wisdom of the convention was justified by the result. Although the entire state

* The following in reference to that event is from the *Cleveland Leader*: In the Republican state convention of 1883, Mr. Rose received the nomination for lieutenant-governor, unsolicited. He had insisted that he was not a candidate, and ought not to accept a nomination. The following telegram was sent him after the convention had decided on his name.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 6.

Hon. William G. Rose, Cleveland Ohio :

The convention has unanimously nominated you for lieutenant-governor, and it is my sincere desire that you accept the nomination.

JOHN SHERMAN,
President of the Convention.

To this the following reply was sent :

CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 6.

Hon. John Sherman, Chairman Republican Convention :

Your telegram informing me that I have been nominated for lieutenant-governor by the Republican state convention of Ohio is received. I was not an aspirant for the office, and this action was taken without my consent and against my positive request that my name should not be presented to the convention. But under the circumstances I deem it my duty to respect the will of the Republicans of Ohio, as voiced by their representatives in convention, and I therefore accept the unsolicited honor conferred upon me, and will use my best endeavors to secure the triumph of the party at the polls in October.

WILLIAM G. ROSE.

The reading of the telegram in the convention was received with vociferous cheers. The campaign that followed is a memorable one. The Republicans went into the fight seriously handicapped and with defeat almost certain. Mr. Rose led his ticket all over the state, and despite its defeat by a majority of thirteen thousand, came very close to an election. In his own county he led his ticket by over three thousand votes. His popularity is contagious, and to-day he is one of the best known men in the state.

ticket was defeated by causes of which he was no part, he made a most admirable show of personal strength at the polls, and received a support of which any man might well be proud. He ran ahead of his ticket not only in his home county of Ohio, but in Cincinnati, the home of the head of the ticket, as well. The canvass demonstrated beyond a doubt that his personal strength was very great in all parts of the state. In the state convention of 1885 his name was used extensively in connection with the nomination for governor, but altogether without his consent.

Mr. Rose is a warm and generous supporter of his party in all cases where he can be such without violation of his sense of right. As has been said in the above, he became a Republican in the face of influences adverse thereto, and because his sense of right and justice would not allow him to cast a vote for the continuance or extension of slavery. On all questions that have come up from that day to this he has been on the side of the weak, and has voiced his conscience in his vote. His sympathies are ever with the common people, as his whole public and private record fully shows.

The earnest support given Mr. Rose whenever he has been a candidate before the people, and the respect and affection in which he is everywhere held, have not been effects without their cause. A whole-souled, open-hearted and generous man, not a day passes in which he does not do some act of good or perform some generous deed for others. Rank and station

count as little in his eyes. A man is valued for what he does, and there is no one who is more open to the approach of the poorest and the humblest. While mayor, his office was always thronged by those who needed his advice or help, and no one whom he could help ever went away unsatisfied. As a citizen Mr. Rose is public-spirited, and believes in such improvements as can be brought about without oppression to the people. He is the kind of a man who benefits any community in which he may have a part.

GEORGE W. GARDNER.

George W. Gardner, the present mayor of Cleveland, although young in years may be looked upon as one of the city's business pioneers, not because he came here when the country was new, but from the fact that in the last thirty years he has done so much toward widening and extending the channels of trade; and in both a private and public way has added to her power and influence as a factor in the great commercial life of the west. So large a portion of his life has been spent in Cleveland that many even of those who know him well suppose this city to be the place of his birth. It is not, as he was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on February 7, 1834. His father came to Cleveland in that year and established a business here, and in 1837 brought his family west, and made Cleveland his permanent home. The family came by packet to Buffalo, and made the rest of the journey by Lake Erie—Mr. Gardner yet remembering something of the won-



Geo. W. Gardner

der and delight of that new experience. When old enough the boy was placed in the public schools of the city, and was one of the pupils in the first high school of Cleveland, held in the basement of what is now the Homœopathic college on Prospect street, and presided over by Andrew Freese.

In 1846 a firm from Rochester opened a news stand in the "old Arcade," the building in which the postoffice was then located, on the present site of the Johnson house. Young Gardner, who was then twelve years old, engaged to this firm at two dollars per week to sell newspapers on the street. The Mexican war was in progress and the greatest excitement prevailed. The boy would take as large an armload as he could carry, mostly of New York papers, go down to the river and dispose of them to the passengers of the big steamers, the main portion of Cleveland's activity then being on the river front. After a few months it was decided that another boy was needed, and Charlie Backus, afterward the famous minstrel, was brought on from Rochester, and the two set at work together. Between the boat arrivals young Gardner would take a basket full of books and papers, which he would sell to the sailors or whoever else would buy. From these surroundings, and from spending so much of his time along the river, Mr. Gardner undoubtedly gained that love of the water which fixed his business pursuits for several years, and which has directed his recreations of later days in a maritime channel. The immediate effect of these causes was felt in 1848, when he

decided to leave the news business and venture for himself on a sailor's life. He knew his father would never consent to such a move, and he accordingly decided to say nothing at home about it. A little schooner was being built at the foot of Bath street. George, as everybody in Cleveland called him, boldly went aboard and asked for a job. The captain asked him if he could cook, and without a moment's hesitation the boy responded that he could, although he did not know the difference between a cupboard and a fryingpan. He turned in and worked for several days, getting the boat ready. Meanwhile his father had heard of his scheme, and being a practical man decided that it would do the youngster good to try life on the water for awhile. He was then a member of the firm of Gardner & Vincent, his partner being John A. Vincent, who is yet living. A part of their business was the fitting out of vessels, and at that time they were at work on the propeller *Ogontz*, and Mr. Gardner made arrangements with Mr. M. F. Minor, one of the owners, who was to be her clerk, to take the boy with him as second clerk. That put an end to the cooking experiment. The duties of second clerk, as construed on that vessel, were of a very diverse character. The boy blacked boots, trimmed lamps, assisted the cook, and waited on table, until Captain James Lundy, one of the noted old lake captains, displaced Captain Crowl who was in command, and from that time onward the second clerk was one of the officers of the boat and recognized as such. He was sent to his

legitimate duties in the office, and as he was willing to work, and Mr. Minor willing to let him, he soon learned bookkeeping and all the duties pertaining to the clerkship. That winter the boat was laid up in Sandusky, and the young man went home with twenty-five dollars saved, which was just one-half his summer's earnings. The winter was spent in school, and on the following spring he resumed his old position, under a head clerk named Boardman. As in the year before, he was allowed to carry the main burden of work, and in that way gained much knowledge and experience not often open to a boy of his age. The reward came soon. Young Gardner was left behind in Chicago to collect the freight money, as was the custom in those days, and then took another vessel to rejoin his own at Racine. He had some seven thousand dollars about him, the most of it in bills, and the rest in two large bags of silver. Racine was reached at twelve o'clock at night, and he had to travel through a rough portion of the city before he could reach his own boat. He stowed the bills about him and took a bag of silver in each hand. He made up his mind that if any one attacked him he would hurl one bag of coin at him, and then the other, and make sure of the bills. When he reached the boat in safety the captain was glad to see him, and giving him the key of the office, said, "You are clerk of this boat," the services of the chief clerk having already been dispensed with. Soon after the boat was sold to Messrs. Styles & Coman of Buffalo, New York. The

new owners came aboard, and on finding that the clerk was a mere boy, declared they could not entrust such important interests to his hands. Said Captain George R. Hand, "Well, if you don't keep him, you can't keep me." They both remained.

Mr. Gardner was holding this position at the time of the terrible ravages of cholera in Sandusky. Two of the men on board were taken sick while they were in Sandusky bay. A doctor must be had, and young Gardner, thoughtless of the danger, volunteered to go ashore and find one. He found a young fellow who went on board and prescribed for the sufferers. As they were no better, Mr. Gardner again went ashore on the following day, and on asking for the doctor found that he had died on the previous evening. The men recovered eventually. The boat anchored out in the bay, and in three or four days young Gardner again went into the city to collect his freight charges. He walked clear across the town, and the only man he saw on that trip was drunk. The houses were all deserted or closed, and death held its sway everywhere. No business of any kind was being transacted. On reaching the depot of the old Mansfield road, he found only one man on duty, and that man was E. S. Flint, who also was afterwards mayor of Cleveland.

Mr. Gardner remained on the lakes until in 1852, serving as a clerk on both the *Allegheny* and *De Witt Clinton*, and being for some time in the same capacity on the *Cleveland*, of the Erie and Ontario line, better known as the North-

ern Transportation company, where he kept the entire books for the three boats of that line. In the winter of 1852-3 he acted as clerk in the bank of Wicks, Otis & Brownell, and when he was preparing to return to the lake in the spring, the owners of that institution made him an offer so advantageous that he decided to remain. He continued in the bank for five years, making himself generally useful, and acting at various times as correspondent, teller, or cashier. In 1857 the Otis elevator, on River street, which had been built some five years before, was started up by new owners, and after it had run awhile Mr. Gardner was offered one-fourth interest therein if he would become a part of the establishment. He accepted, and remained there until 1859, when he went into the grain and commission business in partnership with Morris R. Clark and John D. Rockefeller, under the firm name of Clark, Gardner & Co. They located on River street, near the present office of the Detroit line, keeping no clerks, and the three partners attending to all the business. In 1861 Mr. Gardner made up his mind there was an opening for a new elevator here, only one then existing, and that it would pay to build one. The plan was matured, capital secured, and land purchased on Merwin street, and in the spring of 1862 the Union elevator was opened for business on the site it yet occupies. It was the largest in the city, as it is yet the largest, and many prophesied it would never pay—a prediction long ago proved to be false. Its first owner was the firm of Thatcher, Gardner, Burt & Co., consisting of Peter

Thatcher, George W. Gardner, George H. Burt and A. C. McNairy, the second named being the only one of the four who is yet living. The success of the new enterprise was immediate and great, more grain being offered it during the first winter than it could handle.

The next change in the firm name was to Gardner & Burt, the other partners purchasing Mr. McNairy's interest. Then Herman Oviatt purchased the interest of Mr. Thatcher, and it became Gardner, Burt & Oviatt. Mr. Oviatt's share was soon sold to Stephen V. Harkness, who placed F. H. Morse in the firm to represent him, and the name became Gardner, Burt & Morse. In 1872 Mr. B. Clark, Mr. Gardner's old partner, bought the Harkness interest, and it was Gardner, Burt & Clark until 1875, when the interest of Mr. Burt was purchased by his partners, and the name became Gardner & Clark. In 1877, on the burning of the Otis elevator, B. H. York purchased an interest in the Union elevator, and the name of the firm was again changed to Gardner, Clark & York. On the death of Mr. York the name of Gardner & Clark was resumed, and such it has been ever since. In 1878 they purchased the National flouring mills, and have run them ever since under the name of M. C. Dow & Co. This firm, of which Mr. Gardner has been the head for many years, has made a deep mark on the business of Cleveland. Its business has in some years reached into the millions, and it has made Cleveland a live competitor for Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, and other prominent points in the grain line. Mr.

Gardner purchased and shipped from Duluth the first cargo of grain that ever left that port. A visit of some months' duration that he made to New England, gave to Cleveland a large share of that business, which had previously been monopolized by Toledo, Chicago and Detroit. The firm has also handled most of the product of the stone quarries of this neighborhood, shipping stone to Canada, California, and other points of the United States.

Mr. Gardner has always been one of the hard-working, most earnest, and most liberal of the members of the Cleveland board of trade. He has been one of its best friends, year in and year out. He was one of its charter members when it took on its present permanent character in 1866, when he was chosen one of its directors. In 1867-8 he filled the position of vice-president, and in 1868-9 that of president. In 1870 he was again vice-president; and again in 1882-3. In 1885 he was chairman of the committee on legislation, and he has at various times done good service on the different important committees of the board. Mr. Gardner was a member of a special committee sent from the board to the convention called to consider the Illinois ship canal project; and served in the same capacity in the formation of the National board of trade, in Philadelphia. Only a passing reference to the other points in which Mr. Gardner has touched on the business life of Cleveland, is possible. He has been president of the Walker Manufacturing company, president of the Buckeye Stove

company, president of the Butman Furnace company, a director in the old Sun Insurance company, a director in the Merchants National bank, and connected through his investment of capital with other enterprises needless to enumerate here.

Mr. Gardner has also given a useful and patriotic service to Cleveland in a public way, and there are few men who have filled municipal station of any kind who have brought so clean a purpose, such practical business sense, and such liberal broadness of view to the discharge of the duties thus devolving upon them as he. In 1863, when a resident of the Sixth ward, he was elected to represent it in the city council, and did so for one term of two years. In 1876 he was again elected to that body from the Second ward, and was continued there term after term for six years. The service he gave the city, and the good he aided in accomplishing, are too recent in the public mind to need any extended mention here. He was a member of a number of important committees, during a time when some of the most important legislation of the city was in progress. He served as president of that body during the last three years of his membership in the council. He was chairman of the committee on finance, and also on the committee on department examination. When made a member of the committee on finance, Mr. Gardner could not understand why the city could never obtain a premium on its bonds. Heretofore the sale of those securities had been in the hands of the mayor, president of the council,

and city solicitor, and it occurred to him that the committee on finance was the place where that responsibility ought to be lodged. He prepared and had passed an ordinance placing the matter in the hands of that committee, and compelling them to advertise such sales, and sell to the highest bidder. On the first sale under that arrangement, the city received a premium of over fifteen thousand dollars, a thing it had never had before—and a premium has been had on every sale from that day to this. While serving thus in the council, Mr. Gardner was made a member of a special committee, appointed to examine into the conduct and workings of each department of the city government. The result of that quest, which occupied three months of close labor, was such as to lead Mr. Gardner to believe that a close lookout should be had by the city council on each branch of the municipal government. He accordingly placed those ideas and that experience in a strong and explicit ordinance, which was passed, and which created a committee on department examination. Its duties are to make complete and thorough examination into the conduct of each department of the city government. It has the power to send for persons or papers at any time, and the right to go into everything done by any official or any department under city control. It is a most effective check, and if rightly used can be made a most potent instrument for the city's good. In May of 1885 the public of Cleveland voiced its appropriation of Mr. Gardner and its

belief in him, by electing him to the honorable and responsible office of mayor—a position in which he has already done good work, and wisely laid the foundation for better results in the future.

One other public labor should not be overlooked here. In 1879 Mr. Gardner was appointed by Governor Foster to the position of trustee of the Ohio Reform school at Lancaster, which he held until the expiration of his term in 1884. During the three last years of his service he acted as president of the board. All his efforts while there were directed toward the good of the children, and the welfare of the state. The penitentiary rules that were in operation when he became a member of the board were soon displaced by wiser and more humane measures. The institution had previous to that time managed for itself the business of brush-making that was there carried on. A little investigation soon convinced Mr. Gardner that there was a better plan available than that. He accordingly set on foot the arrangement by which outside parties took the financial management and risk of the business. His plan met with some opposition, but by patient work he finally saw it adopted. The result was that in the first year, the net receipts were twice what they had been before, while the institution was relieved of all risk in the operation. Mr. Gardner also set on foot a movement for the introduction in the school of the manual training system, in which he heartily believes. He secured from the Ohio legislature an appropriation of

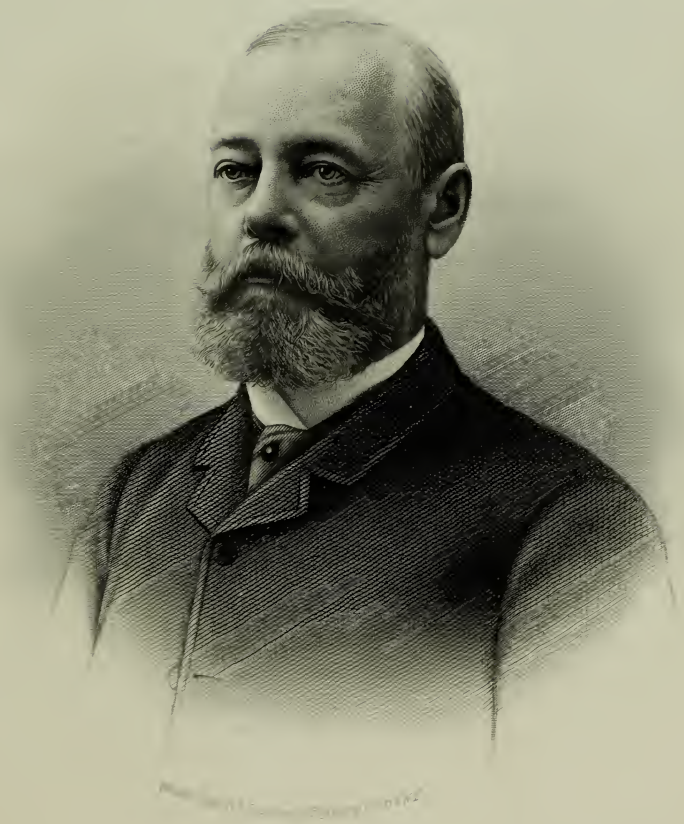
five thousand dollars for that purpose, but his term of office expired before the new plan could be put to any test.

In a social way Mr. Gardner has also touched the life of Cleveland in many directions. He has for years been a member of the Union club, is commodore of the Inter-Lake Yachting association, and also commodore of the Western American Canoe association. The attention he has given to the two latter lines of amusement and recreation has been somewhat from a great love of the water, but largely for the purpose of encouraging the young men of Cleveland and the west to engage in the healthful and muscular sport they afford. He has not only given of his money to the support and advancement of these associations, but has given a great deal of care and thought to their interests. In fact, Mr. Gardner is of that willing, ready and enthusiastic temperament that he could not be a laggard in any enterprise with which he is identified, if he chose. He is quick to see a point, and determined in making effective any idea which may suggest itself to his mind. With a mind of unusual keenness and strength, he unites a wide experience with men, and a manner that allows him to get close to the hearts of those he meets. Everybody knows him, and it is safe to say that he has not a personal enemy in Cleveland. No man could be more approachable; and the pleasant, hearty and off-hand manner with which he greets his associates, is extended to the millionaire and the laborer as well. His generosity, as everybody knows, and as very

many have long since gratefully discovered, is no spasmodic effort, but a deep flowing and continual stream. Any sad story goes to his heart, and it is impossible for him to refuse an appeal for help. The needs of poor children come especially close to his sympathy, and make large calls upon his purse. Honest and upright in every relation of life, a business man in high standing, and a public official whose records and acts have been endorsed by the people of Cleveland in the highest gift in their power, Mr. Gardner has won and holds an enviable position in the city of his home, and carries with him a universal public affection and respect.

HON. DAVID A. DANGLER.

The services given by David A. Dangler to the city of Cleveland, at a time when it was forsaking village ways and taking on the actual form and habit of a city, as it had become one a long time before in name, were of an exceptional character, and were so ably rendered that they deserve a better record than is found in the dry statistics embalmed in the public documents and city legislative reports. In the city council and general assembly he was able to control and direct certain measures that were conducive of a large amount of public good, and that materially aided Cleveland along the road of progress. Each distinction he has won in public or business life has come through his own ability and fitness for the honor conferred. Mr. Dangler was born in Lebanon county, Pennsylvania, and at an early age came with his parents



D A Tangle.

to Stark county, Ohio, where on his father's farm he learned to use his hands, and acquired that rudimental education of manual industry so essential to the self-made man he was destined to become. From his earliest youth he was moved by an ambition to fit himself for a wider field of usefulness than was offered by the conditions with which his lot was then surrounded. Accordingly the arduous labor of the farm was supplemented, as opportunity offered, with a zealous application to study. Books were eagerly sought for perusal by the home fireside, and if the district school, which he attended in winter, was wanting in some of the advanced educational facilities of the present day, it was also free from the contaminating influences with which the city youth are too generally surrounded. This moral environment without, and the upward aspirations at work within, constituted the young man's whole capital in his start in life, and to no pecuniary aid or outside influences can be attributed the success of Mr. Dangler's career. At the age of fifteen he entered the large general country store of Isaac Harter, at Canton, Ohio, as a boy of general usefulness. His brightness, industry and natural aptitude for business soon won the confidence of his employer, and a speedy promotion came as a matter of course. The excellent training received from Mr. Harter was not lost on the young man, who laid, while in that connection, the foundations of his present successful business career. During this period he also continued a systematic course of read-

ing and study. In 1845 he left the store and located in Massillon, which, at that time, had become a great centre of trade, and which offered a larger field and presented greater opportunities for developing and perfecting himself in all practical methods.

In 1852 Mr. Dangler took an advance business step, and formed a copartnership with John Tennis, then of Massillon, for the purpose of engaging in the wholesale hardware trade in Cleveland. The expectations of the partners were realized in harmonious relations, and in the general success of their business, which assumed high rank among the wholesale establishments of Water street. This connection continued until 1863 when Mr. Dangler withdrew, thus enabling Mr. Tennis to associate with himself his two sons.

From his first appearance among the business men of Cleveland, Mr. Dangler was recognized as a valuable addition to their ranks, and the respect and confidence in which he was held grew with each passing year. His energy, ability and patriotic devotion to the city of his home and to his country were qualities that won attention and pointed him out as one in whose hands the most important public trusts could be safely lodged. On the breaking out of the Rebellion he took a prominent part in organizing war committees for the raising of recruits and providing for the needy families of soldiers. Much of his time was thus occupied during the trying ordeal of national peril, and the numerous deeds of charity due directly or indirectly to his humane and patriotic

spirit, remain fresh in the minds of many through more than a score of years. The demand that Mr. Dangler should take some part in public life came as a matter of course as soon as those about him came to recognize him as he was. In 1864 he was elected by the Republicans of the Fourth ward to the city council. He took a leading part in the labors and debates of that body from the very first, and there is little that was done of advance work during that formative period that did not feel the touch of his hand. He was chairman of the committee on schools, which was in those days a most important position, as the board of education had not at that time the full control of matters it now possesses. He was an active force in the making of our school system what it afterwards became. He had charge of the building of the Brownell school, and also one in the Eighth ward, and was an active and earnest worker for the cause of education in many ways. He was also a member of the council committee on finance. His public work so commended itself to the people of Cleveland that it was their general wish that he should be called to a higher field of labor. Accordingly in the fall of 1865 he was nominated by the Republican convention of Cuyahoga county to the Ohio house of representatives, and elected. He still retained his seat in the council until the expiration of his term in the spring of 1866, that he might be of the greatest usefulness in forwarding the city's interests through his legislative work, the period being

one when the city needed a great deal of special attention in that direction. In order that he might fit himself for his new duties and gain all the light there was to be had, Mr. Dangler paid a visit to Detroit to look into the success attending the establishment of the workhouse and house of correction of that city, studied carefully the metropolitan police laws and systems of New York and Philadelphia, and in all possible ways fitted himself for the work he had in hand. The result was that he went to Columbus knowing fully what his constituents needed, and knowing also how that need should be supplied. He at once took a prominent place in the labors of the house, and was made chairman of the committee on railroads, and a member of the committee on finance, and that on penitentiary. His course was such in this position that in 1867, at the close of his term, he was nominated and elected state senator, and sent back to the upper house. He was one of the leaders of that body, and held the same committee relationships that had fallen to him at the other end of the capitol. It would be impossible in the space permitted here to mention all the avenues through which Mr. Dangler while in the general assembly made himself useful to Cleveland and to the state. He was a hard-working member, powerful upon the floor, influential in the committee room, and with a personal magnetism that gained support for his measures that their unsupported claims could not have commanded. For Cleveland he secured the passage of the law that allowed the

erection of the workhouse and house of correction, and was one of the leading spirits in the creation of that important and useful institution. He also caused the passage of the law giving the metropolitan police system to Cleveland, and aided in organizing the force under that law. Among the general measures of which he was the author may be mentioned the state charity and state gas inspectors' bills, the railroad commission and the building and loan association law. In all that he undertook in his legislative career he was successful, and the importance of his work can only be understood when one notes the results that have flown therefrom. Vigilant, energetic, earnest, and possessed of a large fund of ready tact; as a speaker, clear-headed, concise and forcible; he was a power when he once took hold of any measure, and he retired to private life at the close of his senatorial term of his own choice, and carrying with him the respect and gratitude of the entire community.

Mr. Dangler is at present giving his entire attention to the large business enterprises in which he is interested, and is a hard-working and busy man. As president of the Dangler Vapor Stove and Refining company, president of the Vapor Stove Association of the United States, president of the Domestic Manufacturing company, and president of the Crystal Carbon company, he certainly finds work enough for hands and brains. All these business distinctions are the direct result of aggressive, methodical activities of a high order, complemented by a sterling character which

throughout his whole record has commanded a faith in his integrity equal to the esteem bestowed upon his intellectual abilities. He is a thorough gentleman in all his personal characteristics, cultured, pleasant and approachable. Liberal with his means, public spirited and ready to do any good deed that lies in his power, he has filled a large measure of usefulness in the world, that gains a widening circle every year that passes. As one who has known him well has said: "His conspicuous relations to the large industry of which he is the acknowledged head, are due to the business generalship displayed in battling with prejudice and with conflicting interests which long persisted in affecting to discover danger in the cheap, convenient liquid-fuel and its accompanying vapor stove, now in almost universal use."

Mr. Dangler's domestic life has been an exceptionally happy one. He was married in 1845 to Miss Judith Clark, the estimable daughter of James Clark of Massillon. Two sons, Charles and David Edward, and one daughter, Clara, were the fruit of this union. Charles, a young man of excellent business abilities, is a resident of Chicago, and has charge of the branch office of the Dangler Vapor Stove and Refining company located there. David Edward is one of Cleveland's rising young business men, and occupies the responsible position of secretary and treasurer of the D. V. S. & R. Co., while the daughter Clara is a young lady of rare intellect, culture and attractions.

We leave the subject of this sketch in

the midst of a record public and private he may well be proud of. Using his own words, "That whatever of public distinction or business success is largely

due to the stimulating encouragement, sound judgment and intuitive advice of his devoted wife."

J. H. KENNEDY.

JOHN HUNTINGTON.

Preston, in Lancashire, England, beautifully situated on a height above the right bank of the River Ribble, twenty-eight miles northeast of Liverpool, is a thriving manufacturing and commercial city of about seventy-five thousand inhabitants. Its history, full of interest, reaches back through more than thirteen centuries. Its merchants' guild boasts a continuous existence since Henry II. granted it a royal charter, seven hundred years ago. The name Preston is an abbreviation of the original designation, Priest's town, which it owed to the number of religious houses it contained, and in all its long existence it has been the home of scholastic and literary establishments of a high character. Among many other noted men of bygone years, it gave to the world its great benefactor, Sir Richard Arkwright, the inventor of the spinning jenny, which opened a new and boundless field of employment in cotton manufacture, and added immensely to the riches and comfort of civilized man. Preston also gave to the world John Huntington, a man who, in his sphere, has nobly upheld the reputation of his birth-place, and greatly contributed to increase the welfare and comfort of mankind by affording the cheapest and best artificial light ever known.

Mr. Huntington was born in Preston,

March 8, 1832. His father, Hugh Huntington, was professor of mathematics at Ormskirk in Lancashire, and afterwards, with his brother John, founded Trinity school (Episcopalian) in Preston. Nine children were born to him, of whom five are still living, four of them honored citizens of America. After receiving the education such a father was certain to bestow upon his offspring, John Huntington, at the age of twenty-two, emigrated to the United States. He landed in this country on the tenth day of August, 1854, and came directly to Cleveland.

His first employer was Mr. Allen H. Hawley, in the business of slate roofing. Mr. Huntington took the practical part of this into his charge, and his first work was the roofing of the Mayflower public school. When Frost & Hawley, and afterwards Holt & Hawley, succeeded to the business of Allen H. Hawley, he continued in their employ until 1857, when he began business upon his own account, as a roofer and contractor. In this capacity his first work was upon Dr. Ambler's house. He put the roof on the Union passenger depot. His workmanship appears also upon the state asylum in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and upon many other less notable buildings.

The discovery of petroleum in Penn-



John Huntington

sylvania in 1859, and the rapid development of the oil fields naturally attracted the attention of such a man as Mr. Huntington, who soon convinced himself of the possibility of making this new illuminating fluid supersede the use of all other oils throughout the world. He began the business of refining oil with Clark, Payne & Co., in December, 1863, at first in a very small way. His inventive faculties were constantly stimulated by the widening demand for the new oil, and he took out patent after patent for improvements in furnaces and methods for refining oil, and for machinery for the manufacture of oil barrels. Chiefly through the advantages given by these inventions, the business of Clark, Payne & Co. grew rapidly from its humble beginning into the greatest oil refinery extant—its output reaching the then great quantity of thirty-three hundred barrels of oil daily.

The Standard Oil company was formed by the consolidation of that of Clark, Payne & Co., with several other large refineries. Mr. Huntington and his inventions were necessarily taken into the new organization, and his fortune has grown with the growth and increased with the strength of that great corporation.

It is the fashion to decry the Standard Oil company as a grinding monopoly, but simple justice to that institution requires that credit be given it for the good it does to mankind. And in the case of the Standard there is, this to be said: That the complaints against it are made by those who find themselves unable to furnish good illuminating oil

at such low prices as are satisfactory to the Standard Oil company. This is probably the first time in history when a great corporation existed and flourished by making one of the prime necessities of life cheap for civilized man all over the world. And when we turn our eyes back over the last quarter of a century and trace the development of petroleum from an almost unknown liniment for rheumatism to a lighting agent diffused over all the civilized world; a lubricator for all railroad wheels, for all steam machinery, for every thing that turns on a spindle or an axle; a fuel for heating and cooking stoves; and an indispensable aid to the chemist and the apothecary, the artisan and the mechanic—no man who rejoices when good is done to his fellow-creatures, will begrudge to John Huntington his reward for the great part he has had in making possible and bringing about this great and beneficent revolution.

In the spring of 1862 Mr. Huntington was elected a member of the city council of Cleveland, and continued through successive reëlections a member of that body for twelve years. When this long service began, Cleveland was just beginning its change from a country town to a city. Mr. Huntington approached his new duties with a far-seeing appreciation of Cleveland as a great and growing city. He predicted that within twenty-five years the population would number two hundred thousand souls, and he was laughed at as a dreamer of dreams. But no ridicule heaped upon him as a visionary—no denunciation of the measures he introduced and sup-

ported as recklessly extravagant, no opposition or abuse, caused him to swerve for a moment from his determination to legislate, so far as it might be in his power, for the wants and benefit of a population at least as great as he predicted.

There was then in Cleveland no established system of sewerage. There was neither flagging nor crosswalks on Erie street, and large bodies of water at Chestnut and Murison streets, and other places in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh wards, endangered the health of the people. A sewer was ordered to be built in 1862 from the square to Erie street on Superior street. The war was raging, and the council found itself confronted with a legislative prohibition from selling its bonds for less than par, which, under the limit of interest prescribed, was an impossibility. Opponents of progress insisted upon a rigid adherence to the letter of the law, and barred all advancement in the line of public improvements. After several months of hot contention, and much legal advice for and against, Mr. Huntington and his fellow believers in the future of Cleveland succeeded in circumventing the difficulty. They made a contract for the building of the sewers proposed, the contractors agreeing to take their pay in bonds at par.

The first difficulty overcome, and a system of sewerage adopted and begun upon, other improvements followed rapidly. The dredging of the Cuyahoga river was begun. There were then only fixed bridges across the river, except at Center street, where was a floating

bridge, and at Lighthouse street. To change the fixed to swinging bridges involved a hard fought battle, lasting two years, but it was fought and won. One after another, swinging or drawbridges took the place of the fixed ones, and as the bridges were changed business followed the opening of the river to navigation, until the whole of the flats was covered with the establishments of enterprising firms.

While these improvements were under consideration and in progress, several important changes in other directions were made, in which Mr. Huntington bore a conspicuous part. He was on the council committees on fire and water. As a member of the fire committee, he had much to do with the introduction of steam fire engines instead of the old hand engines. When the first steamers were received, his practical eye at once noticed defects in them which he undertook to remedy. The result was a number of improvements tending to increase their steam power and reduce their weight, and an invention to prevent them from freezing up while in service in extremely cold weather—a fault of which they were frequently guilty. Mr. Huntington was offered liberal payment for these improvements by the manufacturers of steam fire engines, but he gave them away on the single condition that the steamers sold to the city of Cleveland should be improved free of cost to the municipality.

Mr. Huntington advocated and helped to secure the introduction of the Police Fire Alarm Telegraph, and simultaneously with his labors for the fire de-

partment he aided in thoroughly reorganizing the water works department under a system which, with unimportant changes, has continued to the present time, and which will compare most favorably with that of any other municipality.

While J. U. Masters was mayor of Cleveland, John H. Sargent city civil engineer, and John Huntington chairman of the committee on streets and member of the board of improvements, the Lake Shore and the Cleveland and Pittsburgh railroad managers conceived a plan for the construction of a railroad bridge across the Cuyahoga river at Front street. They contemplated the erection of a strong pier in the middle of the river, and in spite of the opposition of Mr. Huntington obtained three out of four votes in the board of improvements consenting to the building of such a bridge as they proposed. The scheme came before the council with the favorable indorsement of the board of improvements, and the battle was renewed. Mr. Huntington showed clearly that the erection of a pier in the middle of the river at Front street would be of incalculable injury to the harbor of Cleveland and a source of endless litigation from vessel owners. It would not only obstruct navigation at all times, but in bad weather a vessel coming into the river could hardly fail to escape collision with the pier. He argued that a large swinging bridge could be erected, resting upon one bank of the river and remaining there except when swung across for the passage of a train. The railroad engineers contended that such

a bridge could not be built, and that if built it could not be successfully operated or made to last. Mr. Huntington replied to all these arguments that such a bridge as he proposed could be built, and that he was ready to take the contract to build it himself and guarantee its successful working. The contention in council over this bridge question lasted three months, and ended in a victory for Mr. Huntington, the council adopting his view. The bridge was built as he proposed, and proved a perfect success. It is in daily operation at the present time, and is no obstacle to the navigation of the river. It injures no vessels, endangers neither life nor property, and gives the operators no more trouble than if it rested upon a central pier.

Mr. Huntington's vigorous fight against this bridge, it will be readily seen, was productive of immense benefit to the commerce of Cleveland. It proved of immense benefit to him in a rather curious way. Prior to this time, in his business as a roofer and contractor, he had enjoyed a large share of the building business of the railroad companies. After his opposition to their scheme and his victory over them, he never received another dollar's worth of work from railroad companies, except the roofing of the Union Passenger depot. This petty revenge threatened disaster to his roofing business, and greatly influenced him in deciding whether or not he should abandon it and engage in the refining of petroleum, which he was then investigating. The decision was in favor of the oil business, and what

seemed to threaten him with ruin proved to be the opening of the road to a great fortune.

Mr. Huntington was an active advocate of the scheme for the abandonment, by the state, of the end of the canal, and the bringing into the city of the Valley railroad upon the abandoned bed. The city was to grade the road-bed, regulate freight charges and prevent railroad discrimination. This plan was opposed by the lessees of the canal; and the mayor, city engineer, Mr. Huntington and others met the legislature and the state board of public works, in the interest of Cleveland. Mr. Huntington made the argument for the city and Mr. Manypenny for the lessees, and victory remained with the city, to which the general powers desired were granted.

The Lake View park, which changed an unsightly lake front into a beautiful park and one of the prettiest adornments of the city, is another result of what Mr. Huntington's opponents were pleased to call his extravagance. But no man lives in Cleveland to-day who would be willing, for many times the cost of Lake View park, to have it destroyed and replaced with the miserable structures which gave place to it under this far-sighted and public spirited policy.

The first proposition for the high level bridge, or viaduct, across the Cuyahoga river and valley, was embodied in a bill introduced into the legislature by Senator B. Beavis. It provided for a structure which should begin at the Atwater block and Superior street, ascend an inclined plane to a summit,

and descend to the level of Pearl street at the Franklin circle, crossing the river, of course, without a draw. Mr. Huntington opposed this scheme as impracticable, while he favored a viaduct, and in the end his views were adopted and the viaduct constructed with a level roadway upon the route he proposed. Those who cross the present structure in a high wind, or on an intensely cold winter day, can readily imagine the dangers and discomforts of a structure that would ascend forty or fifty feet higher into the air at the middle of the river.

Toward the close of his service in the council, Mr. Huntington and Charles H. Strong, city civil engineer, were a committee, on the part of the city, to consult with H. B. Hurlbut and General John H. Devereux, on the part of the management of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railroad company, and agree upon terms for lowering the tracks and tunneling under the streets and high grounds within the city. This was a favorite project with Mr. Huntington, and it could have been carried out at that time for a cost of four hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Of this sum, the city was to pay two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and the railroad company to pay the remainder and to do the work. The lands and right of way along this improvement, owned by the railroad company, were to be deeded to the city in consideration of this payment and of allowing the city to be tunneled. The land that would have reverted to the city would have been worth much more

than the city's share of the cost, and the improvement would have been of inestimable benefit to all concerned. Everything promised well for the project, when the financial panic of 1873-4 put a stop to all hopes of completing it at that time, and it has not been revived. No citizen of Cleveland need be told what a misfortune has been sustained from the failure of a plan which was intended to embrace ultimately the sinking or raising of all steam railroad tracks within the city, so that no train should cross a street at grade.

At Preston, in December, 1852, Mr. Huntington married Miss Jane Beck, daughter of John and Nancy Beck. Seven children were born of this union. John, who was born in England and brought to this country a baby in arms, died in infancy; Hannah Beck married A. C. Hord of Cleveland; William Robert, now of the firm of McIntosh, Good & Huntington, married a granddaughter of the venerable Judge J.A. Foote; Margaret Jane, married Francis Perry Smith; Leonora, who died in infancy; Matilda; and Arthur Grant, who has just entered Yale college.

The first Mrs. Huntington died in 1882, after a long illness, during which she was tenderly nursed and cared for by her husband and her two youngest daughters. After her death Mr. Huntington took these faithful children a prolonged trip to Europe for rest and as a reward for their untiring devotion. After their return, Mr. Huntington married Marietta, daughter of Mr. T. W. Leek of Cleveland, with whom he re-

visited England and made a trip through Europe.

Mr. Huntington has frequently had occasion to cross the Atlantic for business or recreation, but whatever the purpose which takes him abroad, there is no moment of his absence so pleasurable to him as that when he turns his face again toward Cleveland, the home of his adoption, with whose prosperity and growth the best years of his life have been so closely identified.

Men like John Huntington are apt to make enemies. It has been his fortune or misfortune to oppose many pet schemes antagonistic to what he deemed the true interests of his fellow citizens, and the malevolence of the disappointed is hot and lasting. Sometimes, as in the case of the railroad men and the Front street bridge, the curses of the defeated prove to be blessings in disguise; and as no candid investigator of our history during the long period in which he was influential in the local legislation of Cleveland can deny him the merit of entire devotion to the welfare and prosperity of the city and its people, the latter may well "love him for the enemies he has made." Naturally bold and fearless, he has not always been careful to be conciliating rather than pugnacious, but he has always had the courage of his convictions, and it is never hard to know where he stands upon any question. A true and loyal friend, an open-handed and generous dispenser of the wealth he has accumulated, always in the front among the supporters of valuable meas-

ures involving public spirit or public enterprise, a tender, loving and wise husband and father, he is an honor to his parentage and the place of his birth,

and deserving of the esteem of all who can appreciate the courage and ability that command success in life.

JOHN C. KEFFER.

PIONEER MEDICINE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

VIII.

PROBABLY no physician or medical teacher who has ever lived in northern Ohio has made upon it so thorough an influence as Dr. John DeLamater. Though he did not come to Ohio as early as most of those concerning whom we have written, he was in the prime of life when he came, and bringing with him a great reputation he became at once the associate in influence and position of the oldest physicians. Some of the physicians in practice here have been his students while lecturing in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and later in Fairfield, New York, and there are not a few of the physicians of Ohio to-day, who, in the discussion of medical topics, still quote his opinions.

Dr. DeLamater was of French descent, his ancestors being Huguenot exiles who found refuge in Holland. Thence they came to the United States. He was born in Chatham, New York, in 1787, being the son of a farmer. Meeting a slight injury as a youth which incapacitated him for hard labor on the farm, he turned his thought toward the study of his profession. The family had removed to the vicinity of Sche-

nectady, and though he never took a college course he enjoyed in this neighborhood opportunities of education which were more than ordinary. He, with the children of several neighbors, studied for some years with a clergyman, who was himself thoroughly educated, having enjoyed the privileges of foreign study.

DeLamater's own inclination was to study law, but from this he was dissuaded by his father, and so undertook with ardor the study of medicine, and at the age of nineteen he was licensed to practice his profession by the Medical Society of Otsego county, New York. He entered into partnership with Dr. Dorr of Chatham, but three years after removed to Florida, Montgomery county, New York. Later, after spending one year in Albany, he removed, in 1815, to Sheffield, Berkshire county, Massachusetts. Here his medical ability became so recognized that in 1823 he was invited to hold a professorship in the Berkshire Medical Institute of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The amount of labor placed upon him at this time was very great. During one season while lecturing in Pittsfield he lived

at his home in Sheffield, twenty miles distant. Starting from home early he rode fourteen miles to Stockbridge, where he would eat breakfast, using the few moments' leisure he might have then for noting down the points of his lecture. Reaching Pittsfield he would lecture perhaps twice during the forenoon and ride back again to Sheffield and spend the remainder of the day and evening in attending to patients. So highly was he esteemed by his neighbors that when they had completed a parsonage for their pastor they were deterred from building a house for their beloved physicians in like manner only by his absolute refusal to accept the proffered service.

Dr. DeLamater's lectures in Pittsfield gained him such reputation that on the establishment of a medical school in Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York, in 1827, he was called to a leading position in that institution. The disadvantage of a medical college in so small a place as Fairfield becoming apparent, several of the professors removed to Albany and urged Dr. DeLamater to join them in establishing a school there. The citizens, loath to let him go again, offered to build him a house if he would remain, but the health of his family being very poor, he decided that a change was desirable for them. Consequently he concluded to remove his family to Palmyra in 1837, and for two years lectured at the medical college at Geneva.

In 1838 he was invited to Cincinnati to deliver a course of lectures and was urged by Dr. Mussey to remain there,

but being averse to the life of a large city, he again returned to Geneva.

Up to this time, in addition to what has been already mentioned, he had delivered courses of lectures at Bowdoin college, Maine, Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, and Burlington, Vermont.

In 1839, two physicians who had been students of Dr. DeLamater at Fairfield and Palmyra, viz: Drs. Cassels and Ackley, had joined with Dr. Jared P. Kirtland to form a medical college at Willoughby, Ohio, and they sought the coöperation of Dr. DeLamater.

They with others, conducted this enterprise obscure until 1844. Dr. DeLamater did not, however, remove his family to Willoughby. Later, at the request of many prominent citizens of Cleveland, the physicians mentioned came to this city and established the school which is now the medical department of Western Reserve university.

Thus Dr. DeLamater continued to lecture regularly until 1860, when he was appointed professor emeritus, at the same time having conferred upon him the title of doctor of laws. Later, however, one of the professors was afterward called away on account of the War of the Rebellion. Dr. DeLamater consented to take his place, and delivered fifty lectures.

Thus through a period of over thirty years his manuscript notes show that he delivered, in different schools, at least seventy courses of lectures, lecturing at times in different schools during the same year, and it has been said, and doubtless truly, that he aided in the

medical education of more young men than any other man of his time.

His professional acquirements were the most varied and complete, and the subjects he taught covered the whole range of medical knowledge. According to Dr. James Thatcher's 'American Medical Biography,' p. 34, published 1828, Dr. DeLamater lectured in the Berkshire Medical institute on "Pharmacy, Materia Medica and Obstetrics." We have been told that later he lectured in this school on surgery. In Fairfield we are informed he lectured on theory and practice of medicine. On coming to Ohio he lectured first on the principles and practice of surgery, and alter on obstetrics and gynecology.

One of his former students, now dead, once told us that the doctor lectured on six different subjects in different schools, and that he considered the general view thus gained in medicine to be beneficial. The professional eminence acquired by Dr. DeLamater is obvious from the great demands that were made upon him not only as a medical teacher but also as a practitioner and a consultant. It is said that when a physician of central New York once wrote concerning a patient to Dr. Jackson of Boston, one of the greatest medical authorities of his time, he received the reply: "You have no need to write to me. You have Dr. DeLamater at hand, than whom there is no abler practitioner in the country."

Having lectured in so many places, his reputation was very extended, and, after his location in Cleveland, patients

came to consult him from long distances.

He was a constant and rapid reader, and we have heard an old practitioner say that when anyone wanted to know what the literature on any obscure case was, he always came to Dr. DeLamater and found in him the most inexhaustible source of information. Remembering accurately what he read, and his own cases as well, he was enabled to recall and use his knowledge with rare facility and accuracy. As a lecturer he was not flowery nor eloquent, but quietly, clearly and distinctly presented any subject which he might have under discussion. We cannot do better in this connection than to quote from an admirable sermon delivered at the First Presbyterian church, at the time of Dr. DeLamater's death, by the Rev. William H. Goodrich, D. D. Speaking of Dr. DeLamater, he says :

He was plain in person, plain in attire, plain in manner, plain in thought, plain in speech and plain in action. It was the plainness, not of paucity but of strength and of intellectual clearness. Nothing unreal or artificial ever adhered to him for a moment. He could not affect in anything to be other than he was. He was a man of high cultivation and of true refinement, but he had no taste for much that commonly passes for refinement. Many things were superfluous to him, which to others became necessities. He had few, perhaps no indulgencies. He depended very little upon circumstances. He carried his resources, both mental and manual, in a compact form. He appreciated every improvement and advancement of science, and availed himself of it, but he leaned very little on other minds. It was owing probably to this strongly marked simplicity of mind and character that he avoided a publicity of reputation and of influence, which would naturally have belonged to him. He was repeatedly solicited to take prominent positions in some of the chief cities

of the country, but declined, giving to his own friends the reason that it would bring him into a style of life not his own. He loved the country, the plain life in which he was born. He spoke the pure Saxon of the common people, and never went about for a fine word. His style, whether in conversation or the lecture room, was as lucid as water, and the course of his thought was as clear. As a means of conveying knowledge or stating facts, the English language was probably never better used by any man of his time. While he spoke, few thought how well he was speaking; but when he had finished it was clear that there was nothing more of importance on that subject to be said.

In an address, presented to the alumni of the college in which Dr. DeLamater taught here so long, Judge J. E. Ingersoll said:

It was my habit to take minutes of the various lectures which I attended, seeking to so condense the remarks of the professors that by a few minutes' review on the following day, I could come fresh to the "quiz" and to the resumption of the subject under study. But such was Dr. DeLamater's style for simplicity, dispensing with all superfluous words, and using the plainest and most direct Saxon to formulate his ideas, that although the doctor was rather slow of speech, yet I found in my experience that it was beyond the power of my note-taking to capture all the ideas given in a lecture. They were already condensed.

The earnestness and responsibility which Dr. DeLamater felt belonged to the delivering and hearing of lectures, is well illustrated by a remark which is remembered by Dr. Reed of Norwalk, as having been once made by him to some inattentive students. Stopping suddenly he said: "Young men, I have carefully considered every word I say to you, and for your inattention you will some day shed bitter tears."

As a medical expert and witness, no one has ever enjoyed so great a reputation in northern Ohio as he. His opin-

ion was held in such high esteem that he was not unfrequently permitted to present it with little interruption or questioning. Judge Ingersoll again in speaking of him says:

As a witness in medics, legal investigations, Dr. DeLamater always acquitted himself with honor to his profession, and with aid to the court and jury. He had knowledge so extensive and yet so accurate as to know where to draw the lines which mark between the domain of the explicable and the inexplicable, and no more hesitated to answer a question "We don't know exactly how that is" than he hesitated to state the best known and simplest principles of science. As a witness he was careful to avoid technical language and equally to avoid everything that would give the appearance of mingling in his testimony any feeling toward or against either party to the strife. All his words were well chosen and weighed, and when they were put in the scale to the side on which they were cast, they usually gave the preponderance for "all wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth."

The faithfulness with which Dr. DeLamater practiced his profession is unsurpassed. To a friend he once said in confidence: "Through my most active years I never went to bed without the consciousness that I had done that day all that any man could require of me professionally or otherwise." His daughter relates that often when on visiting a patient her father would find some unexpected complication he would remain for the night, and if there were no suitable place for him to rest he would make the floor his bed and his old-fashioned saddle bags his pillow.

Returning home at night he often could not throw off the burden of care for his suffering patients, and would in his sleeplessness walk the floor, or should any new remedy occur to him which promised relief, would not wait

until morning but set off at once to put it in use.

That he should be properly remunerated for his services seems scarcely to have occurred to him. Dr. Burnham remembers the case of a man who came to consult Dr. DeLamater from a long distance, and whose case being difficult occupied a part of both forenoon and afternoon. When asked for his bill, recognizing that the man was poor the doctor charged him but one dollar.

We are told of another instance which is said to be characteristic of him, that having cared for the wife of a man of limited means through a long and severe illness, and having been asked for his bill he decided he would charge for the whole service five dollars. The man, overjoyed at his wife's recovery, immediately presented the doctor with fifty dollars, much to the latter's astonishment. The doctor immediately returned forty-five dollars, and examining the bill explained that he had placed his decimal point one figure too far to the right.

Not only did he give his professional services but also his means up to and beyond his ability. An incident is related that once a man called upon him pleading his poverty and stating that at some former time he had attended the doctor's lectures. Arousing the doctor's sympathy, the man received ten dollars, and going out of the door appropriated an elegant overcoat that had been presented to the doctor by one of his young admirers, Miss Mary Shelley.

To the close of his life, at the age of

eighty years, he continued to exercise his professional powers, and when it was no longer possible for him to ride about in his old chaise, which was well known to all residents of Cleveland, his counsel was still sought at the bedside.

So little attention had he bestowed upon gathering the first reward of his labors that in his latter years he became greatly straitened financially. To prevent his removing to Milan the physicians, through the activity of Dr. Proctor Thayer and others, collected the funds necessary to purchase and present to him a house, at what was then known as Doan's corners.

In the address of the Rev. Dr. Goodrich, of which we have spoken, he says in this connection :

Dr. DeLamater's high intellectual and moral qualities were tempered by an uncommon benevolence. If his excellence anywhere became through excess a fault, it was in this that he loved his neighbors better than himself. He was too shrewd and clear headed to be easily imposed upon, but he never considered his own interests. He hardly had the sense of propriety as most men possess it. His first thought always was to benefit others. To every good cause he gave freely his time, his counsel, his labor and his means. Whatever might have been his income he would never probably have laid up treasure anywhere but in heaven.

The element of religion occupied so high a place in the character of Dr. DeLamater, that it should be portrayed in no other words than those of his pastor, Dr. Goodrich. The latter says :

The crowning characteristic of Dr. DeLamater was his genuine and thorough piety. I say the crowning characteristic—perhaps it would be more true to say the foundation of his whole character. The traits which I have already described in him were natural traits, but they were developed into their strength and symmetry by religion. He made

a public profession of religion at the age of twenty-five, but it is probable that the beginning of his Christian experience was much earlier. Like everything else about him, it was genuine. His faith was simple and childlike, and it was full and strong. No one ever saw in him a trace of cant or affectation; no one ever found him hesitating in any circumstances to avow his church belief or his own church obligations. Religion was in him the indulging and controlling element. Living in many places, he always identified himself with the local church, either Presbyterian or Congregational, as he chanced to find it, and for thirty years he held the office of elder in the one or deacon in the other.

Dr. Erastus Cushing, in speaking of him, says: "He was as perfect a model of a Christian physician as any man could be."

After these summaries of the life of Dr. DeLamater, which we have quoted from those who through long years knew him intimately, it is unnecessary for us to add more. A considerable acquaintance, however, among the older physicians of the Reserve, gives us confidence in saying that no physician who has ever lived among them has been so highly esteemed, so thoroughly respected and so warmly beloved.

We regret exceedingly that we cannot present his portrait, but this has proved impossible.

DUDLEY P. ALLEN.

MARION COLLEGE AND MARION CITY—MISSOURI ENTERPRISES
OF FIFTY YEARS AGO.

WHILE the story of the rise and fall of a college and a town in Missouri fifty years ago may not be very interesting in itself, the exciting events of which the college was the center, and in part the cause, may be worthy of record in a magazine whose specialty is western history.

In 1834 the growing ascendancy of the Roman Catholic church in the then wild west, and the persistence of its missionaries to further extend its influence, gave birth to a counteracting movement on the part of several prominent clergymen and lay members of the Presbyterian church.

Among the clergy were Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely of Philadelphia, Dr. David Nelson of Tennessee, William S. Potts of Missouri, James Gallaher of Cincinnati, Dr. Herron of Pittsburgh, and a few others of less note. The laity was mainly represented by William Muldrow of Missouri, Mr. Haines, a New York merchant, and John McKee, a wealthy citizen of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. These men were influential in the councils of their church, and the most of them were possessed of ample means. Their desire to establish a sectarian college in the west was perhaps stimulated by a series of letters written to the New York *Observer* by S. F. B. Morse, then pursuing his artistic studies

in Rome. In one of the series, dated in March, 1835, Mr. Morse warns the Protestant people of America of "the danger from Jesuit emigration and their projected establishments west of the Alleghany mountains." To this letter the *Observer* added an editorial note calling attention to the "Report of the Leopold Foundation," a missionary society formed in Vienna in 1829 to aid Roman Catholic missions in America by contributions in the Austrian empire, etc. The Morse letters had great influence with the religious element to which he belonged, and largely contributed to the awakening of which Marion college was the result.

The college proper was established on a beautiful timber-fringed prairie, about twelve miles northwest of Palmyra, the court-house town of Marion county, Missouri. A preparatory department was located six miles west of Palmyra. The former was known as the upper and the latter as the lower college. A section of rich prairie was attached to each. To attract students of limited resources, or no resources at all, the announcement was made that an acre of land, or more if required, would be allotted to each student, and that three hours daily of agricultural labor would provide for all of the necessary expenses of the seeker after knowledge.

It is well enough to say here that the manual labor part of the manifesto was a failure from the beginning. Its advantages, whatever they might have been, were rarely tested. With wholesome boarding at a dollar a week and the possession of a "scholarship" which covered the cost of tuition, the incentive to toil was but minimum.

The funds to purchase these two sections of land and to erect the necessary buildings were gathered all over the country by direct appeals from the pulpit and by the sale of scholarships wherever a purchaser could be found. The attacks upon the Holy Father at Rome were vigorous and incessant, while that old gentleman was reposing in fancied security upon his throne by the Tiber, unconscious, perhaps, of the scheme in operation to weaken his dominion in the west.

The first president of Marion was Dr. David Nelson, in 1832. In 1835 the institution was reorganized. Dr. William S. Potts was called to the presidency, with the following gentlemen to aid him in his work: Rev. J. F. Halsey, professor of mental and moral philosophy; Rev. S. C. Connell, professor of natural philosophy and mathematics; J. Roche, A. M., professor of the Latin and Greek language; Samuel Barschall, professor of Hebrew, German and French. The Rev. Allen Gallaher was appointed principal of the preparatory department. In the theological department the professors were: Rev. J. F. Halsey, pastoral theology; Rev. James Gallaher, didactic theology and sacred eloquence; Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, Biblical literature, pol-

emic theology and sacred criticism, and Rev. Charles W. Nassau, original languages of the sacred scriptures.

The faculty was not unworthy of Harvard or Yale. Dr. Potts was the eloquent pastor of a flourishing congregation in St. Louis, and a man of sound learning and marked decision of character. His early theological instruction—from 1822 to 1825—was superintended by Drs. Ely, Halsey and McConnell, though less known, were men of repute for scholastic attainments.

Mr. Roche, as Wirt said of Blennerhasset, was "a native of Ireland and a man of letters." As a linguist he had few equals. He had the warm impulses of the soil that gave him birth, and was an especial favorite of the students. Unfortunately his dissipated habits impaired his usefulness and finally led to dismissal from a position he was so well qualified to adorn.

The Rev. Allen Gallaher, of the preparatory department, was a Tennessean. He was an excellent teacher—a genial, kind-hearted man, of simple and unpretending manners. Called to his reward long since, he will always live in the memory of his pupils of fifty years ago, who are gray-haired men now and few in number.

The Rev. James Gallaher was a great and magnetic preacher, a fine scholar, and a man of noble presence. He was prominent among those who went out to gather funds for the new institution, and he met with great success in the work. He left his pastorate, in Cincinnati, in 1835, to take part in the administration of affairs at Marion. After the

collapse he accepted a call of a congregation at St. Charles, Missouri, and that town was thereafter his home. In 1851 he was elected chaplain of the house of representative at Washington. He died while conducting the services at a revival meeting at Glasgow, Missouri, in 1855.

Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely was one of the most noted clergymen of his time. He, too, was a man of fine presence, of great kindness of heart, but with an eccentricity of thought and expression not always in keeping with the popular conception of a gospel minister. Among all the original movers in the enterprise of checking papal supremacy in the west, he was the wealthiest and the most prominent. His money was freely invested in the undertaking, and when failure came it left him financially ruined. He came to the lower college in the early part of 1836 and built a fine residence. A little village soon sprang up around it, known to-day as West Ely. Dr. Ely's antecedents, his wealth, and his prominence in the church gave him a preponderating influence among his associates at Marion, and also with the citizens of that county. His purchase of a slave in the autumn of 1836, brought him into disrepute with his eastern brethren until the peculiar circumstances of the case were made known. The facts were these: William Muldrow was the owner of a stalwart negro named Ambrose. Because Ambrose had become unprofitable, or because Muldrow needed money, the negro was sold to a trader who had visited that region to purchase slaves

for the southern market. As soon as the sale was consummated Ambrose was missing. While an unsuccessful search for him was in progress, and about a week had elapsed, Ambrose's wife went to Dr. Ely, and, with tears in her eyes, begged him to purchase her husband from his new owner. Although many persons knew the place of Ambrose's concealment, the secret was carefully kept. There was a sympathy for the poor fellow even among the slave-owners. With the negroes that sympathy was universal. Finally, Dr. Ely purchased Ambrose for eight hundred dollars—two hundred dollars less than the trader had paid for him. The change of ownership was soon known to the concealed negro. Within six hours from the time of the second sale he walked up to the door of Dr. Ely's residence, surrendered himself and promised to serve him faithfully for life. The doctor told Ambrose that he bought him to prevent his separation from his wife and children, and not because he wanted to own him; that he might be master of his own time, work when he chose to work, and that when he paid him the amount of the purchase money he should be free. In less than three years Ambrose was the undisputed proprietor of himself. We regret to say, but truth compels it, that Ambrose accumulated a considerable portion of his redemption by the sale of a vile compound of corn, whiskey and apples, simmered together, which he smuggled into the campus at night, and dispensed to the students from a two-gallon jug. For his kind and noble act, Dr. Ely was de-

nounced in many newspapers and religious meetings in the east as a slaveholder, and recreant to his previous practice and profession.

Dr. David Nelson was perhaps the most remarkable man among the founders of Marion. He first secured its charter from the state in 1832. He was born near Jonesboro, Tennessee, in 1793. In his youth he devoted himself to medical studies, and at the early age of nineteen he was surgeon of a Kentucky regiment enlisted for the war of 1812. He followed his regiment to Canada and shared in its battles and hardships. On its return sickness and fatigue caused him to lag in the rear while passing through a dense wilderness. We would have died there, unfriended and alone, had not a friend missed him from the ranks and gone back to rescue him. Relief came only in time to save him from perishing.

His youth and early manhood were passed among eventful scenes. If not a professing Christian in those days, he was, at least, a believer in the tenets of Christianity. From this belief he relapsed by degrees into infidelity. Awakened from his error, he at once relinquished a lucrative medical practice to prepare himself for the ministry of the Presbyterian church. Licensed to preach in 1825, he at once stepped to the front as a man of great power. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge said that he was "One of the greatest preachers on earth!" When Dr. Nelson appeared at Marion, in 1835, his genius was in its prime. His capacity for gospel work was wonderful, and his effect upon his

hearers was more wonderful still; for he had no graces of oratory and no tricks of rhetoric. In the summer of 1836 Dr. Nelson was driven from Missouri by a mob. He sought safety in Quincy, Illinois, where he established a private academy for young men. As a business venture, his work at Quincy was a failure. Like many another great man, he had but little capacity for worldly affairs. He had written several pamphlets and volumes, the greatest of which is 'The Cause and Cure of Infidelity.' This work, though modest in size, is one of the ablest of its class, and has been circulated wherever the English language is spoken. He died at Oakland, Illinois, in 1844, at the comparatively early age of fifty-one years.

THE FOUNDING OF MARION CITY.

On the western bank of the Mississippi, six miles east easterly from Palmyra, and about ten miles above Hannibal, it was decided to build Marion City. A stretch of prairie along the river's bank made the location pleasant, and a fringe of timber on the rising ground, about a mile westward, relieved the monotony of the scenery. The site was intersected by a few gullies of bayous, that were bank-full at high water, but, as events proved, were breeders of pestilence when the river was low. When I first saw the ground, July 3, 1835, there was a small warehouse and a smaller log-cabin, close by the bank of the river. The owner of these buildings was a man named Green. The "landing" was known to steamboat men as Greensport, and it was the place of

delivery for merchandise designed for Palmyra and the interior.

The founders of Marion City were mainly the gentlemen previously mentioned as connected with Marion college; and the interests of the city and college, if not identical, were almost the same. The master-spirit of this Utopian enterprise was William Muldrow. He has been described as a hare-brained schemer and speculator, and is said to have been the original of Mark Twain's "Mulberry Sellers." That he was a visionary sort of a man, always ready to embark in any project that promised rich returns, and always alive to his own interests, is no doubt true. That he was tricky or dishonest does not clearly appear. There was nothing in his outward appearance or character to suggest the speculator of reality or fiction. If men lost their money by associating with him in disastrous schemes, he also lost his own. He was a plain, blunt man of the Kentucky stripe of his day, massive in person, endowed with rare physical strength and the most unquestionable courage. Contact in his later years with men of wider scope than himself, and the humanizing influences of his religious faith, had spread a thin veneering over his original roughness; so thin that when the occasion came, however slight, the backwoodsman stood revealed, firm in defense of what he conceived to be his rights, and a foe with whom none who knew him cared to quarrel. His vernacular no cultivation could remove. He continued to call a bear a *bar*, and with him stars were *stairs* and stairs *stars*. Possessed of many engaging

qualities he was not popular; a slaveholder, he was suspected by his brother-owners of slaves of a leaning toward anti-slavery sentiments. He was feared rather than loved, and was known far and wide as "Old Bill Muldrow," though he was in the prime of life and had lost none of his youthful vigor.

John McKee, another of the founders, had been a prosperous merchant of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He came to Marion in 1836, and built a fine house near the residence of Dr. Ely. He was a genial gentleman, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He invested largely in the new city, and lost the remainder of his fortune in an unfortunate business venture in St. Louis, a few years afterward. The Hon. Robert C. Grier, afterward a justice of the supreme court of the United States, and Mr. Vermilye, a solid man from Boston, were also concerned. William Stewart and the Rev. Dr. Herron, both of Pittsburgh, were among the "friendly movers." Dr. Ely deposited his own and a large portion of his wife's fortune in the enterprise, and with him, too, the investment was permanent.

Soon Marion was a city on paper. The lots were sold wherever a purchaser could be found, but mostly to eastern people. In a majority of instances promissory notes were taken in payment. These notes were discounted by the banks and thus turned into ready money. In the autumn of 1836 the town had assumed respectable proportions. Several business houses were established. The work of building a town with the least delay possible

brought to the spot many mechanics and laborers, with their families. The success of the city seemed to be only a question of time—a year or so at the most. The more sanguine of the investors saw in embryo a city that should soon rival St. Louis. Marion college would be substantially endowed, and from it would spring other institutions of learning to furnish literature and especially theology to the vast region west of the Mississippi. But “man proposes and God disposes.”

In the early summer of 1837 the great river overflowed its banks. In a few hours, the costly levee, designed to protect the town, was swept away. A large portion of the city was submerged or afloat. The frightened inhabitants fled to the highground back of the town to save their lives. This calamity, great as it was, could have been remedied. Money could have replaced what the waters had wasted. But money was not to be had. Confidence was no longer one of the assets of Marion. The purchasers of lots, who had given their notes in payment, soon heard of the disaster and refused to meet their obligations, on the plea that they had been deceived by the rosy reports of those who had sold them the lots. The banks that had discounted the notes had recourse to the indorsers. These indorsers were Dr. Ely, John McKee, Mr. Haines and a few others whose names appear among the founders. The banks protected themselves by all of the appliances known to the law, and many of the indorsers were financially ruined. Then came the panic of that

year to paralyze the business of the whole country. The effect of all of these causes was the collapse of Marion City, followed a year or so later by the closing of Marion college forever.

Visiting what had been Marion City, in the autumn of 1837, I found a scene of desolation. Of the inhabitants but two remained—one a poor, emaciated man suffering with ague, the other a “good Samaritan” who ministered to his wants.

If these two schemes—Marion College and Marion City—had been successful, the men engaged in them would have found in their own work an enduring monument of their sagacity and enterprise. Through the failure of both, these men are known as Utopian dreamers, and their financial ruin did not save them from public ridicule and even calumny. Briefly told, thus ends the story of two undertakings that deserved a better fate.

EXCITING SCENES IN MARION COUNTY IN 1836.

The opening of Marion college in 1834-5, and the coming of eastern people, directly or indirectly connected with it, soon caused a suspicion among Missourians, “to the manner born,” that the new institution was under the control of abolition emissaries, and that its intent and purpose was to war against slavery rather than to confine itself to literature and theology. This suspicion, however, was groundless. A majority of the students from the beginning were the sons of slaveholders. Those who came from the free states, with

scarcely an exception, had no disposition to discuss, or even consider, the exciting question. They came to Marion to seek an education, and not as propagandists. Yet the suspicion remained, and it had its consequences. In May, 1836, two students—Garrett and Williams—were arrested in Palmyra. They were in possession of so-called "incendiary documents," and had openly avowed abolition sentiments. After some rough usage they were ordered to leave Missouri immediately. They did not stand upon the order of their going. A callow youth, whom William Muldrow had brought from the east to act as his private secretary, was also arrested by an armed mob of about one hundred men. He, too, had expressed anti-slavery opinions and had circulated abolition documents. The intention of his captors was to tar and feather him, but after much consultation he was allowed to escape on account of his youth. These were the opening scenes of the excitement in the neighborhood of the college. The leading men connected with the institution, who meddled with the question of slavery at all, were colonizationists. They were permitted to advocate the plan proposed by the Colonization society, of which Henry Clay was then the president, and were not molested while they confined themselves to that mild and impossible means of emancipation. After the arrest of Garrett and Williams and Muldrow's young secretary, a public meeting was held in Palmyra. Among the speakers on that occasion was Dr. Ely. His speech was

heartily applauded by the multitude present.

A few days later, on a bright Sabbath morning in May, Dr. Nelson preached to a large audience at a place known as "The Camp Ground," seven miles northwest from Palmyra. Like all religious gatherings in that country, in those days, this was an open-air meeting. At the close of his discourse Dr. Nelson read a paper, said to have been handed to him by Muldrow, who sat beside him on the rustic platform. This paper must have contained more abolitionism than colonizationism. It excited the ire of Dr. Bosley, a prominent citizen of the county, who at once entered his protest. Rising and facing Dr. Nelson he said: "Doctor, the man who utters such sentiments at a time like this ought to have his damned tongue cut out." Muldrow left the platform, walked up to Bosley and coolly replied: "Doctor, we are not to be scared." Bosley instantly struck at Muldrow with his cane, which was broken by coming in contact with the canopy of poles and boughs that sheltered the preacher. The breaking of the cane revealed a sword or stiletto, which a bystander seized and carried away. Muldrow had an ordinary pocket-knife in his hand, with which he had been whittling a stick during the service. Quick as a flash he stabbed Bosley in the right side. Instantly the audience was on its feet. The meeting was a scene of the most intense excitement, to which was added the mute terror of women and children. Bosley was carried to his home. Muldrow quietly

mounted his horse and rode to his residence, a few miles away. It was alleged at the time that Bosley attempted to draw his pistol at the moment when Muldrow stabbed him, but that was denied by Bosley's friends.

The news of that Sabbath morning tragedy soon reached Palmyra. "The Regulators," a self-constituted body there, which dispensed justice in the absence of the lawful authorities, sent a posse of fifteen or twenty men, well armed, to arrest the murderer—for it was at first reported that Bosley was dead. The posse found Muldrow standing at his front door, about twenty feet from the line of the road where they had halted. His rifle was resting on his left arm. He was the first to break the silence. He told the posse, in substance, that they had no authority to arrest him; and if they came to mob him he was prepar'd to defend himself. "Gentle-men," he concluded, "I shall go to Palmyra in the morning and surrender myself to the law. You have no business with me, and the first one of you that crosses the line of my doorway is a dead man." These plain words, coupled with the fact that no man of the posse was then ready to die, and that when "Old Bill" talked shoot he meant shoot, closed the interview and the delegation returned to Palmyra.

On that Monday morning, true to his word, Muldrow rode into the town, as calm in appearance as if he had come to transact some ordinary business. The quaint old county-seat, then a place of less than five hundred inhabi-

tants, was filled with an excited crowd. A single overt act would have produced scenes of violence fearful to contemplate. Among that crowd were about sixty students from Marion, who were present to see that Muldrow should have fair play, and that the law should be allowed to take its course. As the brave old man walked down the long main street on his way to the magistrate's office, the pavement in front of a tavern kept by a man named Fry, was completely blocked. The jam at that point was caused by a man considerably under the influence of liquor, who was flourishing a pistol and waiting, as he said, "to get a shot at old Bill Muldrow." As Muldrow came up he said to the crowd, "Gentlemen, I want room to pass. You may threaten me, but if any of you lay hands on me I'm prepared to kill a dozen of you before you kill me." They gave the old man room, and he pursued his way. His bitterest enemies were awed into respect by the calm courage and the magnificent physique of the man. And the value of courage was never better exemplified than on this occasion. It enabled its possessor to walk unharmed through crowds of men, many of whom were almost thirsting for his blood. It did more than that; it preserved the peace, for a timid man in Muldrow's situation would have not only lost his own life, but would have initiated a street encounter that must have ended in the death of many. As it was, there was not a blow struck nor a shot fired on that day which opened with such fearful forebodings. The whole scene

was one not easily forgotten. As Bosley's wound was not mortal, bail was taken for Muldrow's appearance, and he returned to his home. The prejudice against him in Marion county was so unmistakable that his counsel found no difficulty in getting a change of venue. The case was tried in St. Louis, and Muldrow was acquitted.

The occurrence at the camp ground led to still more stringent measures against all who were suspected of anti-slavery sentiments. Dr. Nelson was marked for vengeance, and was compelled to remain in concealment. He was finally discovered, arrested, and ordered to leave the state, under penalty of death if found in Missouri twenty-four hours after the decree. Several persons of less note were roughly used by the Regulators and driven across the Mississippi. Elijah P. Lovejoy, publisher of a religious newspaper in St. Louis, was forced to leave that city by a mob. He went to Alton, Illinois, reëstablished his paper there, was murdered by a mob from Missouri in October, 1837, and his type and presses were thrown into the river.

On the morning of the day of Lovejoy's murder I stopped at Alton, on my way home, to visit a fellow student who was temporarily employed as a compositor in Lovejoy's office. As I bade farewell to my friend—now the Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D. D., of Portland, Oregon—there were no indications of the terrible scene that was to occur a few hours after my departure. Mr. Lovejoy was a quiet, pleasant man, but firm in his convictions and resolute of pur-

pose. He defended his property and his life with all the means in his power, against a howling mob determined on the destruction of both.

A few weeks after Dr. Nelson had been driven from Missouri, his son, a youth of fifteen, student at the lower college was prostrated by an attack of bilious fever. Informed of the condition of his child, the doctor was soon at his bedside. In less than twelve hours after his arrival a committee from the Regulators at Palmyra came to order him to leave the state immediately. The doctor calmly replied that, though they should hang him, he would not leave his sick and perhaps dying boy. The brutality of this attempt to drive a father from the sick bed of his child had its effect upon the students. They resolved to defend Dr. Nelson under such circumstances, and the committee was informed of that determination. Abolitionism, or its opposite, had no connection with the case. The manifestation of the young men was simply an uprising of all of the better and nobler feelings of humanity against the usurped authority of a brutal and unreasoning mob. The Regulators were expected to make their appearance in force during the coming night, and fully one hundred resolute men and boys were ready to receive them. The room in which the sick boy lay was made bullet-proof and the campus bristled with warlike preparation. But the Regulators, ashamed of their brutal order, or deterred by the firm bearing of the students, did not make their promised appearance. Dr. Nelson remained with



J. P. Everett

his son until the dangerous point of the disease was past, and then returned to Quincy.

The Muldrow-Bosley affair and this later case of Dr. Nelson served to increase the hatred of the Regulators for the college and all who were connected therewith. To be a student was to be an object of suspicion and the focus of

glances not at all amiable. The sentiment, however, was too violent to be lasting. As the boys and the natives became better acquainted, these feelings of animosity and distrust were somewhat modified, and finally removed altogether by the cooling influences of time.

ALBERT P. WHITAKER.

SYLVESTER T. EVERETT.

THERE are few men of Mr. Everett's age, in Cleveland or elsewhere, who have crowded into their years as much active energy and as many diverse labors as have been his, and as he is only just in the prime of life and in the full possession of matured mental and physical power, there is no telling what results may be credited to him in the future. By education, natural gifts and profession he is a banker, but he has done so much in other fields of labor that it can never be said of him that he is a banker and that only. He was born in Liberty township, Trumbull county, Ohio, on November 27, 1838. His early years were given to the labors of the farm, and to such chances for education as were furnished by the district school. When twelve years of age he came to Cleveland, where he took up his residence with an elder brother, Dr. Henry Everett, and attended the city schools until 1853, when at the age of fifteen he entered the employ of the dry goods firm of S. Raymond & Co. In the year following he made entrance to the pro-

fession to which his life has been devoted, accepting a position of clerk in the banking house of Brockway, Wason, Everett & Co. His capacity and industry were such that at the end of three years he was given the position of cashier, Mr. Brockway having retired from the firm. In 1859 he was called to Philadelphia to assist an uncle, Charles Everett, a prominent merchant who was retiring from business, and who needed a quick hand and youthful energy in the winding up of his large affairs. Mr. Everett remained there one year, and on the completion of his task returned to Cleveland and resumed his position in the bank. In 1867 two of the partners in that institution retired, and Mr. Everett was admitted, the name of the firm being changed to Everett, Weddell & Co. In May, 1876, he was elected a director and vice-president of the Second National bank, and in less than a year was chosen to the presidency of that large and old institution. When its charter expired in 1882, its affairs were wound up and the National Bank

of Commerce organized as its successor, Mr. Everett being continued in his position of president. The capital of the bank was increased to one million five hundred thousand dollars, and its business took a wonderful growth, nearly doubling, largely through Mr. Everett's strong hold on the business public, and his great popularity. In December, 1883, he resigned the position of president, and in company with a number of leading capitalists set himself to the organization of the Union National bank, which opened on June 7, 1884, and which from the start has done a wonderful business, taking an immediate position among the leading banks of the city. In this Mr. Everett is vice-president and general manager.

Mr. Everett has been phenomenally active in other lines of commercial life, and only the highest mental power allied to strong physical development could have enabled him to carry all the burdens laid upon him. Among the positions he now holds or has held at various times, the following can be named: A director of the Union Steel Screw company, a director and treasurer of the Northern Ohio Fair association, director of the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, director in the Citizens' Savings and Loan association, director in the Saginaw Mining company, president of the Humboldt Iron Mining company, president and director of the Buckeye Stove company, and director of several companies of lesser note. He has also been active in railroad enterprises, being or having been vice-president and treasurer of the Val-

ley Railway company, treasurer of the Lake Shore and Tuscarawas Valley Railway company, a director and one of the executive committee of the Pittsburgh, Youngstown & Chicago Railway company, and director of the American District Telegraph company. In April, 1881, he was appointed by President Garfield to the high and important position of government director of the Union Pacific railroad, which office he held for one year, but was compelled to retire by the demand of his private business. He has also been prominent in public life, and has been honored by the people of Cleveland with more than one evidence of their confidence and esteem. 1869 he was nominated by the Republicans to the responsible position of treasurer of the city of Cleveland, and elected by a handsome majority. In 1871 he was again nominated by his party and again elected. By 1873 his fitness and popularity were so well recognized that the Democrats did an unprecedented thing in this city and endorsed his nomination by his own party, and he was elected by the largest vote ever given a candidate for office in the city of Cleveland. The same course was repeated in 1875, 1877, 1879 and 1881. At the expiration of his financial term in 1883, he refused the use of his name in further connection with the office. Of the record he made in that position, the following has been said by one who knows him well and has been able to watch his course throughout:

In this department (the city treasurer) Mr. Everett has done much for the welfare and prosperity of Cleveland. He reduced the outlay of interest and

contributed largely in raising the value of the city's bonds and its credit, Cleveland's municipal bonds becoming so far desirable that they very soon commanded a premium. This was a feature entirely new in the financial experience of the city, and the position is still maintained, the credit of Cleveland being equal to that of any municipality in the country.

Mr. Everett has always had a sincere love for Republican principles, and has devoted himself to the good of the party wherever and whenever occasion offered. He has a strong personality, and whenever he takes part in a canvass has an influence that makes itself felt in the results. He is a member of the Cleveland Sinking Fund commission. In 1872 he was named as one of the alternates-at-large to the National Republican convention held in Philadelphia, where Grant and Wilson were placed in nomination. In 1880 he was a delegate from the Cleveland district to the National Republican convention in Chicago, and on the nomination of General Garfield no one was more pleased with the result or more enthusiastic in his support than Mr. Everett, who had been his close personal friend for years. Those who know the man need not be told that he entered into that canvass with all the strength and energy there was in him. His residence was thrown open to Garfield on the return from Chicago, and a reception there tendered him by hundreds of his friends of Cleveland. On the death of Garfield and during his funeral in this city, Mr. Everett was one of the moving spirits and hardest workers in the endeavor that due honor should be done the memory of the fallen chief. In 1882 Mr. Everett was nominated to congress by the Re-

publicans of the Cleveland district, but the Ohio Republicans were doomed to defeat that year. The old-time majorities disappeared in all directions like snow before the April sun, and although Mr. Everett made a gallant fight and was aided by the devoted help of many, he was compelled to go down with the rest.

In private life Mr. Everett is a genial, whole-souled man, pleasant to all, and with no spark of mean or ignoble pride. No matter what other faults he may have, no one can ever say that he held himself beyond the reach of the poorest and humblest. The poor man and the laborer approached him with the utmost freedom, and one of his great sources of popular strength lies in the fact that he is a natural Democrat in mind and habit, and that it would be impossible for him to snub a man simply because he was unfortunate or poor. He has great financial and executive ability, and the power to do an endless amount of work. He is liberal, public spirited, honorable in his dealings with men, outspoken in his opinions and full of courage in his ventures. He is a Mason, a member of the order of the Knights of Pythias, a Forester, and member of other social orders. In social and home life he is at his best, and is a pleasant and genial companion. He was married in 1860, to Mary M. Everett of Philadelphia, who died on

In October, 1869, he was again married, to Miss Alice Louise Wade, a daughter of the late Randal P. Wade and granddaughter to Hon. J. H. Wade of this city.

MEMBERS OF THE MICHIGAN BAR.

I.

THOMAS J. O'BRIEN.

THE best known men of Michigan have been hitherto emigrants for the most part. The state may have claimed the merit of their best days and best work, but could not claim their birth. The past and passing generations of statesmen—Cass, Chandler, the Howards—were all natives of eastern states, as have been the more noted lawyers and men of affairs. The biographies of the men Michigan has sent to congress; of those she has elected governors and judges, and of those who have been most successful in unofficial life, disclose, in all but the more recent cases, a parentage outside her borders.

But Michigan is now shaking off her dependence upon other states for the men upon whom her well-being is to depend. A glance over the biographies of her present state officers shows that a greater part of them were born within the state—half of her congressional delegation are natives also. She is no longer on the frontier; and this perhaps was the best significance of the semi-centennial celebration of the admission of the state to the union held at Lansing a few months ago. At that celebration the enormous progress of Michigan during the expiring fifty years was pointed out; statistics of the produc-

tions of her mines, her forests, her salt wells were brought together; her agricultural resources were shown; the struggles and successes of her early pioneers were fitly commemorated; but the best of her products, her native citizens, were modestly left for unsolicited appreciation and commemoration by some later generation.

It would have been, in fact, indecorous for the people of Michigan to have heralded the merits of a contemporaneous generation of its citizens, each one of whom must be, under the conditions of the case, not more than fifty years of age; but the absence of such a memorial is not to be taken as indicating a want of proper subjects for biography. On the contrary, such men are daily winning distinction for the state.

Michigan has proved a good soil for the production of men of intellect, and is now old enough to possess and take pride in an ever-increasing number of men of deserved prominence, who owe neither birth nor education to any soil but her own. Of these, one of the best known is the subject of our sketch, Thomas J. O'Brien, of Grand Rapids. Born July 30, 1843, when the state was still young, his life has been spent en-



A. C. Smith

tirely within her borders and his career has been identified entirely with Michigan interests. His boyhood and early youth were spent on his father's farm in Jackson county, and his education was obtained in schools of that and an adjoining county until his eighteenth year, when he took up the study of law in an office and, later, at the Michigan university. He was admitted to the bar upon coming of age, in 1864, and entered into partnership with John C. Fitzgerald, then of Marshall, now of Grand Rapids, with whom he remained until 1871, during which time he worked hard at his profession and rapidly won repute as a rising lawyer. In this latter year an event occurred which was of the greatest moment to Mr. O'Brien and turned his talent into an entirely new field of activity and usefulness. D. Darwin Hughes was then the leader of the bar of central Michigan, and his practice and reputation had already got far beyond local bounds. The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad company, a corporation whose line of railway had then reached Grand Rapids on its way from southern Indiana to the Straits of Mackinaw, more than half its length being through an almost unbroken wilderness abounding in natural wealth, offered to Mr. Hughes the position of general counsel. It was an office not only of the greatest responsibility but one that allowed him to devote but little time to the large general practice that was crowding upon him and that followed him to his new home. Mr. Hughes had watched Mr. O'Brien's career from boyhood, and having great confidence

in his capacity for work and his sound legal acquirements, invited him to become his partner at Grand Rapids. Later, in consequence of the large volume of business that poured in upon the firm, another partner was obtained, and until the failure of Mr. Hughes' health in 1882, the firm of Hughes, O'Brien & Smiley was in the front ranks of the bar of Michigan.

The opening was magnificent for a young lawyer. Aided constantly by Mr. Hughes, whose widespread reputation brought hosts of clients to the office to whose cases he could give but little personal attention, Mr. O'Brien was thus launched, at but thirty years of age, into a practice which might be regarded as the culmination of the hopes of most attorneys. The office during the ten years of the existence of the firm was the scene of great and varied activity. The railroad corporation was not only building into what had been regarded as a wilderness, but was doing its utmost for its settlement and the development of its great natural resources. Its officers, men of experience and ability, found constant employment for their energies and versatility. Towns were building rapidly along the line of the road; lumbermen were buying the pine lands which belonged to the land grant; sawmills were getting into operation; farmers were taking possession of the new counties, and all the steps were going on, under the guidance of this one railroad company, which were to change the wilds of northern Michigan into one of the most thriving wealth-producing

districts in the United States, as well as one of the most frequented pleasure grounds of the west.

In this work of ranging a new country into the ranks of civilization, of creating great interests and industries where Indians and wild animals had had almost undisputed possession, the law firm of Hughes, O'Brien & Smiley played a leading part. Possessed of the implicit confidence of the corporation, no step of importance was taken without their study and advice. The work of the firm was far more than that ordinarily required of counsel for railroads already built in settled districts: new and difficult questions were ever arising; rights of way were disputed; the difficulty of fencing in the road in the first few years caused numerous cases for damages in addition to those claimed for accidents, which occurred as on most new railroads. There were important questions of policy to be determined; large financial transactions to be cared for; trusts, deeds and bonds to raise money for the construction of the line to be drawn up; consolidations with other railroads to be effected. It was thus, as Mr. Hughes' junior, that Mr. O'Brien obtained the careful training and wide experience that have since made him prominent as a railroad counsel, and fitted him upon Mr. Hughes' death to be his worthy successor.

The greater portion of his employment during these ten years, however, was in the general practice of the firm. How large this was can be seen from the reports of the Michigan supreme court during this period, which show

the names of Hughes, O'Brien & Smiley on one side or the other of the greater part of the cases of importance coming from western Michigan.

In January, 1883, the disease that was to terminate the life of Mr. Hughes, a few months later, had him so completely in its grasp that he was compelled to retire from active practice, and the firm of Hughes, O'Brien & Smiley came to an end. From that time Mr. O'Brien has pursued his profession without a partner.

Upon Mr. Hughes' death, he was appointed to take his place as general counsel for the Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad company. Much of the work that had made Mr. Hughes a most necessary part of the management of a great railroad had been done, but much remained to do. An extension of the road to a connection with the Upper Peninsula system, at the Straits of Mackinaw, gave exercise to the training and experience Mr. O'Brien had won under Mr. Hughes' leadership, and proved him fully able to cope with the most difficult legal complications; and later, the building of a line from Grand Rapids to Muskegon brought into play again his great ability in matters of this class.

In general business he has been equally successful. Notwithstanding the demoralization to be expected upon the dissolution of a legal partnership, Mr. O'Brien soon found himself possessed of the confidence of that part of the clientage of the old firm with whom he had directly to do, and, with these as a nucleus, was engaged, in a

very short time, in a large and lucrative practice outside of his railroad employment. His favorable reputation as a lawyer became so far extended that in March, 1883, he was made, without any effort of his own, the candidate of the Republican party of the state for one of the two vacancies on the supreme court bench, ex-Governor Austin Blair being the other candidate. Without experience or familiarity with "practical politics," he shared the fate of his ticket, which was defeat, although running ahead in a most flattering way in many localities. It should be said that, at the time of nomination, no doubt was felt by Republicans of the election, as usual up to that time, of their candidates, and a choice by the convention was more than an empty honor. It was not the fault, but the misfortune, of those who received the nominations. They were caught in the earlier swells of a tidal wave in state politics, which, increasing in force, has since taken away from the Republican party nearly every elective office in Michigan.

This was Mr. O'Brien's first and only political experience. As a citizen he has always been an ardent and consistent Republican, but he has been much too busy a man to give time to election campaigns, and much too high-minded to share in or comprehend the mysteries and trickeries of political meth-

ods. And yet, in view of his deep convictions and high character, his public career would doubtless have been far-reaching had he cared for this species of success. Fortunate in his surroundings, and in possessing the friendship and esteem of men of high influence at the seat of government, his political opportunities have been such as to need but a word from himself to secure for him elevation to high political position. To such position he has wisely preferred more quiet fame as a sound lawyer and good private citizen.

Mr. O'Brien's preferences have always guided him to close legal study, rather than to the forensic triumphs of the court-room. It is as counsel that his best successes in the profession have been won. Quick in his grasp of the facts submitted to him for opinion, careful and thorough in his examination into the intricacies of legal problems, sound and firm in his conclusions, gifted with the skill of a trained diplomatist in negotiation, he deserves and commands the confidence of a large clientage.

Mr. O'Brien's position as a lawyer and a citizen is to be envied. High in his chosen profession, unusually fortunate in his home and social surroundings, he is yet young and may look forward to many years of honorable activity. To such a man the future is bright.

JOHN S. LAWRENCE.

THE WEST IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION AS TOLD IN THE
SKETCHES OF SOME OF ITS GENERALS.

II.

GENERAL M. D. LEGGETT.

AMONG citizens of Ohio who left fields of lucrative and successful labor to give their services to the Union when its life was threatened, and who won distinction in the new profession of arms to which they had been so suddenly called, General Mortimer D. Leggett should be recognized with unusual appreciation, because of the greatness and usefulness of the service he was able to give. From private to major-general in less than three years was a phenomenal stride, even in those days when one might be following the plow to-day and crowned with the laurel tomorrow. The advancement did not come through favoritism, but because each step was honestly and gallantly won. In education, experience, and native power, General Leggett was the peer of any man who enlisted on the call to arms, and the qualities that had given him influence and distinction in private life, were brought into play in the field, and made him one to whom others naturally turned in hours of emergency or danger. A born commander of men, and with a natural military genius, it would have been a strange combination of adverse circumstances that could have kept him from promotion during his years of army life.

All the preparation of General Leggett's early life was in the right direction, and of a character to make him a patriot and a believer in all those moral questions upon which the north took so high a stand. His early days were spent in New York and Ohio, and amid the best social and educational influences. His parents, Isaac and Mary (Strong) Leggett, were residents of Ithaca, New York, where the son, Mortimer D., was born on April 19, 1821. The family removed to Montville, Geauga county, Ohio, in 1836. The life of the son was that of the farmer boy of his day, and if no means of rare culture or expansion of mind were open to him in the small, back-country town, he was given that which was of more use—enough physical exercise to give him a strong and hardy frame, and such moral and religious surroundings as to make of him a true hearted and earnest man. Such time as could be taken from the farm work was given to his books, of which he was very fond; and in his home education he was aided by his parents and an elder sister. It was not long before he discovered himself the possessor of qualities and aspirations that he knew could never find satisfaction in

the narrow farm-life of his home, and he determined to prepare himself for a broader sphere. When eighteen years of age he attended a Teachers' seminary, or training school, from which he graduated at the head of his class. He gave his attention immediately to teaching, not with the purpose of making it his life work, but as one of the stepping-stones to the profession to which he had decided to devote himself—that of the law. He was very successful from the start as an educator, and his work then and subsequently showed that had he given his whole life to this line of labor, he would long since have become one of the leading men in the land in this great field of labor. As soon as his means would permit he began the study of law, to which he applied himself with his characteristic industry and energy. He passed a creditable examination, and was admitted to the bar in 1844.

At about this time he became greatly interested in the public school question. The people were being stirred up to the need of general education, and those who had given the matter thought began to see that the schools of Ohio were by no means able in their then unconnected and unorganized shape to do the work that was demanded. A movement was inaugurated in favor of free schools and popular education. Mr. Leggett became one of the prime movers therein, and freely gave of his time and services to what he recognized as a great need. In company with other gentlemen with like mind and purpose, he stumped Ohio in the interest of the

new cause. Others, like Hon. Harvey Rice of Cleveland and Judge Wooster of Norwalk, gave such legislative help as they could from their positions as members of the general assembly. The result was the passage of the experimental law applicable to Akron, in 1846—a measure that gave such rare satisfaction that it was extended to other schools of the state, and that eventually grew into the grand common school system of Ohio.

Mr. Leggett was meanwhile adding new educational resources of a personal nature, and fitting himself more thoroughly for the great work he was destined to do. In the spring of 1845 he graduated from the Willoughby Medical college, in which he had taken a thorough course of training. It had been his purpose to give himself immediately to the practice of law, but on the passage of the Akron school law he was persuaded to take charge of the organization of the schools thereunder. The success of the whole movement for free common schools of a better class largely depended upon the test as applied here, and it was a fortunate thing for the state and the interests of the future that Mr. Leggett accepted the trust. He took charge of his new field of labor in the fall of 1846, and success of the highest character crowned his efforts. The Akron system became famous throughout Ohio, and many educators and friends of education came from distant points to examine into its practical workings. The result of these investigations were such that a demand for like benefits was heard in

all directions. Among the towns first to organize under the new general school law of 1849 was Warren, Trumbull county. Mr. Leggett remained in charge of the Akron schools until engaged to effect the organization of those at Warren, which he did with signal success. The value of his labors during those experimental days can hardly be overestimated.

In 1850 Mr. Leggett was able to turn his attention to the practice of his chosen profession. Relinquishing his school labors he opened a law office at Warren, and was rewarded with a good practice from the start. Ever in love with educational work, he found time occasionally to still pursue it, and in 1856 and 1857 we find him holding the responsible position of professor of pleading and practice in the Ohio Law college. In 1857 he was led to change his residence, going to Zanesville, where he continued in practice and at the same time had general supervision of the public schools. Here he remained until the breaking out of the Rebellion took him from the quiet of civil life and gave him to the stirring events of war.

He had a personal acquaintance and friendship with George B. McClellen, who had resigned from the United States army in 1857, and in 1860 was president of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad company, with headquarters at Cincinnati. When the latter took command of the Ohio troops, and moved into Virginia, Mr. Leggett accompanied him as a volunteer aid, without pay, and was soon convinced that the war was to be a serious and

lengthened contest that no three months' campaign would end. Returning to Ohio, he was commissioned, by Governor Dennison, in the latter part of 1861, to raise and organize the Seventy-eighth regiment of Ohio infantry. He enlisted as a private, being the first man to place his name on the roll of the regiment. He went at his work with tireless devotion and energy, and in the short space of forty days had enlisted the full number of ten hundred and forty men. During this period he filled the offices of second-lieutenant, first-lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. In the latter position he took his regiment south, reporting to General Grant at Fort Donelson. During the siege of that fortress he did most excellent service, and showed himself the possessor of those military qualities that won him renown at a later date. "The discipline and conduct of himself and regiment there," says one narrator of these stirring events, "won much favor with General Grant, and a personal intimacy sprung up between them which ever afterwards continued. Colonel Leggett being the youngest colonel in command at Fort Donelson, General Grant attached him to his staff, in order to enable him to use General Grant's name in issuing orders, and thereby take a larger command than his own regiment. He was in the battle of Shiloh, where he received his first wound, but did not leave the field. On the sixteenth of May, 1862, while in command in the advance on Corinth, he had one horse killed under him and another wounded, he himself escaping

uninjured. For his conduct in that engagement he was commissioned a brigadier."

It would take space far beyond that available here, to give a detailed history of General Leggett's career while in the army, and to relate all the stirring incidents of danger and heroism that are woven therein. Only the outlines are possible, but within them it takes no special power of vision to discern all that is left untouched. He had command at Middleburg, Tennessee, on August 31, 1862, where with but five hundred men, by a ruse, he defeated Van Dorn, who had four thousand troops at his back. For this victory he received "honorable mention" from Grant, and a special letter of thanks from the secretary of war.

General Leggett also took a leading part in the battle known as "Hell on the Hatchie." He was also in the battle of Inka, in the latter part of 1862, and was in all the movements against Vicksburg in the spring and summer of 1863, including the running of the blockade. He was also an active participator in the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Big Black, and the siege of Vicksburg. At Champion Hills he received a severe flesh wound in the thigh, in the beginning of the fight. "He concealed the wound even from his staff," says 'Ohio in the War,' "and remained on the field, commanding his troops throughout the battle." Up to the time of Vicksburg he had commanded the Second brigade of the Third division of the Seventeenth army corps.

But the Second brigade being by "turn" in reserve, he was transferred to the command of the First brigade of the same division, which held the only position where there was reasonable hope of breaking the rebel lines by assault. "The rebels," to again quote from the narrative above referred to, "had erected a heavy fort to protect this exposed position. Under it, however, we drove a sap, and on the afternoon of July 1 two thousand and seven hundred pounds of powder were exploded directly under the fort, utterly destroying it. General Leggett, at the head of a body of picked men, which had been held in readiness, rushed into the crates this explosion had made before the rebels had recovered from their surprise; and after a fierce and bloody contest, lasting twenty-three hours, was left in peaceful possession, although severely wounded in the left shoulder, right side and elsewhere. This was on the evening of the second of July. On the following morning negotiations for the surrender of Vicksburg commenced. As the First brigade broke the enemy's line, it was assigned the honor of being first to march into Vicksburg, receive the surrender and raise its flags. The general was helped to mount his horse, and rode in at the head of his brigade."

Partially recovering from his wounds, General Leggett was promoted to the command of the Third division, Seventeenth army corps, and placed in command of the post. He was brevetted major-general. After the siege he received from his corps commander, as the

award of a board of honor, a gold medal inscribed "Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Siege of Corinth, Boliver, Inka, Champion Hills, Vicksburg."

The next special service to which General Leggett was assigned was the command of the expedition to Monroeville, Louisiana, and also one up the Yazoo river. Early in 1864 he commanded his division in General Sherman's raid to Meridian. He entered the Atlanta campaign as commander of the Seventeenth army corps, in the spring of 1864, in the temporary absence of General F. P. Blair, and participated in all the battles of that campaign, receiving the highest commendation from Sherman. He captured the mountain to the left of the Kenesaw during a terrible thunder storm, the thunder absolutely drowning the din of battle. The main army had not discovered his advance until the storm broke away, when his command on the crest of the mountain was mistaken for the enemy, and a brisk cannonading was opened upon him and continued until an aid-de-camp could be sent back to notify the attacking body of the mistake. In the evening of July 20, 1864, he received instructions from General McPherson to order his troops, if possible, so as to capture a hill overlooking Atlanta. This hill was strongly fortified, and held by a large force. At sunrise on the morning of the twenty-first, he advanced, and after a short and desperate struggle took the hill, and captured prisoners nearly equal in number to those of his own troops engaged. The great battle of the

twenty-second, one of the fiercest contests of the war, was brought on by the Confederates to recover possession of this hill. It raged with hardly a moment's cessation from half past seven A. M., to eight P. M.; but General Leggett held the hill against fearful odds, with a great loss on both sides. Almost in the beginning of the battle, General McPherson was killed while endeavoring to reach him. General Manning F. Force, who commanded the first brigade, was severely wounded, and had to be taken from the field. General T. K. Scott, who commanded the second brigade, had his horse shot under him, and becoming entangled with it was taken prisoner by the enemy. Because of his conduct of this battle, General Leggett's promotion to a full major-generalship was recommended by General Sherman, which rank was afterwards given him. In Sherman's report of the battle, the hill was named "Leggett's Bald Knob," and is still known as "Leggett's hill."*

General Leggett was with Sherman in his memorable march "from Atlanta to the Sea." His last engagement was at Pocatligo, South Carolina, where he had a running fight of twenty miles, and captured a large fort at Pocatligo,

* In an account of that battle, recently written by General Leggett for the *National Tribune* of Washington, he thus generously says of this appellation: "This hill has since been known as 'Leggett's Hill,' but I have always thought it should have been christened 'Force's Hill,' for he captured and held it on the twenty-first by a rare display of soldierly qualities, and because in defending it the next day he fell so terribly wounded."

in January, 1865, thereby releasing the Union forces from Savannah, and opening the way through the Carolinas.

The exact dates of General Leggett's various advances in official position have not been given in the above account of his army services, and as a matter of historical record can be briefly set down here. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Seventy-eighth Ohio infantry on December 18, 1861, and was made its colonel on January 11, 1862. He was promoted to a brigadier-generalship on November 29, 1862; brevetted major-general from July 22, 1864; and was appointed full major-general from the fifteenth of January, 1865. He resigned on July 22, 1865, and his resignation was accepted November 1 of the same year.

This summary would alone give the full story of his brave and patriotic service, without one word of detail or specific praise.

"At the grand review of the armies at Washington, at the close of the war," says one writer, "no general officer was more warmly or cordially received in the President's pavilion than was General Leggett, or congratulated with greater warmth and heartiness by the President and secretary of war. He was on that day recognized as one of the heroes of the land."

So high an authority as Whitelaw Reid says, in his 'Ohio in the War,' of General Leggett:

He is a strictly moral man, never drinks anything that will intoxicate, never smokes cigars, never chews tobacco, never uses profane language, and never plays cards, and drinking and card-playing were always prohibited at his headquarters. His

services lasted from the beginning to the close of the war; they were always honorable, often arduous, and sometimes distinguished, so that in the end he came to command the trust of his superiors, the admiration of his soldiers, and that gratitude from the country which all deserve who add capacity and skill to their personal devotion.

When the war was over General Leggett laid aside his sword and well-earned stars without regret, and once more took up the avocations of peace. Returning to his home in Zanesville, he again gave himself to the practice of his profession. He was urged again and again to try his fortune in the field of politics, but as often declined. The friendship that existed between General Grant and himself continued, and when the former was elected to the Presidency he proffered more than one position to his old companion-in-arms. They were all declined. He had once remarked in the presence of Grant that the only public position he would accept was that of commissioner of patents, as it was in the line of his natural taste and as there was so little of a partisan nature connected with it. With that loyal thoughtfulness characteristic of the man, Grant treasured this chance observation long after it had passed out of the memory of the one who had uttered it, and when a vacancy occurred in the office in 1871 he tendered it to General Leggett. It was accepted and held four years, the duties thereof being administered in a most thorough and capable manner. His work while in that position was of the most successful character. He gave to the discharge of his new duties the same untiring energy and industry and the same fearless integrity that have

ever characterized him in the other walks of life. His official decisions were sound and forcible, exhibiting a ready insight into the salient points of inventions, and a clear perception of the true intent of the statutes. He gave a broad and liberal interpretation of the patent laws, and aimed to realize their obvious purpose and intent as the encouragement of the useful arts. No shadow of personal or political favoritism ever touched his official course, and no better administration of that office was ever seen.

At the expiration of the above designated time he resigned his trust and removed to Cleveland, in order to obtain a wider field of operation than had been open in the old home. He opened a law office, but made patents his chief specialty. His tastes ran naturally in that direction, and his experience in Washington had given him an insight into the business that no other form of preparation could have afforded. He soon commanded a very large business in this direction, having from the start been most extensively engaged in court practice, and in litigating patents, in all the United States courts throughout the entire country east of the Rocky mountains. He has also aided to some extent in the securing of patents.

General Leggett has been of practical usefulness to the manufacturing and business interests of Cleveland and the west in more ways than one. When Charles Brush and the Telegraph Supply company of Cleveland were working against doubt and difficulty, to make the Brush electric light

a commercial as well as a scientific success, his keen eye saw the possibilities that might lie in the future, and he did all that lay in his power to make that venture a success. He was one of the organizers of the Supply company, and one of its true and faithful friends. When it was finally succeeded by the Brush Electric company, and developed into a magnificent financial success, General Leggett was one of the sharers therein and won the fruits of his early faith. How great that success has been, these columns have already told.* General Leggett was president of the Brush company until 1884. He also became the president of the Cummer Engine company, formed in 1881 for the building of steam engines under the Cummer patent. He was vice-president of the Cowings Steel Casting company, and of the Walker Manufacturing company, and has also been interested in other important business enterprises needless to mention here. In 1884 his desire for rest led him to take a trip to Europe, and before going he resigned the presidency of the Brush company and the Cummer Engine company. On his return he found his time so occupied in his profession that he could not resume the old connection, although still remaining a member of the board of directors in each corporation.

After his removal to Cleveland, General Leggett as steadily declined all propositions looking to an entrance

* See MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY of December, 1885, "The Brush Electric Light—The History of a Cleveland Enterprise," p. 132.

into public life as in the old Zanesville days. His deep interest in the cause of education, however, caused him to break over his rule in one respect, and to allow himself to be nominated by the Republicans of the Fourth ward to the board of education, in 1880. He was elected and served for the usual term of years, when he declined the further use of his name. It is needless to say that he made an able and progressive member, carrying no partisanship and no personal aims into the business of the board, but seeking to make the schools an instrument of the highest good. He served on the committee on judiciary, on teachers, on text books and course of study—three of the most important on the list. In 1882 he was elected a member of the board of managers of the Cleveland Public Library, which position he held for four years, and in which his knowledge of books and wide experience were of great use to the institution under the board's control.

While never a partisan in the narrow meaning of the term, he is an earnest Republican, and does all in his power for the good of his party, often taking part in political campaigns and making logical and eloquent addresses from the platform. In these he appeals to the reason and patriotism of men, rather than their prejudices or passions. He is ever listened to with pleasure and profit, and proves a valuable ally in any cause to which he gives espousal.

The social and domestic traits of the subject of this sketch are among his strongest qualities, and his chief happiness and enjoyment are ever found in

his home. He was married on July 9, 1844, to Miss Marilla Wells, daughter of Absalom Wells of Montville Center, Ohio. She died in 1876, leaving behind her a record of good works and tender wifehood and motherhood that is treasured in reverent memory by her husband and children. She was remarkable for her intelligence, graceful manners, even temper, cheerful disposition and great benevolence. All who knew her loved her, and her loss was deeply felt. Four sons and one daughter had been the fruit of their union. The two elder sons are engaged in the practice of law, one of them, L. L. Leggett, in company with his father in Cleveland, and the next, W. W. Leggett at Detroit, in the same line of business as his father. The youngest son died in infancy, and the son Mortimer at Cornell University in the fall of 1873. He was graduated at Columbia Law college, and was admitted to the bar before he was seventeen. Their daughter is married to H. A. Seymour, esq., of Connecticut, who is engaged in the practice of law at the national capital. General Leggett was again married in 1879 to Miss Weltha Post, daughter of H. C. Post of Sandusky, one of the Ohio fish commissioners. He is an attendant of the Presbyterian church, to which his wife and children belong.

General Leggett commands the undivided respect of the community in which he now resides, not only because of his record as a soldier who "was in as many battles as any officer in the war and never suffered defeat when in command," nor because of his eminence as

a lawyer, but from the quiet manliness with which he carries himself, and the natural courtesy with which he treats those who come into contact with him. With a clear, strong mind, indomitable courage and energy, agreeable in manner, and true to his convictions of right,

he makes friends and holds them to him. Generous in impulse, and yet balanced in judgment, he does good in many quiet ways, and seeks to do the duty of a citizen in peace, as he sought to do that of a soldier in time of war.

J. H. K.

THE BAR OF OHIO.

I.

HENRY CLAY RANNEY.

A NOTABLE and manly figure at the bar of Cuyahoga county is that of the eminent and learned gentleman whose name is given above. A member of a family that has for many years held a merited distinction in the legal circles of Ohio, he has sustained that high repute, and honorably upheld an honored name. Just in the prime of life, endowed with great natural abilities that have been broadened and strengthened by years of education and culture, and entrenched in the love and good will of his fellow-men, he is an example of what a youth can accomplish when aided by industry and upheld by high moral principles.

Mr. Ranney was born on June 1, 1829, in Freedom, Portage county, Ohio, the youngest child of Elijah W. and Levana Larcomb Ranney. His father was a merchant, and the eldest of three sons of Rufus Ranney, of whom Judge R. P. Ranney, the eminent Cleveland jurist, was the second, and the late John L. Ranney, a distinguished lawyer of Ra-

venna, Ohio, the third. Levana Larcomb, the mother of the subject of this sketch, was one of twelve children of Polly and Paul Larcomb, six of whom settled within a radius of six miles of the pioneer home of their parents. They were a strong family, mentally as well as physically, and were conspicuous in all that community for their great good sense, genial kindness of heart, and sterling integrity and uprightness of character. Elijah W. Ranney, the father of Henry C., died in 1836, when the son was but seven years of age. He was then adopted into the family of Hon. R. P. Ranney, who was a rising young lawyer of Jefferson, Ohio. He was at once placed in the schools of Jefferson, and afterwards in those of Warren, and given a good education. He then entered the office of his uncle and commenced the study of law, being admitted to practice in 1852.

Mr. Ranney immediately entered upon practice at Warren, occupying an office jointly with Judge Matthew Birch-



Sincerely Yours.
Henry C. Ramsey

ard. The promise of success in life that he had shown from the first began to make itself good in results, and his practice was all that could have been expected from a beginner in the profession. In 1855 he formed a copartnership with his uncle, John L. Ranney, under the firm name of J. L. & H. C. Ranney. Their office was located at Ravenna. The partnership continued until the death of the senior member in February, 1866. The firm was a very strong one, becoming widely distinguished for solid ability and worth, and enjoying the largest and best clientage of any law firm in the county or vicinity. Their business was important and lucrative, and was continued by Henry C. after his uncle's demise, down to 1874, when he removed to Cleveland and entered into a business arrangement with Judge R. P. Ranney and his son, John R. Ranney. Since that time this city has been his home, and he has won for himself a high place in the affection and respect of this community.

From the beginning of his practice Mr. Ranney gave himself to the duties thereof with all the power, industry and earnestness there was within him. He allowed nothing to interfere with that work, until in 1862 when he laid aside his briefs and accepted from the secretary of war an appointment as assistant adjutant-general of volunteers. He was assigned to duty on the staff of General E. B. Tyler, commanding the first brigade, third division, fifth army corps, Army of the Potomac. He discharged the duties of this position nearly a year, when he resigned. He participated in

the battles of Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville.

Up to this time, from the day he began practice, Mr. Ranney had been one of the most constant, laborious and industrious lawyers in northern Ohio. His hands were always full of great interests, which were never neglected nor slighted, but received his personal, constant and unremitting care. His powerful constitution and cheerful temper, enabled him to work more hours than the majority of attorneys, and made it impossible for him to turn away any person who sought his aid and counsel at any time. The consequence was he became overworked, and from sheer lack of rest became prostrated with nervous difficulties, and for nearly a year, under the advice of his physician, the famous Dr. Hammond of New York, he suspended all mental exertion, and made a trip to Europe, traveling extensively on the continent. He returned home thoroughly restored to health. In 1884 he again crossed the ocean with his family, and visited all places of interest in the British Isles, Germany, Switzerland and France.

The high position gained by Mr. Ranney in the legal profession is due, primarily, to his natural ability and fitness for that line of work; and in addition to that he was favored with a training of the most exceptional character. From boyhood he grew up under the care and tutelage of Judge Rufus P. Ranney, whose high character and enduring fame as a great lawyer made him long ago distinguished beyond the bounds of Ohio. In a different way,

but, perhaps, no less in degree, his uncle, the late John L. Ranney, was a great lawyer; while Judge Birchard, in whose companionship he was for some time, was among Ohio's greatest jurists. These strong men impressed themselves with deep power upon the mind and character of Henry C. Ranney; and yet he is not one who has shone by borrowed light. He possesses the native abilities which mark the lawyer. He has in a remarkable degree that equanimity of temper, calmness of insight and judgment, and steady mental poise, which enabled him naturally and with great ease to carry the lawyer's burden of complicated law and fact along the lines of right, reason and level-headed sense, and reach rational conclusions with remarkable force and clearness. He never seeks success at the bar by the arts and affectations of the mere advocate. He is more solid than brilliant; and yet, so exact and painstaking has been his preparation, and so honorable, pure and high-minded has he been in all his life and motives, that he is enabled to put into the cause in hand the most potential factors in all advocacy—a masterful grasp of his case, and the weight of an unsullied character. He excells especially in the practice of railroad and corporation law. He works no less efficiently in the office, where, through systematic and careful study, the pleadings are prepared, and prompt business methods are applied, than in the conduct of the cause in court. The uninitiated do not understand how great triumphs at the bar are wrought out in the unseen, quiet

laboratory of the office. He is an excellent pleader—the crucial test of a good lawyer.

Mr. Ranney loves his profession for its own sake, and does not regard it as a mere avenue for the pursuit of wealth. His ideals of moral and intellectual fitness for his chosen vocation have ever been high. But while a great and successful lawyer, he is more than that. His manhood is never overshadowed by his more professional character. He has ever taken a deep interest in educational matters, and is a great lover and connoisseur of art. He rendered efficient aid in the founding of the Western Reserve School of Design, and was for a time its president. He is one of the trustees of the estate of the late H. B. Hurlbut, which constitute the munificent founding of that rare collection of art known as the "Hurlbut gallery." He is a great lover of Shakespearean literature and the drama. He has given much attention to general literature, and is a life trustee of the Case library. He was a member of the board of managers of the Cleveland Public library for several terms, and in that position did much for the advancement and improvement of that beneficent institution.

Mr. Ranney has been a life-long Democrat in politics, but never a narrow-minded partisan. He is liberal in his sentiments, while strong and unswerving in his convictions of right, never seeking the popular side simply because it is the popular side. He has never sought nor held a public salaried office of any kind. He has been, on several occasions, urgently sought to accept the

nomination for judge of the court of common pleas of Cuyahoga county, but with the exception of two occasions, on which he accepted in obedience to the will of his party, but without expectation of being elected against the heavy Republican majority of the county, has always declined the honor, as he has also declined the use of his name in connection with a nomination to congress. On the two occasions referred to he not only received the entire support of his own party, but that of hosts of personal friends among the Republicans as well. Mr. Ranney is a consistent and active member of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal church, and a member of its vestry. His religious life finds expression in the uniform practice of the sterling virtues of honesty, justice and truth, and he ever carries into all the relations of life the graces of a charitable and kindly spirit. He is one of the most social and companionable of men; has long been a Free Mason, having attained the exalted thirty-second degree, and is a lover of the sublime precepts and moral teachings of the Masonic institution. He is emphatically a lover of the true, the beautiful and the good in nature, art, and society. He is still in the full

strength of a mature, noble manhood, and in the full tide of a successful career. No lawyer in northern Ohio has a wider circle of close and lasting friendship among his legal brethren on the bench and at the bar than he. His name, wherever known, is a synonym of all that is high, chivalrous and honorable in the contests of the forum, and above all, stands for a heart and life full of the sweet spirit of genial fellowship, and tender, manly charity.

Mr. Ranney's home life has been one of unusual happiness and home comfort, although shadows of loss have fallen across his threshold. He was married on September 19, 1853, to Miss Helen A. Burgess of Ravenna, an orphan granddaughter of the late Hon. William Coolman of that place. Seven children have been born of their union, six daughters and one son. Four of the daughters are still living. The son, Henry Percival, a young man of uncommon brightness and brilliant promise, died in his twenty-first year, in January, 1880. High hopes were centered in him, the fruition of which his remarkable qualities of mind and heart gave abundant promise. His death was a most severe affliction to his parents.

K.

EL DORADO.

[“The far-famed, fabulous region of genial clime and never-fading verdure ; whose gold and precious stones were as common as rocks and pebbles ; where streams gently flowed from fountains ; where wheat spontaneously grew overtopped with tiny loaves of bread, and pigeons flew about already roasted ; and where nature had converted the rudest things into harmony of shape and appearance.”]

I.

In days of yore, Don Orellano, then
Companion of Pizarro, heard a tale—
A wondrous story—told of valiant men
Who dwelt afar in a sequestered vale ;
Hard by the rolling Orinoco's tide,
Girt in by snow-clad peaks on every side,
There lay the bright, umbrageous dale.

II.

There, too, was soft and genial clime, where dew
Upon the silver leaf was crystal, and
The hoar-frost nectar ; where the weeping yew,
Its branches waving in the zephyrs bland,
Shed moisture on the never-fading green ;
Where variegated flowers were ever seen ;
And where were wood nymphs by the wild winds fann'd.

III.

A clear and sparkling fountain (it was told),
Like those near Andalusia's walks, was there,
Where thronged the feeble and the trembling old,
The gay, the young men and the maidens fair,
From distant woodland and the utmost bound
Of this bright vale ; and where, for miles around,
The balmy breath of roses filled the air.

IV.

A murm'ring stream was there; its sands were gold
And emeralds and sapphires; and, in fine,
Rare gems were everywhere. Unquestioned, bold,
In this delightful valley 'neath the line,
The Incas, children of the sun, held sway
O'er vast dominions, and as gods were they;
Though kings, yet still of lineage divine.

V.

From Manco Capac and Oëlló's time,
Had the red borla by that race been worn
(*'Twas said*); and this brought warriors to that clime,
And a great empire fell. The badge was torn
From off the Inca's head; then conquest led
To conquest, and the weak Peruvian bled,
Or lived his country's ruin long to mourn.

VI.

Then from beyond where Aztec power had fled,
Where Cortez ruled triumphant on the throne
Of Montezuma, and where then were wed
Antagonistic races, o'er which shone
The sun of Anahuac—alas! no more—
Came vague reports of cities built of yore;
Of potentates, whose palaces were stone.

VII.

'Twas these, adventurers sought long to gain,
And the great empire of Cibola fair;
But all have vanished—and the wide domain
Of Tartarax:—dissolved are all in air.
Still, eagerly, is many a phantom chased
O'er mountains and along life's desert waste,
To end as El Dorado—in despair.

·CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

FIFTY YEARS OF WISCONSIN HISTORY.

I.

WISCONSIN AS A TERRITORY.

FIFTY years of Wisconsin history, beginning with the time when the territory was created by congressional enactment, brings us down to the present. However, before entering upon the subject of its annals for the half century last past, it is well to consider briefly the most important of the events which transpired from the discovery of the country west of Lake Michigan to the year 1836. The discoverer was John Nicolet. He was dispatched, in 1634, from Quebec, as a government agent to western tribes never before visited by Frenchmen, to promote peace and pave the way for opening up a profitable trade in furs. Nicolet visited the Huron Indians upon the Georgian bay, and, with seven of them, struck boldly into the wilderness to the northward and north-westward, paddling his birch-bark canoes, he and his swarthy companions, to the head of Green bay and up Fox river to what is now Green Lake county and his journey toward the west was ended.

The savage nations located to the westward of Lake Huron and south of Lake Superior at the date of Nicolet's visit—the Pottawatomies, Menomonies, Winnebagoes, Mascoutins and Illinois, together with the ancestors of the pres-

ent Chippewas—stood sadly in need of spiritual enlightenment. And it was not many years before the self-sacrificing Jesuit missionaries were on the ground, establishing missions and gathering the wondering nations into their bark chapels, to listen to the words of these pious Fathers, as they related the story of the sufferings and death of the Saviour of mankind. There was the mission of the Holy Spirit, on the Bay of Chegoimegon; of St. Francis Xavier, on the shore of Green bay; of St. Mark, on Wolf river, but before the end of the century all had disappeared.

French domain in the region of the upper lakes began in the year 1671, by France taking formal possession of the country at the Falls of St. Mary's (Sault Ste. Marie), in what is now the state of Michigan. As yet, no fur-trader, no missionary—in fact, no white man—had reached the upper Mississippi. But the time for its exploration, at least for a portion of it, was at hand. Louis Joliet, an undaunted explorer, left Quebec early in 1673 to "discover the South Sea," by way of the great river of the west. Accompanied by Father James Marquette and five other white men, he, on the seventeenth of June, entered from the Wisconsin river upon the broad

bosom of the "Father of Waters." Then followed many other daring adventures, until, at the close of the century, the "vast, illimitable, changing west" had been penetrated in many directions.

Of the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and bounded on the north by Lake Superior, the French had little else than a nominal possession. A post at the head of Green bay—Fort St. Anthony, afterward Fort St. Francis—was the only one that, for any length of time, had a garrison of regular soldiers; Parrot's fort on the Mississippi, on the east side, and Fort St. Nicholas, on the west side (the first a long distance above the mouth of the Wisconsin; the other a short distance below it) not being occupied but for a brief period. Contrary to the general belief, there never was a French fort at the site of what is now *Prairie du Chien*, though a number of old maps indicate one at that point. And even Fort St. Francis, at the commencement of the French and Indian war in 1755, had been abandoned. At the end of that contest in 1760, there was not a vestige of civilization within what are now the bounds of Wisconsin—no post, no settlement, no mission.

The whole period from 1671 to the end of the French domination—ninety years—was one largely devoid of historic interest in the region west of Lake Michigan, except as to hostilities existing at different times between the government of France and the Indian tribes, particularly the Foxes, who lived upon the river which still bears their name. First, the fur-traders were plundered by the sava-

ges last mentioned; then the same tribe, with some Mascoutins and Kickapoos, laid a plan in 1712 to burn the post at Detroit, and actually besieged the post; but they were finally defeated. The French from the St. Lawrence, four years later, marched against the Foxes, but they escaped much injury by a timely peace. In 1728 another expedition marched against them; meanwhile the Menomonees had also become hostile; so, too, the Sacs (who were the kindred and allies of the Foxes) and Winnebagoes. The allied tribes were defeated. In 1730 the Foxes were again humbled. Four years subsequently both the Sacs and Foxes came once more in conflict with the French, but with indecisive results. Finally, not only the Foxes but the Sacs became reconciled to the government of Canada, and during the French war were arrayed on the side of their former foes.

While Canada remained under the jurisdiction of France, the territory now constituting the state of Wisconsin was, of course, governed (though, when governed at all, in a military way) by the French. During that period, the persons holding the office of governor of Canada, were fourteen in number, as follow:

- (1). Daniel de Remy de Courcelle (Knight)..... 1665-1672
- (2) Louis de Baude (Count de Paluan and de Frontenac)..... 1672-1682
- (3) Le Febvre de la Barre..... 1682-1685
- (4) Jacques René de Brisay (Marquis de Denonville)..... 1685-1689
- (5) Louis de Baude (Count de Paluan and de Frontenac)..... 1689-1698
- (6) Louis Hector de Callière (Knight).. 1699-1703

- (7) Phillipi de Rigaud (Marquis de Vaudreuil) 1703-1725
- (8) Charles le Moyne (Baron de Longueuil) 1735-1726
- (9) Charles Marquis de Beauharnois.... 1726-1747
- (10) Rolland Michel Barrin (Count de la Galissonière) 1747-1749
- (11) Jacques Pierre de Taffanel (Marquis de la Jonquière)..... 1749-1752
- (12) Charles le Moyne (Baron de Longueuil, Acting Governor)..... 1752
- (13) Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.. 1752-1755
- (14) Pierre Rigaud (Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavegnal)..... 1755-1760

After the fall of Canada, and until the treaty of Paris of 1763, when it was ceded to Great Britain, its civil affairs were administered by three British military governors—one at Quebec, one at Three Rivers, and one at Montreal; but over all was General Jeffrey Amherst. However, his sway was but nominal, except as to military matters, over the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. Soon after the victors obtained possession of Quebec and Montreal, the remote posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac were surrendered, and in 1761 British troops occupied the tumble-down post at the head of Green Bay, in what is now Wisconsin. But a British garrison only had possession of the last named place for a brief period after the close of Pontiac's war; they having, indeed, vacated the post—called by the English “Fort Edward Augustus”—for a considerable time during that contest.

By a proclamation of George III, in 1763, the boundaries of Quebec and other provinces were established, but what is now Wisconsin was not included in either of them. General James Murray was appointed governor-general by the same proclamation. On

the twenty-second of June, 1774, under what is known as the “Quebec Act,” a civil government was provided for Canada including the territory west of Lake Michigan. Still, civil affairs continued to be exercised in the west by the nearest military commandant.

The first settlement, according to the American idea of the term, in Wisconsin, was one begun soon after the close of Pontiac's war at what is now Green Bay, Brown county. By the year 1766, it had received a few families, who established themselves permanently there. Four white persons, before the close of 1783, occupied, in a permanent manner, the site of what is now Prairie du Chien. The settlers at both places were nearly all French Canadians. And these two villages, so long as the English held military possession of the western posts, which was, until 1796 (and even longer), were the only settlements—strictly such—in the territory now constituting the state of Wisconsin.

A law dividing the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada took effect on the twenty-sixth day of December, 1791, the upper province being made to include the whole of what is now Wisconsin, which thus passed under the jurisdiction of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. However, under the “Jay treaty” the western posts were given up in 1796, and that functionary ceased to exercise any control in the northwest. The English governors were eleven in number, as follows:

- (1) General Jeffrey Amherst..... 1760-1763
- (2) General James Murray..... 1763-1766

(3) Paulius Emelius Irvine (three months)	1766
(4) Guy Carlton (lieutenant-governor) ..	1766-1770
(5) Hector T. Cramahe (president ex-council).....	1770-1774
(6) Guy Carleton.....	1774-1778
(7) General Frederick Haldiman (lieutenant-governor).....	1778-1784
(8) Henry Hamilton (lieutenant-governor)	1784
(9) Henry Hope (president of council) ..	1785
(10) Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester)....	1785-1792
(11) John Graves Simcoe (lieutenant-governor)	1792-1796

Neither the first treaty made by this country with Great Britain nor the ordinances of congress which followed gave the United States anything more than constructive possession of a large part of the territory now constituting the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, until the year 1796 brought with it, as just mentioned, the evacuation by the British of the western posts, nor even until after the last war with England was possession anything more than nominal to Americans over the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

The "Western Territory," as it was first usually called, though afterward generally known as the "Northwest Territory," was established, as is well known, by the Ordinance of 1787. It included, besides what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, all of the present Wisconsin. The whole of this region had been claimed by Connecticut, New York and Virginia, under colonial charters; but the general government insisted that all such assumed interests (although Virginia had strengthened hers by conquests, largely her own, of the Illinois country) must be quitclaimed to the United States. This was done sooner

or later; so that the whole of what is now the state of Wisconsin became, so far as the domain was concerned, the property of the general government, subject only to the rights of the various Indian tribes, and to the possible claims, at Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, of a few settlers to small tracts of land. In 1796 the eastern portion of the country, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, upon the erection of Wayne county, by Governor Arthur St. Clair, of the Northwest Territory, was included in that country.

Upon the erection of Indiana Territory, out of the extended area "northwest of the River Ohio," in 1800, the whole of Wisconsin, as now constituted, was included in it. Civil jurisdiction was exercised in a faint way over the Green Bay settlement and Prairie du Chien, by the appointment there of justices of the peace. In 1804 was made the first cession of land to the United States by the Indians, lying within the present boundaries of Wisconsin. In that year a treaty was held with the Sacs and Foxes, and a large tract of land on the east side of the Mississippi, including the whole of the present counties of Grant and La Fayette, and a large portion of those of Iowa and Green, had the Indian title quieted. Thus began the purchasing from the Indians of their right to the soil of Wisconsin by the general government, which was afterwards continued until every acre was fairly bought of them, although certain tribes were afterward granted certain tracts to live upon, called "reservations."

An act of congress of 1809 divided the territory of Indiana so as to form a new one on the west, called Illinois. All except a small fraction of what is now Wisconsin, was thus transferred to the last-mentioned territory—that fraction lay between Green Bay and Lake Michigan and remained a part of Indiana territory. There was now a more direct exercise of jurisdiction, by the government of the new territory, over the Wisconsin settlements (particularly that of Prairie du Chien) than by the old one.

At the commencement of the war of 1812-15, the few settlers depended largely upon the fur-trade for their living. This trade John Jacob Astor was trying to monopolize, when the capture by the British of Michilimackinac threw it into the hands of the English. Most of the whites and all of the Indians, within what are now the limits of the state, arrayed themselves, in a measure, on the side of Great Britain during the continuance of hostilities. A force of Americans reached Prairie du Chien from St. Louis in 1814, was captured by a large force of the enemy, the officers and men paroled and sent down the river. Peace between the two governments was followed by the military occupation of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien on the part of the United States.

Upon the admission of Illinois into the Union in 1818, the whole of what is now Wisconsin became a part of Michigan territory. The people here at once began to feel the protection of civil government. Three counties, Brown, Crawford and Michilimackinac,

were erected to the westward and northward of Lake Michigan; the settlement of Green Bay was included in the first named, that of Prairie du Chien in the second. In the northern portion of what is the present Wisconsin was a part of the county of Michilimackinac, but it had no settlement.

A district court was established for the three counties we have named, in 1823; and, at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien land claims were adjusted and postmasters appointed. Attention was called to the lead mines in 1825, in the southwest corner of what is now the state of Wisconsin. Miners coming in induced hostilities with the Winnebagoes, who claimed the country containing the mines. United States troops readily quelled the disturbance, and a ceding by those Indians to the general government of the "lead region" soon followed. That part of Crawford county lying south of the Wisconsin, was, in 1829, erected into a new county and called "Iowa." Two years after, the Menominees sold to the United States all their lands east of Green bay, Winnebago lake and the Fox and Milwaukee rivers.

The general government had, at several times, held treaties with the Sac and Fox Indians. A band of the first mentioned tribe, headed by Black Hawk, refused to move beyond the Mississippi from Illinois. Hostilities ensued, known as the "Black Hawk war." This was in 1832. Some desultory fighting took place. The Sac warriors were pursued up the Fox river to near its source, by United States troops and militia;

thence across the Wisconsin, where they stood at bay and were defeated with some loss. Afterward, near the mouth of the Bad Ax river, nearly the whole band was cut to pieces and their leader captured.

The erection of Milwaukee county from the southern part of Brown; the attaching, for judicial purposes, of a large extent of country west of the Mississippi and north of the state of Missouri, to the territory of Michigan—these were among the most important events soon following the close of the Black Hawk war.

The survey of public lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished now began. By the end of the year 1833 a large amount south and east of the Wisconsin river had been completed. This fact being reported by the surveyor-general of the United States, two land-districts, by an act of congress approved the twenty-sixth of June, 1834, were created. These two districts included all the lands north of the state of Illinois, west of Lake Michigan, south and southeast of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, in the then territory of Michigan. This area was divided by a line drawn from the base line (the boundary between the state of Illinois and the territory just mentioned), between the eighth and ninth ranges, to the Wisconsin river. All east of the line was called the "Green Bay Land District;" all west, the "Wisconsin Land District." A land office for the eastern (Green Bay) district was established at Green Bay; for the western (Wisconsin) district at Mineral

Point. Public sales of these lands were held in 1835.

By an act of congress, of the fifteenth of June, 1836, the "Milwaukee Land District" was erected out of the southern portion of the Green Bay district; the land office for this third district being located at Milwaukee, where the first public sale of lands, which had been surveyed after the other lands had been offered at Green Bay and Mineral Point, was held.

The prospective admission of the state of Michigan into the Union, to include all the region east of Lake Michigan, in the Michigan territory, caused, on the first of January, 1836, a session (the first and only one) of the Seventh territorial council, to be held at Green Bay, to legislate for so much of Michigan territory as lay west of that lake. There was nothing done but the adopting of a memorial asking congress to form a new territory to include all of the old one except what it was expected would soon be the state of Michigan. This request, it will now be seen, was soon complied with, and then commenced the existence of Wisconsin as a separate and distinct government, its area having previously been within the jurisdiction (constructively, to 1796; actually, afterward) at the dates given of the following American governors :*

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| (1) Arthur St. Clair, Northwest Territory | 1787-1800 |
| (2) William Henry Harrison, Indiana Territory | 1800-1809 |

* In the dates given the times during which territorial secretaries acted as governors are not taken into account.

- (3) Ninian Edwards, Illinois Territory...1809-1818
- (4) Lewis Cass, Michigan Territory.....1818-1831
- (5) George B. Porter, Michigan Territory.....1831-1834
- (6) Stevens T. Mason, Michigan Territory.....1834-1836

We have now reached the period when the story is to be begun which relates the development and rapid progress of a new governmental organization—a distinct territorial government west of Lake Michigan. It was of twelve years' duration, and is "highly interesting as being that in which the political character and material features of the future state was molded and crystallized."

The territory of Wisconsin—so-called from its principal river, which drains an extensive portion of its surface—was established by an act of congress, passed on the twentieth day of April, 1836, to take effect "from and after the third day of July," following; and was made to include all that is now embraced within the states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and a part of Dakota territory. Its counties were Brown, Dubuque, Milwaukee, Des Moines, Crawford and Iowa, with a portion of Chipewewa and Michilimackinac unorganized. Previous to 1835 much the largest proportion of the population—about two-thirds—was to be found in Iowa county, which is explained by the fact that this was the "lead region," and most of the settlers there were miners. But the surveying and opening up to preëmption or offering for sale of the public lands south and east of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, now brought into the region just mentioned a different class.

They came to stay and they came in great numbers.

The machinery of the territorial government was put in motion by the commissioning of Henry Dodge as governor, Charles Dunn as chief justice and David Irvin and William C. Frazer as associate justices, by the President of the United States; by the appointment of John S. Horner as secretary, W. W. Chapman as United States attorney, and Francis Gehon as marshal;* by the appointment by Governor Dodge of Henry S. Baird as attorney-general;† by the election of George W. Jones as congressional delegate, and the election also of thirteen members of the territorial council and twenty-six of the house of representatives, and by the entering of all these officers upon their

* The following were the secretaries, United States attorneys and United States marshals, with the dates of their commissions, who held office while the territory of Wisconsin was in existence:

Secretaries—John S. Horner, May 6, 1836; William B. Slaughter, February 16, 1837; Francis J. Dunn, January 25, 1841; Alexander P. Field, April 23, 1841; George Floyd, October 30, 1843; John Catlin, February 24, 1846.

United States Attorneys—W. W. Chapman, May 6, 1836; Moses M. Strong, July 5, 1838; Thomas W. Sutherland, April 27, 1841; William S. Lynde, July 14, 1845.

United States Marshals—Francis Gehon, May 6, 1836; Edward James, June 19, 1838; Daniel Hugonin, March 15, 1841; Charles M. Prevost, August 31, 1844; John S. Rockwell, March 4, 1845.

† The successors of Mr. Baird as attorney-generals for the territory were: Horatio N. Wells, appointed by Governor Dodge, March 30, 1839; Mortimer M. Jackson, appointed by Governor Dodge, January 26, 1842; William Pitt Lynde, appointed by Governor Talmadge, February 22, 1845; A. Hyatt Smith, appointed by Governor Dodge, August 4, 1845.

official duties. The two houses of the territorial legislature convened for the first time on the twenty-fifth of October, 1836, in Belmont, Iowa county.

The population of the territory in 1836, as shown by a census taken in August, was 22,218, distributed as follows: Brown county, 2,706; Crawford, 854; Des Moines, 6,257; Dubuque, 4,274; Iowa, 5,234; and Milwaukee county, 2,893. The principal matters engaging the attention of the members of the first legislative assembly, were the creation of three judicial districts, and the assignment of one of the three justices to each;* the incorporation of banks; the permanent location of the seat of government, which was fixed at Madison; the erection of new counties; and the location of county-seats. The speeches of the legislators were characterized by their brevity and pointedness. Some were amusing. Here is one:

Mr. Chairman: I have waited patiently, till the doctors and lawyers got through, to make a speech on the location of the seat of government. I was raised in the wiles of Ellinois, and 'ust to wear a leather huntin' shirt and sleep under a buffalo rug. I was edicated in the woods. The yearly part of my life was spent in trackin' Ingens; but it is harder tracken these gentlemen. We have envited the gentlemen to come up to the troft and argy the

question on its merits, but as the Yankee said, they squerm and won't come up to the rack.

Mr. Chairman: We are honest men from Des Moines; we are not to be bought or said. I have no town property in the territory of Wisconsin, only some marked out in the town of Wapello and want to sell them. We are willin' to meet the opposers of this bill on this floor, on its merits, and at the bar of the great day.

Mr. Chairman, in all legislative bodies there is a majority and a minority; the minority, unfortunate critters, are sure to kick up and bellow. It puts me in mind of the little boy's swearin'. The cattle came up one evening bellowin'; the little boy ran to his mother and said: "Mother, let me swear at the cattle." "Begone, you little rascal," was the reply. He came the second time, and the mother, becoming desirous to hear what he would say, gave him liberty. He ran out, got on the fence, and said: "Bellow on, you devils!"

During the year 1837 there were some important events to be recored. Previously there had been two newspapers established at Green Bay, the *Intelligencer and Democrat* and the *Free Press*, one at Milwaukee, the *Advertiser*, and one at Belmont, the *Gazette*. But the two Green Bay papers were now consolidated into one, the *Wisconsin Democrat*, and the Belmont paper was discontinued. This was followed by the publication at Mineral Point of the *Miner's Free Press*, and at Burlington of the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*. Early in the year five postoffices were established in the territory. They were at Chase's Point, Moundville, Madison, Elk Grove, Cassville, and one during the summer at Watertown. The corner stone of the capitol was laid in Madison on the fourth of July, but the building thereafter made slow progress.

The second session of the first territorial legislature began at Burlington,

* Crawford and Iowa counties constituted the first district, to which Chief Justice Dunn was assigned; Dubuque and Des Moines formed the second, to which Justice Irvin was assigned; Milwaukee and Brown the third, to which Justice Frazer was assigned. The last named died on the eighteenth of October, 1838; and on the eighth of November following, Andrew G. Miller was appointed his successor, by Martin Van Buren, President of the United States.

now the county-seat of Des Moines county, Iowa, on the sixth of November. The principal acts passed were, one for taking a census, one abolishing imprisonment for debt, another regulating the sale of school lands and to prepare for organizing, regulating and perfecting schools. There was also one passed incorporating the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal company. It is hardly necessary to say that no canal was built from Lake Michigan to Rock river, as contemplated. A great deal of legislation and bad feeling followed, the apple of discord being a grant of land made by the United States to aid in the construction of the work.

By the census of May, 1838, the population of the territory east of the Mississippi had increased to 18,149. It was provided by an act of congress, approved on the twelfth day of June, that from and after the third day of the following July, all that part of the territory lying west of the Mississippi and west of a line drawn due north from its headwaters, to the boundary line between the United States and Canada, should, for the purposes of a territorial government, be set apart and known by the name of Iowa. The legislature of the reorganized territory of Wisconsin met at Madison for the first time—it being the first session of the second legislative assembly—on the twenty-sixth of November. The candidates for the office of congressional delegate this year were George W. Jones, James D. Doty, and Thomas P. Burnett. The largest number of votes was cast for Doty, but

his seat was contested by Jones, without success, however.

The incorporation of a state bank, several acts creating corporations, territorial roads provided for, building two dams across Rock river authorized, several counties organized, many towns established, judicial districts created and judges assigned, the laws revised—these were the fruits of the labors of the second legislative assembly, which closed its second session at Madison on the eleventh of March, 1839. Again there was to be an election for congressional delegate. This time James D. Doty, Byron Kilbourn and Thomas P. Burnett were candidates. Said the friends of the first mentioned in convention: "We will not give sleep to our eyes nor slumber to our eyelids till we can say, 'we have met the enemy and they are ours.'" This sleepless vigilance was rewarded with success; Doty was reelected. Governor Dodge's term of office having expired on the fourth of July, he was reappointed for three years.

The completion of the federal census of 1840 showed a population for the territory of Wisconsin of 30,747. The time of holding the general election was changed by the legislature from the first Monday in August to the fourth Monday of September. There was also passed by the same legislature, an act reciting that Joseph R. Brown and Margaret Brown, a half-breed Chippewa woman, were legally married and were mutually desirous of dissolving the marriage contract, in consequence of

the danger they both incurred of the destruction of their lives and property by continuing to live together at the place where they had been accustomed to live and did then reside, on account of the hostile incursions of the Sioux Indians ; that it should be lawful for them, by a written article of separation, under their hands and seals, to dissolve the marriage contract existing between them, provided that the articles of separation should contain a provision for Mrs. Brown of one-third of all the property of Joseph R. Brown.

On the thirteenth of September, 1841, Governor Dodge was removed from office by John Tyler, then President of the United States, and James Duane Doty appointed in his place. The commission of the latter was dated on the fifth of the following October. The second session of the third legislative assembly began at Madison, on the sixth of December. Governor Doty, in his message, boldly avowed the doctrine that no law of the territory was effective until expressly approved by congress. This construction of the organic act resulted in a lengthy warfare between the governor and the legislature.

There occurred an event in the legislative council of the territory, on the eleventh of February, 1842, which caused great excitement. On that day Charles C. P. Arndt, a member from Brown county, was shot dead by James R. Vineyard, a member from Grant county. The difficulty grew out of a debate on a motion to lay on the table the nomination of Enos S. Baker to the office of sheriff of Grant county. Vine-

yard was tried for manslaughter and acquitted. A census taken this year showed a population of 46,678. The first session of the fourth legislative assembly commenced on the fifth of December. Both houses were Democratic, but Governor Doty was a Whig. After the two houses had organized, the governor refused to communicate with them. He claimed that as congress had made no appropriation for their assembling, that they were not legally a legislature. Congress finally ended the conflict by passing an act to cover expenses.

At the election of the congressional delegate in 1843, party lines were strictly drawn. Henry Dodge was the Democratic candidate, George W. Hickcox the Whig candidate. Dodge was elected.

On the twenty-first of June, 1844, Nathaniel Tallmadge was appointed governor in place of Doty, his commission bearing date the sixteenth of September. In the legislature of this year a bill passed the lower house to divorce Webster Pease from his wife, Lucinda Pease ; but in the upper house it was, on motion, laid on the table "till Webster Pease, the petitioner, furnish satisfactory proof to the council that he has notified Lucinda Pease of the pending of this bill."

James K. Polk having been elected President of the United States, Governor Tallmadge was compelled to step aside, Henry Dodge again being put in the executive chair. On the eighth of April, 1845, he received his appointment, being commissioned on the thirteenth of the following month. It had been one

of the vagaries of Governor Doty to spell the name of the territory "Wisconsin." But the legislature of this year adopted a joint resolution declaring the official orthography to be "Wisconsin"—and so it remains. On the twenty-second of September, Morgan L. Martin, as a Democrat, was elected territorial delegate over James Collins, who ran as a Whig, and Edward D. Holton, candidate of the anti-slavery party.

The preliminary steps were taken in the legislature of 1846 for the formation of a state government. The first Tuesday in April was the day fixed upon for the people to vote for or against the proposition. The election resulted in a large majority in favor of the measure. An act was passed providing for taking a census of the territory, and for the apportionment, by the governor, of delegates to form a state constitution, based upon a new enumeration. The population was found to be 155,217. Delegates having been elected to form a constitution, met at Madison on the fifth day of October. They completed their labors and adjourned on the sixteenth of December.

Early in April (the first Tuesday), 1847, the constitution which had been formed for the proposed new state, was submitted to the people and rejected, "chiefly owing to differences of opinion upon the article in relation to the rights

of married women, the article on exemptions, the bank articles, the number of representatives in the legislature, and the elective judiciary." A special session of the legislature, to take action concerning the admission of Wisconsin into the Union began on the eighteenth of October, and a law was passed for the holding of another convention to frame a constitution. Delegates to the second convention were elected on the last Monday of November, and that body met at Madison on the fifteenth of December. The result of their labors was the formation of a new constitution which was to be submitted to the votes of the people for ratification or rejection in March of the next year. A census taken the first of December showed a population for the territory of 210,546.

On the thirteenth day of March, 1848, the last session of the territorial legislature, which was the second session of the fifth general assembly, adjourned *sine die*; and, on the same day, the constitution for the proposed new state was ratified by more than ten thousand majority. On the twenty-ninth of May the state was admitted into the Union. Thus, after a duration of twelve years, lacking a few days, the territory of Wisconsin became a government of the past—to live fondly, however, in the memory of the men who were its pioneers.

C. W. BUTTERFIELD.



A. L. Conger

ARTHUR L. CONGER.

Colonel A. L. Conger needs no introduction to the people of Ohio. As a soldier, a business man, and a true and tried leader of the political party to which he gives his faith, he has for years stood in the forefront of events, and has proved himself a useful man, a good citizen, and a patriotic friend to every interest of his native land. Of Ohio nativity, and with his mind set in the best mold of American thought, his word and influence are ever naturally given to the advancement of education, morality and the best good of the people. He has been called already to many positions of public trust, and so well has he administered them that it will indeed be strange if he does not go on to still higher usefulness in the future.

Colonel Conger was born in the little village of Boston, Summit county, Ohio, on February 19, 1838. He came of a rugged Vermont extraction, which traced itself in direct line from his great grandfather, Deacon Job Conger, who is believed to have been the first of that name on this side of the Atlantic. His father, John Conger, was a farmer and brickmaker, of St. Albans, Vermont, where he also filled the position of captain of an artillery company. His mother, Hannah Beales, was also a native of St. Albans. In order to gain better advantages in the new and growing west, they removed to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1833, and shortly afterwards

made a permanent home in Boston township.

It was ever a desire on the part of the boy Arthur that he might be allowed to take a collegiate course, and prepare for the best use in the world, the natural powers that he felt to be within him. But the hard necessities of the life of a new country, and the meagre chances for gain offered to even the most willing forms of toil, stood as a bar, and he was compelled to bend his back to the burdens duty laid upon it. The first twenty years of his life were principally spent upon his father's farm, and in the brickyard; and the first money he ever earned was as a moulder at ten cents per day, in a shop at Boston, from which he was soon promoted to a place in Edison's flour mill at twenty-five cents a day. Two summers were spent upon the Ohio canal, which was then the new and wonderful highway of transportation cut through the soil of Ohio, and joining Lake Erie and the Ohio river by a "great commercial link. He had found the work of the brickyard too heavy for a growing boy, and when seventeen years of age, in company with another boy, he purchased a canal boat on credit, which the two personally operated during the period named, this being his first business venture. He was not the kind of a youth who could be kept down even by adverse circumstances, and he had taken such advantage of the winter

schooling that he was encouraged at an early age to take charge of a school as teacher. He followed this vocation for three years, and was on the way to unusual success as an educator, when the war of the Rebellion broke out and changed his plans and purpose, as it did those of other young men the country over. Closing his school he successfully devoted his energies to recruiting, and enlisted himself as a private in the One Hundred and Fifteenth Ohio Infantry, but was soon elected second lieutenant, and served afterward with his company successively as first lieutenant and captain, down to 1865, when he was mustered out of the service at the close of the war. His career in the army has been thus briefly described: His regiment was assigned to duty in Kentucky, and afterwards to the army of the Cumberland, under General Thomas. Much of his term of service was spent on important detached duty. His first detail was as assistant adjutant general on the staff of General Ammen, at Covington, Kentucky. Here he also acceptably served as provost marshal under General Jacob D. Cox, and was a member of a court-martial under Judge Advocate R. M. Corwin, which continued in session for over one hundred days, and disposed of a large number of important cases. At a later period he was again detached for duty on courtmartial, at the special request of Judge Advocate Corwin, and served for a short period. While engaged in these difficult and responsible duties, he applied himself with great industry and method to the

mastering of all the knowledge he could gain on military law, studying daily the works thereon, and becoming thoroughly conversant with all the highest authorities. His regiment being sent to the front, he was, shortly after reaching the department of the Cumberland, detailed for service in the engineer corps, as assistant inspector of railroad defenses under Major James R. Willett, First United States engineers, and chief inspector of railroad defenses, department of the Cumberland. The task of keeping open the railroad communications was, at the time, of critical importance to the army. The specific duty laid upon Lieutenant Conger was the construction and maintenance of defenses on the line of the Nashville & Chatanooga railroad, between Nashville and Murfreesboro. The energy and promptness with which he accomplished his difficult task, and the excellence of his reports, drew the favorable notice of his commanding officers to the strong executive ability which has ever been the distinguishing feature of his character. He was thereupon made first assistant inspector under Major Willett, and placed in almost entire charge of his office business, including the direction of the now completed defenses of the department. While in this position, his organizing capacity became known to General Thomas, and he was recommended by that officer as captain and commissary of subsistence, with the intention of having him issue supplies, by special train, to garrisons of the blockhouses and railroad defenses through the department, in addi-

tion to his duties as inspector. With this recommendation only just made, the surrender of Lee took place, and the great war came to a close. He had continued as assistant to Major Willett until the close, bearing very heavy responsibilities, and for extended periods, during the absence of his chief, doing the entire work of the office. He had the complete confidence of his superior, and of all who in any way came in contact with him or his work. Captain Conger returned to his home in Boston on the return of peace, and gave a year to the rest of which he was in need after his long and continued service in the field.

The qualities that had made him a valuable soldier were recognized and appreciated in private life, and he was not long allowed to remain in the quiet of his home. In 1866 he was nominated by the Republicans of Summit county to the office of county treasurer, and elected. His official course was such during his first term that he was renominated and reelected in 1868, holding the position for four years in all. The duties of his office led him to remove to Akron, which has since been his place of residence, and where his home, Irving Lawn, is one of the beautiful and most hospitable places of the city.

On retiring from office Colonel Conger connected himself with the Whitman & Miles Manufacturing company as traveling salesman, and in a short time became one of the stockholders and directors thereof. The home office of the company was at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, with branch works at

Akron. Their business was the manufacture of mower-knives, reaper-sickles, and other articles of that character. Mr. Conger gave to his labor that ceaseless energy and untiring industry that he has ever bestowed upon any undertaking he has in hand, and soon built up for the company a western business of large proportions. In 1877 the company was consolidated under the laws of Ohio, with George Barnes & Co. of Syracuse, New York, under the name of the Whitman & Barnes Manufacturing company, with works at Akron and Syracuse. Mr. Conger was made vice-president of the new organization, and found himself under an added weight of responsibilities. The business advanced in size and importance, and additional works had to be soon added, at Canton, Ohio, and St. Catharines, Canada; their extensive trade north of the great lakes being handled from the place last named. This consolidation was suggested by Colonel Conger, and brought about by his personal influence. As a result of this movement it was at first thought by many that the outcome would be a great monopoly, but the wise forethought of the managers was such that the result was a cheapening of the manufacture to the consumer, and in consequence prices were steadily reduced until that idea was entirely done away with.

The size and importance of this business are hardly understood by the general public. The manufacture of the cutting part of harvesting machinery as a specialty began in 1848 by the predecessors of the Whitman & Miles Manu-

facturing company of Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Later on George Barnes & Co. of Syracuse, New York, commenced the same business. In 1877 these two organizations were consolidated, as above related, into the present Whitman & Barnes Manufacturing company, having thus been for nearly forty years engaged solely and exclusively in the manufacture of knives, sickles and sections. To every person, whether builder or user of a machine for cutting grain or grass, it is self-evident that the utmost value of the machine is dependent upon the quality of the knife. This fact was early recognized by this company, and further, that the best and most practical way to attain this important result was by making their manufacture a specialty, until owing to their long experience, the product of their factories has become the recognized standard as to value of quality of the cutting apparatus in all harvesting machinery. Year by year they have perfected their machinery and plant, have retained in their employ all of their most valued and experienced workmen, have uniformly used none but the very best and highest grade of material, and have spared no pains or expense to maintain the most effective organization, so that to-day the company and its product are acknowledged the world over to be the standard of excellence, especially among American manufacturers, American dealers and American farmers. In order to more successfully supply the wants of their customers, and to fortify themselves against contingencies in the future, they have established branch houses at Bos-

ton, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati and Kansas City, where all goods of their manufacture will be carried in stock. In Chicago they are building an immense and elegant structure on the corner of Jefferson and Monroe streets, which will cost over one hundred thousand dollars, and also one in Kansas City nearly as large.

Mr. Conger was elected vice-president of the new company on its organization, which office he held until September, 1884, when he was made president, and has remained such until the present. The organization of the company is one of the strongest in the country, and its quality and character are well shown in results. Mr. George Barnes, the chairman, is at present in England for the benefit of his health, which leaves the entire responsibility of management on the shoulders of Colonel Conger. Between these gentlemen the highest confidence and esteem have ever existed, and in Mr. Barnes the president ever finds a wise helper and earnest and willing supporter. The good will between the chiefs has had its natural effect, and is reflected all through the personal relations of officers and employés. The following is the organization of this great company at present, exclusive of the local houses:

Directors — George Barnes, James Barnes, I. C. Alden, A. L. Conger, George W. Crouse, W. W. Cox, George A. Barnes, C. F. Lamb, C. E. Sheldon, Samuel Collinson, William H. Gifford.

Chief executive officer and general managers—A. L. Conger, president; George Barnes, chairman.

General officers—I. C. Alden, treasurer ; W. W. Cox, assistant treasurer ; George E. Dana, secretary ; C. E. Sheldon, general superintendent. D. M. Garrett, superintendent of agencies.

Colonel Conger is the power, the life and drive-wheel of the company, and has all the workings of its various departments ever in hand. His wonderful power of classification and arrangement enables him to do an immense amount of work and to keep all the parts of the extensive business ever in hand and mind. He has lately taken an advance step in this direction, and reduced the entire work of the company to an exact military system, the best explanation of which can be given by a quotation from his circular, in which he set forth the change, to all concerned as follows :

In view of the extension of this company's business and the establishment of new branch houses, it is though wise and proper that some of the general affairs of the company be placed in the care of departments, the heads of which shall be held responsible to the president or chairman of the company, and they to its board of directors.

For that purpose the following departments are constituted :

- No. 1—Finance and business methods.
- No. 2—Manufacturing methods and construction of buildings.
- No. 3—Superintendence of agencies.
- No. 4—Insurance.
- No. 5—Advertising.

These departments and their duties and responsibilities will be explained and analyzed in subsequent circulars, and all employees of the company will cheerfully recognize and at all times do their best to assist the heads of departments in their work, and to carry out in good faith the spirit and intent of this and explanatory circulars. All appointments are to continue in force until the end of the fiscal year, unless sooner revoked. Additional specific instructions will be furnished from time to time by the president or chairman, as may be thought necessary.

A. L. CONGER, President.

Mr. Conger has had, and holds, extensive and important business connections other than those mentioned above. Among them may be mentioned the presidency of the Akron Steam Forge company ; a directorship in the Akron Water Works company ; is a director in the F. Schumacher Milling company, and is a stockholder in the Diamond Match company ; the Sellar Gear company, and is connected with other branches of business of less importance.

His connection with the affairs of his home city and the general public interests of the state has been by no means confined to the walks of business life. He has been called to the discharge of important public trusts, and has been a power for the advance and development of any public interest with which he had connection. He has been a member of the Akron board of education, and its secretary, and did all that lay in his power for the good of the public schools and the cause of education generally. He was for a few years treasurer of the city of Akron. Not the least of his work for home interests was performed as secretary of the board of trustees under whose direction the beautiful soldiers' memorial chapel was erected in Akron Rural cemetery. He drafted the resolutions by which the board was created, and contributed liberally of his time and money for the accomplishment of this cherished object. In July, 1881, the Eighth regiment Ohio National Guard, to which the Sixth battery was attached, unanimously elected him colonel, and Governor Foster commissioned him

to the position. At the Garfield funeral in the fall of the same year, his regiment was assigned to guard the Public Square of Cleveland and catafalque, and performed the duty in such manner as to win the admiration of all who were in attendance. He was stationed at the main entrance to the Public Square by those having the arrangements of the funeral in charge, so that his extensive acquaintance with public men could be made available in the great task of extending due courtesy to all, and yet keeping the immense gathering in hand. The duty was most ably performed, and Colonel Conger received the thanks of those upon whom the chief responsibility of the occasion rested.

One service performed by Colonel Conger, as commander of this regiment, deserves special mention, as it showed his admirable fitness as a leader of men, his courage, his coolness in the face of a grave situation, and his ability to control elements of the worst order. May 16, 1884, had been set for the execution of two criminals at Ashland, Ashland county. Because of the peculiarity of the situation, needless to explain here, large numbers of the people of the country had sworn to tear down the enclosure about the place for the execution and make it public to all who might wish to see. Matters progressed to such an extent that the local authorities found they could do nothing with the mob that was certain to assemble, and called on the governor for aid in carrying out the sentence of the court. Colonel Conger and his regiment were ordered to Ashland, and he was placed in command

of all state troops ordered to that point. In accordance with these orders he proceeded to Ashland, and found himself in control of thirty commissioned officers and two hundred and ninety-eight enlisted men. After looking the situation over, he placed his men in the most advantageous position, and gave orders to his officers that not a gun should be loaded nor a shot fired until he gave the word. He was prepared to take the responsibility for any blood that might be shed by the soldiers, but was determined that none should be shed except as a measure of extreme resort. The day was one of great anxiety and peril. The crowd began to assemble at seven A. M., and by hour and a half later the streets were packed. By nine o'clock the mob began to attempt to tear down the iron fence around the court-house and jail, and immediately behind which the soldiers had been stationed. The lines were then advanced, and orders given to allow no persons to lay hands on the fences. Soon after ropes were procured by the mob, which had soon swollen to immense proportions, and thrown over the iron pickets of the fence, with a view to pulling it down. This movement was frustrated by Colonel Conger and the other officers, who cut the ropes as fast as they were thrown. The mob became furious, and every attempt to cut the rope was met with a shower of stones and other missiles, which were hurled from every direction. Many of the mob were armed with revolvers which were constantly displayed, and frequently drawn upon the officers and men. Having failed

with the ropes, a log-chain was procured, and it was seen that it was impossible to save the fence without firing on the mob. Colonel Conger, in whose hands the complete authority was vested, concluded that it were better that a small amount of public property should be destroyed than that blood should be spilled; also hoping that while they were thus excitedly engaged the execution might be concluded within.

As the hour of execution arrived the mob became furious. Boulders were showered upon the men, the iron fence pulled to pieces, and hurled at the troops. A desperate charge was made in the hope of breaking the line, when many of the men were hurt, and the officers begged permission to fire. Colonel Conger was still sure he could control the situation without that desperate and bloody result. In a lull that followed the charge he moved to the front of his line and held up his hand. In the hush of the moment he turned to his men and ordered them to load. It was obeyed with promptness. He then said to the mob that he should certainly order the men to fire if a rush was again made, and if they once commenced there would be no let-up as long as there was a man in sight. But that did not end the struggle, as a rush was soon after made to another point, but was again repelled. The coolness of the men and their leader had the desired result, and the execution was accomplished according to law. It had been a terrible day all the way through, and only a man of the highest quality could have controlled it and prevented a terrible scene. In a public address

issued by the sheriff, he said: "The good people of this county are under lasting obligations for the promptness with which our request was met by our state officials. Colonel Conger, of Akron, in command of the military forces on that day, will ever be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Ashland county for his coolness and judgment under the trying circumstances in which he was placed. A less discreet commander might have precipitated a most disastrous conflict. For myself and the people of Ashland county I thank him." Colonel Conger also received special thanks and congratulations from Governor Hoadly and the adjutant-general for his conduct on that occasion.*

Colonel Conger is a member of the society of the Army of the Cumberland, and of the Loyal Legion. In 1883 he was urged by a large number of business men as a director of the Union Pacific railroad, and a very strong endorsement was made by them to President Arthur in his behalf. He was recommended by a host of the best business men of the country, and by General Grant, Senator Jones, General Logan, Senator Cameron, Governor Foster, Judge Taft, many Republican editors, and other prominent men. He was appointed and held the position one year, giving to the road the highest quality of service, and

* His term of service (five years) as colonel of the Eighth regiment expired in June last, and he was *unanimously* re-elected by the officers and men of his regiment, and has been recommissioned by Governor Foraker.

opening the way to needed advantages to the general public.

Colonel Conger is best known to the general public of Ohio, perhaps, through the hard and successful work he has performed for the Republican party, and for the loyal manner in which he has sought to advance and uphold the principles upon which he has built his political faith. While far from narrow-mindedness, and willing to give full credit to his opponents for whatever of good they have a right to lay claim, he is yet steadfast and earnest in his belief in Republican principles, and seeks to disseminate them by all lawful and proper means. Ever active and full of a surpassing executive strength in the local affairs of his party, having served for eighteen years on the central committee of Summit country, he came soon to be recognized as a natural leader of men, and was rapidly advanced in the counsels of his party's state organization. After an untiring service for years upon the state and local committees, he was, in 1880, advanced to the head of the party in Ohio by an election to the chairmanship of the Republican State Central committee. He held the place through 1880 and again in 1882, covering periods of remarkable importance in the world of politics. No greater compliment could have been paid him than to call him to the helm in 1880, at a time when the success of the party in the presidential election, and the victory for Garfield, depended largely on the course of Ohio in October. Colonel Conger showed the highest qualities of leadership while in this important posi-

tion, combining a knowledge of men and a magnetic presence with a thorough knowledge of the state and a political diplomacy of the highest order. No more popular man was ever called to the chairmanship of that important committee. He was also elected to represent Ohio in the National Republican committee in 1884, which office he still holds, and has performed an able service in that position. He was a delegate to the National Republican convention in Chicago in 1884, and while there gave a loyal and most effective service to Mr. Blaine. He has ever been a friend to the soldier, and has made that friendship shown in hundreds of very definite ways. He is one of the oldest members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and has ever worked earnestly and faithfully to build it up, with an abiding faith from the first that the old soldiers would finally recognize the need of such an organization and its benefits to them. His service to the order found a fitting recognition at the annual meeting of the Department of Ohio, at Cleveland, in April, 1886, when he was unanimously elected department commander. His name was proposed by one who knew him well, and who, in the course of his remarks, said of him: "I propose to announce to you the name of a comrade who will keep that standard equally high in the year to come, and will surrender his place at the expiration of the time as pure as have those in the years gone by. I will name to you a comrade, who united with thousands of others under old Pap Thomas, in the grand achieve-

ments of the Tennessee; one of the boys who stood the brunt during the dark days of the Grand Army of the Republic; he is a part of the history of one of the eight posts which remained firm to their record. His abilities as a manager of a large number of men, of great manufacturing interests, authorizes me to pledge to you one of the most eminent qualifications of a commander of the department of Ohio. I name to you Colonel Arthur L. Conger as our next commander." The proposition was received with great applause, and speeches seconding the nomination were made by members of various posts, from all parts of the state. Many earnest and hearty praises were spoken of him in these addresses. As a result the rules were suspended and he was unanimously elected to the position. In his speech of acceptance he eloquently expressed his appreciation of the high honor conferred upon him, and spoke warmly and earnestly of the debt that the country owed to the soldier, and of its duty to all such as were in any way in need of help. The time that has elapsed since his election as department commander has been so brief that he has not been able to show his faith and hope in his works to any great extent, but it can be safely assumed that the executive and creative powers that have won him honor and material success in the past, will be put forth in many fruitful ways for the benefit of the veteran boys in blue and of the order which he loves so well, and in which he takes so great pride. He was one of the influences by which this

year's national encampment was held in San Francisco, as his numerous business trips to the Pacific coast had taught him that a royal welcome lay ready beyond the Rockies; and the result showed that his belief was not unfounded. No small share of the success of that great gathering was due to his efforts and to his personal labors for the pleasure of not only those from Ohio but of all with whom he came in contact. The manner in which he took the delegation from Ohio marked him as one who not only had a heart alive for the good of the order, but who knew what was appropriate to the occasion. There was a natural strife as to which department should go in the best order, and it can safely be said that Ohio was surpassed by none. It had the largest delegation present, headed by the Eighth regiment band of twenty-eight pieces, and the manner in which it went reflected credit not only on the department but on the entire state as well, and especially on Colonel Conger, to whom so much of that great success was due. On the return of Colonel and Mrs. Conger from that trip they were tendered a magnificent reception by members of the Women's Relief corps, Buckley Post, G. A. R., and the people of Akron, one feature of which is thus spoken of by the *Akron Beacon*: "The fine portrait of Colonel Conger was most beautifully decked with ivy, while underneath, upon a floral pedestal, was another magnificent floral G. A. R. badge. Souvenirs of the California trip could be seen throughout the suite of rooms. The centres of at-

traction were the magnificent bronze clock and vases which adorned the mantel in the parlor. An inscription upon the clock told the following story: 'Presented to Mrs. A. L. Conger by the Ohio delegates of the 20th National Encampment, G. A. R., San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 5, 1886.' These are magnificent pieces of workmanship and must be seen to be appreciated." Colonel Conger, although employed beyond the labors of most men, and loaded with many and varied responsibilities of a serious nature, has found time to supplement his early school education by the larger education of books and periodicals, and has kept fully abreast with the best thought and information of the times. He is a conversationalist of a fine order, and a strong and effective speaker. On Memorial Day, 1886, he delivered the oration of the day at Cambridge, Ohio, and it was an eloquent and masterly address. The thoughtful statesmanship which underlies it, and the courage of expression which prevades it, are of such character that I cannot refrain from quoting one or two paragraphs therefrom, as follows:

These memorial days, these Grand Army associations, are not then mere idle playdays or sentimental societies. They have a mission, and we in them, and of them. Survivors of the war have yet much work to do. For those who have gone before we have set apart this day to keep their memories green and perpetuate the truths for which they died; but what can we do for those still living? Many are not celebrating this day. Many are celebrating, if not in bodily pain and mental anguish, still in anxiety as to the future; twenty-five years ago they rushed into the ranks, and the productive energies of manhood were centered into those four years of war. Camp diseases assailed them, the southern swamps and

forests poisoned them. Southern prisons enfeebled them, where they did not destroy, and those years which should have served for securing comfort and health, were given for country and liberty. That is, the productive period of life is gone, and some have not only no provisions for the future but none for the present. It is no idle tale that the wind brings to our ears, that some are suffering for the necessities of life, and some are to be found in poor-houses. It is not asking too much of the generation now producing, who owe in part this magnificent fabric under whose shelter they live, to those men, that the old soldier should be provided for; and how can we best bring it to the attention of the state and general government except by organization. . . . There is another notorious character in our country to-day who can safely be compared to Jefferson Davis. I refer to Herr Most, the leader of the anarchists in America. Davis represents a dead issue of the past, Herr Most represents an issue that must soon be settled. Tradition tells us that Davis, in his flight, was captured in the disguise of the clothing of the weaker sex, while Herr Most, after inciting his followers to riot, also fled, was captured and dragged by the boots from under the bed of a disreputable woman, where he had hidden, covering his head with a pillow. The teachings of Jefferson Davis and the principles he advocated were the embodiment of all that was wrong. They were against truth, reason, progress and justice, and with their death civilization received the greatest progressive impulse since the creation of the world. But, my comrades and fellow citizens, the matter that concerns you and me the most, is the story told by the public press of the army of two thousand children strewing the path of the arch-traitor with flowers. That fact teaches us important lessons, and one of them that the G. A. R. must not languish, must not die. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and if it be true that the children of the south are being taught that treason, secession and rebellion are right, then your duty is plain, to be followed with redoubled zeal, that *your* children and the generation who are left on guard after you leave the field, are taught that the hydraheaded monster of treason, state supremacy and rebellion is the enemy of civilization and of American liberty, an enemy of the nation that gave them birth and protection, and when you retire from the field, let the guns of the nation be double-shotted, with orders that whenever or wherever the hideous monster appears, it shall be shot to death. . . . Upon the fragment of the Grand Army of the Republic that is

left, there still rests a great responsibility—the maintenance of the government that they and their fallen comrades have established. There are four distinct and living elements in society that they may avail themselves of, in carrying out this holy purpose : One is the public press, with its fingers on every pulse, right conducted it is one of the great bulwarks of American liberty ; another is the pulpit, with its loyalty and love of law, its leverage upon the conscience and moral nature of man ; another consists of the patriotic indoctrination of the children—the rising generation of the land ; and the last I would mention is the labor of the land, its muscle and sinews, always strong and loyal. Let it be protected and protecting. With these mighty allies we can defy every foe within and every enemy without, and our glorious nation, in which Providence is working the social problems of the ages, will arise, grow and move forward with a power and majesty irresistible in its influence and unprecedented in its glory.

Colonel Conger was married on November 1, 1864, to Miss Emily Bronson, a daughter of Hiram V. Bronson of Boston and granddaughter of Harmon Bronson, one of the original proprietors of the Western Reserve. Mrs. Conger is a lady of rare character and culture, and wins the admiration and loving respect of all with whom she comes in contact. She is possessed of the most exquisite taste, and has a high order of talents in many directions. She has ever been a helper to her husband in manifold ways, and was especially so in his days of early struggle, when she went into the treasurer's office by his side, and was a hard-working and faithful assistant. All the responsibilities of home-life and management rest upon her shoulders, thus relieving her busy husband of many cares. She is a leader in many good works, her home is a centre of hospitality, and she has proved herself a noble, helpful Christian woman in every relation of life. Four

sons have been born to their union, Kenyon Bronson, Erastus Irving, deceased, Arthur Whitman, and Latham Hubbard.

Colonel Conger is a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Akron, and of the vestry thereof. While he never makes a claim as to the manner of his work for the good of those about him, or the results produced, he is a helpful, generous, manly man, and deserves the high respect and confidence in which he universally held. Honorable in all his dealings, whether of a social, business or political character, and just in all his transactions with men, he is doing one man's full work in the world, and would be missed in many ways.

As a business man he has done much for Akron and Ohio, and has been ever in the forefront of any enterprise having in view the public good. Personal interests are never allowed to stand in the way of public benefits. He has produced business results of great dimensions, and is one of the most active and hardest working men in the west. Whatever he touches feels the force of his vitality, and moves forward without friction or a jar. Generous not only in matters of a material character, but toward those who are overtaken by their own weakness or mistakes, he still has no mercy for treason or dishonesty in any relation, and is himself the soul of personal and business honor. Beloved by all who know him, patriotic in every sense of the word, possessing the courage of his convictions, he has already won fame that is national, and no man need be surprised if the honors of to-day are but the forerunners of higher honors in the future. J. H. K.

SKETCHES OF WESTERN CONGRESSMEN.

II.

JACOB ROMEIS.

JACOB ROMEIS, who represents the Toledo, Ohio, district in congress, is one of those men, who, born under a foreign flag and brought to America at an early age, have grown up in the fullest sympathy with the principles and institutions of this country, and possess a patriotism all the more intense because of the glimpses they have had of another order of national life. He is a self-made man in the broadest and best sense of that term, and the high positions to which he has won his way, and the large measure of public confidence he has for years commanded, have been the rewards of his own industry, honesty and manly devotion to duty. Mr. Romeis was born at Weisenbach, Bavaria, on December 1, 1835, the son of John and Elizabeth Romeis, both of German nativity. His parents removed to America in 1847, when he was but twelve years of age, and settled in Buffalo, New York. While in Germany, the father had been a farmer and linen weaver, and after coming to New York was for many years in the employ of the state, in connection with its quarry interests. He died in 1868. The son Jacob, in the old German days, attended the village school at Weisenbach, and afterward the public schools of Buffalo.

The needs of the family compelled young Romeis to push out quite early in life, and he became a cabin-boy on the steamers that plied on Lake Erie. The transition from this to railroading was natural and easy, and in 1856 he began his career as a railroader in the position of train baggageman on the Wabash railroad. After two years in this capacity he began running freight and passenger trains, and in the spring of 1863 was promoted to regular conductor of a passenger train. The duties of this position were discharged with great satisfaction to the management until an attack of sickness in the fall of 1871 took him off the road for nearly a year. As soon as he was able to go to work again, his superintendent—Mr. George H. Burroughs, now superintendent of the New York York Central—appointed him general baggage agent of the line, a place of unusual care and responsibility. All the baggagemasters and all the baggage on the road were in his charge, and he was held responsible for every piece of luggage that was lost or went astray. He came out of this ordeal triumphantly, and Colonel Andrews, who succeeded Mr. Burroughs as superintendent of the Wabash, promoted him to depot master of the eastern division,



Respectfully
Jacob Rommels

which put him in charge of all the passenger men on the line between Toledo and Danville. He held this position until he resigned to take his seat in congress. Every promotion that he received was won by faithful, intelligent service, without the slightest intriguing or favor seeking. He is too genuine and manly a man to play the courtier to anyone, and whatever came to him came unsought.

He was never a politician in any sense, always keeping away from caucuses and conventions, and almost always voting a scratched ticket, on which he placed the names of the best men either party had nominated for the positions. In 1874 his popularity with his fellow-employés and railroad men generally brought about his nomination for alderman for the Seventh ward of Toledo, in which he resides, and he was elected by a flattering majority. He showed so much good sense and stubborn honesty in managing the tangled municipal affairs that he was reëlected in 1876, and made president of the board of alderman in 1877. He still continued to win golden opinions from everybody by his unwavering fidelity to the interests of the city, and was renominated as alderman in 1878, but firmly refused all solicitations to serve another term. He could not refuse the nomination for mayor, which was given him in 1879, and he was elected. The finances of the city were at that time in a bad shape, but he inaugurated a better order of things by a rigid application of the common-sense plan of reducing the expenditures below the

income, and applying the surplus to the payment of the city's indebtedness. It is very easy to talk about retrenching, but very difficult to accomplish it in the face of the clamor and opposition of the men who are hurt by the cutting down. Mayor Romeis went steadily ahead in the course he had marked out, avoiding irritation wherever it was possible and conciliating opposition by calmness and forbearance, but never wavering from principle. At the end of his term of two years the good results were so apparent that he was reëlected, and again reëlected in 1883. All this time he was making a solid, substantial growth in the estimation of every one, without regard to party. In 1884, during his third term as mayor, the election for congressman from the district in which the cities of Toledo and Sandusky are situated, was held. The Democrats renominated the Hon. Frank Hurd, a brilliant orator and a man of national reputation. They had a majority in the district of about two thousand five hundred, and Mr. Hurd was confident of success, as he had reason to be. The opposition to him, which was made up of Republicans, dissatisfied Democrats, Greenbackers and men of other varieties of political belief, finally induced Mr. Romeis to make the race against him. A campaign of extraordinary activity and bitterness followed. As Mr. Romeis' character and career were wholly unassailable, his opponents devoted themselves to belittling his ability and education, and contrasting the plain, self-educated railroader with the showy and rhetorical

lawyer. Meanness and malignancy beyond description characterized some of their attacks. But Mr. Romeis went before the people on his record as a man, a citizen and an official of Toledo, and when the votes were counted it was found that he had wiped out Mr. Hurd's majority of two thousand five hundred, and still had two hundred and thirty-nine votes. Mr. Hurd carried the contest to the house of representatives, where it was decided by an overwhelming majority that Mr. Romeis had been legally elected.

Mr. Romeis is a little above the medium height and weight, with a kindly, honest face, and a very pleasant address. While no orator, he has the power of saying whatever he desires to in a straightforward, forcible way, with well-chosen words, of the meaning of which there can be no doubt. His success in politics has never disturbed his balance in the least, and he is in all things, except the added experience, the same plain, every-day man he was when handling baggage on the Wabash.

In a recent speech in congress on the Free Shipping bill he said :

Mr. Chairman, I have been a wage-worker for thirty-five years or more as a sailor and railroad man. I laid aside the lantern to take a seat in the halls of congress, and when I leave I expect to take up one of these vocations again. But while I have a voice and a vote in this house I shall not give it for a proposition that will in my opinion destroy the capital invested in American industries, thereby

throwing out of employment thousands of working-men who are directly dependent upon that capital. For that reason I shall vote against this bill." [Applause.]

It is needless to say much concerning the personal qualities of Mr. Romeis. They have been shown forth in even a brief biography like the above. No man could have been elected to the important positions he has held unless he possessed a great honesty of character and a faithfulness to duty of the most earnest character. He is a man of the strictest honesty, unflinching in his advocacy of his views and principles, and fearless in his efforts to carry them to a successful issue. Perhaps his most marked trait in public life is his patience in listening to all which may be advanced for or against a measure which may affect the public's interest, his zeal in the investigation of its merits, and the care with which his judgment is made, after which he stands like adamant, and not the entreaties of his warmest and most trusted friends nor the force of general public opinion can swerve him after he is satisfied that he is in the right. He is affable and very courteous, and his "yes" or "no," when given, is accepted by those who know him as the final conclusion of the matter. He is a friend to the right wherever it may set up its claim, and just and generous in all relations of life.

HENRY K. JAMES.



Messrs. Bing & Co.

Milton W. Cather M D

DR. MILTON M. CATLIN.

THE physician and surgeon whose name is given above, although not of Ohio birth has been so long a resident of this state and has won such success in the practice of his profession, that he may well be given a place among the men who have helped to give Ohio the high standing she has to-day in the world of medicine. A faithful, earnest physician, whose profession is his first and chief thought, he has labored to do good through whatever channel has presented itself; and the results he has achieved have not come by any chance or series of chances, but through his own hard, intrepid and intelligent work.

Dr. Catlin was born on August 15, 1846, in Winfield, Herkimer county, New York. His parents, Roger and Elizabeth (Noble) Catlin, were both natives of New York state, and he was the third son in a family of seven children. At nine years of age he was left fatherless, and compelled to depend upon his own exertions for such advance in life as he should secure. Until he reached the age of sixteen he found a home in the families of various farmers in the neighborhood, working during the summers and attending school in the winters. The thirst for knowledge was strong upon him, and during some part of the period above mentioned he was able to attend an academy in his native town. The opportunities there

afforded were well appreciated, and he devoted himself to his studies with a determination to secure an education and make the best possible use of the powers that he felt to be within him. He made rapid advance, and upon leaving the academy he took the first prize for superiority in declamation.

But there came an interruption to his purpose for a further advance in the path wherein he had shown such promise. The war of the Rebellion broke out, and as soon as his age would permit his being accepted, young Catlin gladly offered his services in his country's cause. In the spring of 1863, when but sixteen years of age, he enlisted as a private in company D, Forty-sixth Veteran New York volunteers. The regiment was known as "Fremont's regiment," and formed a part of the Second brigade, First division, Ninth army corps, General Burnside commander. He served for two years, or until the close of the war, and took part in many battles. He was at the siege of Vicksburg, after which he was transferred to duty in East Tennessee, and took part in the battles of Blue Springs, Campbell's Station, Knoxville and Fort Saunders. In 1864 he was transferred to Virginia; was at the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, siege of Petersburg, Fort Steadman, the fall of

Petersburgh, Appomattox and the surrender of Lee, besides taking part in numerous skirmishes and minor engagements. He was in line in the grand review at Washington on May 23, 1865, and remained on guard duty in that city until July 28, when he was mustered out of the service and returned home.

His health having been impaired by this long and arduous service, the young man on returning home entered the office of Dr. Nathan Spencer, a homeopathic physician of Winfield, in the dual capacity of patient and student. He applied himself with the old-time energy of his school days, and from the beginning made rapid advance in his chosen path. He attended a course of lectures at the Homeopathic Hospital college of Cleveland, from which he graduated in February, 1868. In the spring of the same year he commenced upon the course of practice in which he has won so high a standing, and through which he has been of such benefit to those about him. He opened an office in Brookfield, Madison county, New York, where he remained for some three years. He then removed to Massillon, Stark county, Ohio, where he remained until 1875, when he again removed, to Canton, the seat of the same county, where he has since remained. He has won his way into the front rank of the physicians of northern Ohio, and has ably earned the distinction and reputation he has gained. He is the leading homeopathic physician and surgeon of his section of the state.

That branch of the medical profession has largely gained in favor in Stark county since his appearance there, which fact must be attributed to his great success in cases under his care.

Dr. Catlin is one of the strong and active men of the community of which he is a part, and has the confidence and respect of all. He is a member of the Homeopathic Medical Society of Northeastern Ohio and of the American Institute of Homeopathy. He is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic; and while he is an earnest Republican, he is by no means a partisan of the narrow-minded kind, and takes no personal part in politics. His heart is in his work, and his profession has more claim upon his time and care than any allurements of public life, or the emoluments of official station. His extensive practice is the best proof of his success, and the confidence in which he is held by those about him. The respect given him is not based altogether upon his high standing as a physician, but is also a tribute to his character as a man. Earnest, affable, generous and helpful, he seeks to do good whenever an opportunity presents itself, and to make the best possible use of the powers and talents with which nature has endowed him.

Dr. Catlin was married in January, 1869, to Miss Rozella D. Clarke, the estimable daughter of Anson Clarke, esq., of Brookfield, New York. A charming family of one boy and two girls have been born to bless their union.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

GURDON S. HUBBARD was born in Windsor, Vermont, in 1802. His parents were Elizur and Abigail (Sage) Hubbard. Gurdon left Montreal, where his parents then lived, in 1818, reaching Mackinaw on the fourth of July, and Chicago on the last day of October. He was a resident for the greatest number of years of that city of any of its citizens, at the time of his death, which occurred there on the fourteenth of September.

and warm that whole vast and various mass and move it as a soul."

AN account of various silver and copper medals presented to the North American Indians by the sovereigns of England, France and Spain, is the subject of a recent pamphlet by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania. This is a timely publication—one well calculated to interest the historical student.

BEN: PERLEY POORE writes in the *Boston Budget*: "Rufus Choate, speaking of Daniel Webster, said that he never heard him make a speech, a great speech, whatever were the topic of the time, that did not leave the impression that he loved nothing, desired nothing, so much as the good and glory of America; that he knew no north and no south; that he did not seem to summon around him the whole brotherhood of states and men and hold them to his heart. This gave freshness and energy to all his speeches; this set the tune to the universal harmony. Even his studies revealed this passion. He knew American history by heart as a statesman, not as an antiquary should know it. The plain, noble men, the high aims and hard fortunes of the colonial time, the agony and the glory of the Revolutionary War, and of the age of the constitution were all familiar to him; but chiefly he loved to mark how the spirit of national life was evolving itself all the while; how the colonies grew to regard one another as children of the same mother, and therefore fraternally; how the common danger, the common oppression of the anti-Revolutionary and Revolutionary period served to fuse them into one; how the constitution made them formally one; and how the grand and sweet and imperial sentiment of a united national life came at last to penetrate

THE thirteenth annual reunion of the Mahoning and Shenango Valley Pioneer association was held at Youngstown, Ohio, on the tenth of September. Over two hundred of the pioneers were present, whose ages averaged seventy-five. The oldest member present was Asa Baldwin of Poland, who is in his nintieth year. The annual address was delivered by W. P. Cutler of Marietta, whose grandfather was Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the manager of the Ohio Land company, which purchased from the government in 1787, a very large tract of land in what is now Ohio. Mr. Cutler's address was full of historical facts, reminiscences and anecdotes, and proved intensely interesting to the large audience assembled.

THE eighth volume of the 'Michigan Pioneer Collections' has been recently published. "In the interest of history," say the committee having charge of the issuing of these 'Collections,' "and to rescue from concealment and danger of entire loss, family treasures carefully stowed away, libraries of antiquarian lore, and the archives of antiquarian and historical associations have been searched and examined, to bring to light papers and matters relating to the early history of the territory and state, and these have, from time to time, been published in volumes entitled, 'Pioneer Collections of

Michigan.' The volumes now presented to the public will well repay careful perusal.

IN ancient Ireland a *drui* was prophet, priest, doctor and magician, and the name seems to be connected with our word tree. It was against the rule of the Druids to write things down. They were in the habit of retiring to the deepest woods for meditation and study, sometimes attended by pupils. That is probably the reason why the Irish, among whom the Druids retained their power the longest—because Ireland was the hardest to reach of all the great islands thereabouts, and the last to feel the changes taking place elsewhere in Europe—chose a pretty system of naming the letters of the Latin alphabet when it became common. Instead of calling A, *alpha*, as the Latins usually did, they said A, *ailm*, the word which stood in their language for palm tree and came, in sound, nearest to *alpha*, and began with an A. Instead of *beta* they said *beith*, the word for birch tree, almost the same in sound as the Phœnician, but quite different in meaning. And so with the other letters: *coll*, hazel; *duir*, oak; *eadha*, aspen; *fearan*, alder; *gort*, ivy; *huath*, white thorn; *iogha*, yew; *luis*, mountain ash; *muin*, vine; *nuin*, ash; *oir*, broom; *peilh*, dwarf elder; *suil*, willow; *teine*, furze; *ur*, heath. They call this alphabet *beithluisnuin*, choosing out the letters B, L and N, instead of the letters A and B, to form a name.

AS THE life career of Rev. Manasseh Cutler is just now, to many citizens of Ohio, in view of the approaching centennial of the first settlement of the state, a matter of special inquiry, we append references to such books and magazines as contain information concerning him:

- (1) 'Historical Magazine,' Vol. I, third series, p. 324.
- (2) 'History of Washington County, Ohio,' pp. 455 and 477.
- (3) 'Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton,' pp. 278, 294—300.
- (4) 'Morse's Genealogical Record of Several Families bearing the name of Cutler,' pp. 57, 58.

(5) 'Memorial and History of the Western Library Association of Ames Township, Athens County, Ohio.'

(6) 'North American Review,' Vol. LIII, pp. 358--359.

(7) 'New England Historical and Genealogical Register,' Vol. XXVII, p. 161.

(8) 'An Explanation of the Map which Delineates that Part of the Federal Lands Comprehended between Pennsylvania West Line, the Rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie; Confirmed to the United States by Sundry Tribes of Indians in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786, and now ready for Settlement.' By Manasseh Cutler, Salem, 1787.

(9) 'North American Review,' Vol. CXXII, p. 261.

(10) 'Historical Magazine,' Vol. XXII, (third series, Vol. II,) pp. 25, 82, 142.

(11) 'Hours at Home,' Vol. VII, p. 455.

(12) 'Articles of an Association by the Name of the Ohio Company.' New York, 1787.

(13) 'Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio,' p. 47 *et seq.*

THE eyes of the whole country are now turned toward the city of Charleston, because of its sufferings from earthquake shocks. It has had an eventful history. It was founded about the year 1677; was attacked by a British squadron in June, 1776, and successfully defended by Colonel Moultrie, but was surrendered by General Lincoln in 1780, after a six weeks' siege by Sir Henry Clinton. The late Civil War was begun by the Confederates bombarding and capturing Fort Sumter, and they held Charleston until February 17, 1865. 'Lippincott's Gazetteer' (1880) gives the principal structures in Charleston as being a new custom house, the city hall, court house, citadel, academy of music, orphan asylum and the arsenal, and forty churches including one of those destroyed—"St. Michael's church, Episcopal, a remarkable brick structure, with a steeple one hundred and eighty feet high and a chime of bells that were imported from England in 1764"—three large public halls, three national banks, four state banks, five machine shops, seven cotton

presses, several grist mills and ship yards, a good dry docks for large ships, etc. It is the largest city in South Carolina, is situated one hundred and eighteen miles northeast of Savannah and five hundred and forty miles from Washington. It extends about three miles in length and nearly a mile and a half wide, with the rivers Ashley and Cooper on either side. It has a fine harbor formed by the junction of these two rivers below the city, and a water front of some nine miles. The harbor defenses are Castle Pinckney two miles, Fort Sumter, six miles, and Fort Moultrie (on Sullivan's Island) seven miles below the city. The site upon which Charleston is built is only eight or nine feet above the high tide level of the harbor. The streets are laid out like those of Philadelphia, running parallel with the rivers and intersected with others at right angles. The avenues are broad, many of them sixty or seventy feet in width, bordered with beautiful shade trees and lined with fine houses, even the most unpretensions of the latter being often ornamented with vines and creepers, and beautified by gardens with choice trees and shrubs. Its assessed valuation in 1880 was \$28,000,000, \$17,000,000 of which was credited to real estate, and the population is said to be composed of 27,276 colored people and 22,699 whites.

THE student of English colonization of America has regretted that there has been, heretofore, so little published upon the development of the Virginian colony, during what is properly styled the Carolan period. With the hope that it might lead to a more intelligent comprehension of the motives and social surroundings of the chief men of that era, the Rev. Edward D. Neill of St. Paul, Minnesota, has prepared a work entitled, 'Virginia Carolorum: The Colony under the Rule of Charles the First and Second, A. D., 1625—A. D. 1685, Based upon Manuscripts and Documents of the Period.' The book (pp. 446) is exceedingly interesting and valuable, and is luxuriously printed by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany.

IN the last number of the MAGAZINE OF

WESTERN HISTORY (Vol. IV, No 5—September, 1886), p. 719, in the Editorial Notes, by a copyist's error, the extract given from Christopher Gist's Journal, is made to read, "fifteen miles below the falls," instead of reading, as it should, "fifteen miles above the falls."

As a result of a movement upon the part of the chief magistrates of the thirteen original states, seven governors of as many commonwealths met in Philadelphia on the seventeenth of September, to arrange for fitting observance of the centennial anniversary of the promulgation of the constitution of the United States. This centenary will occur on the seventeenth of September, 1887. Ten states were represented. The following governors were present: Pattison, Pennsylvania; Lee, Virginia; Lloyd, Maryland; Stockley, Delaware; Wetmore, Rhode Island; McDaniel, Georgia; and Shepherd of South Carolina. New York was represented by Lieutenant-Governor Jones, New Jersey by a committee of the state legislature, and Connecticut by ex-Governor Bigelow. At the Continental hotel Governor Pattison delivered a brief address of welcome. There were present also many other distinguished visitors from the various states, and a citizens' committee of entertainment. After Governor Pattison's speech the party divided into pairs and marched down Chestnut street to the old state house. Here the party halted in the room where the Declaration of Independence was signed, and standing under a canopy of red, white and blue, they listened to an address of welcome by Mayor Smith. Carpenter's hall, the old hall where, in 1774, the first colonial congress met, eleven provinces being represented, was the next place visited. At this place also a meeting was held. The governors ranged themselves around the large table near the centre of the hall. Richard K. Betts, one of the oldest members of the "Carpenter's company of the city and county of Philadelphia," welcomed the visitors and briefly reviewed the history of the time-worn meeting-place. Hampton L. Larson then delivered the oration.

The business meeting of the governors was called to order by Governor Pattison. Governor Lee, of Virginia, was invited to take the chair. Mr. Carson was elected secretary. Letters were read from the governors of North Carolina, New Hampshire and Massachusetts regretting their inability to attend and assuring the governors that they were in sympathy with the movement. Colonel J. E. Peyton, who originated the idea of the celebration and who had charge of the arrangements, was invited to the stand to make any suggestions which might have occurred to him. The colonel, in reply said that it would be a good idea to have every state in the Union represented at the celebration next September by a regiment of soldiery. It seemed to him that the young men in the various states would gladly avail themselves of this opportunity to participate in the celebration. On motion of Governor Pattison, the organization was made permanent. The governor suggested also that a committee consisting of the governors of the thirteen states and representative citizens from these states be appointed to prepare a plan for the celebration. On motion of Governor Stockley, of Delaware, the chair appointed a committee consisting of five members, to draft a plan. The governors of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Rhode Island, Maryland and Georgia were appointed.

FROM Independence hall, in Philadelphia, a line drawn west of north and extended eighteen miles will end in the township of Gwynedd. Approaching the place on such a line, the surface of the country rises, and at last attains an elevation of four hundred feet above the sea, where it forms a water-shed that divides the drainages of the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers. Upon the western slopes of this water-shed the lands of the township chiefly lie, and the greater part of their rain-fall, feeding affluents of the Wissahickon, that rise in springs within the township, pass by them, or by the main stream which traverses Gwynedd from north to south, having risen just over the line, in Montgomery, down to the Schuylkill. From

the northwestern part of the township, however, the drainage goes west by north through the Towamencin and other tributaries of the Skippack, into the Perkiomen, and thus reaches the Schuylkill far above the Wissahickon; while the rain-fall upon a few hundred acres in the extreme eastern corner of the township passes south and east to the Neshaming, and through it to the Delaware.

The township is a parallelogram, containing nearly seventeen square miles, and occupied by over three thousand people. Fairly to be called a hill country, if compared with levels beside the sea, or villages along the great rivers, it yet is no more than a moderately elevated part of that remarkable agricultural region which, occupying all southeastern Pennsylvania, reaches northward and westward to the Blue mountains and the River Susquehanna. Covered with woods when the white settlers came, at the end of the seventeenth century, then cleared, and since continuously tilled, this is a township simply of farming land; its surface rolling, but not ruff; its soil moderately fertile, but demanding faithful but careful tillage. Natural wealth, except that of the soil, it has none; if minerals lie beneath the surface, they are at such a depth as would baffle the most zealous miner.

But this township of Gwynedd has a history and one of paramount interest to every Welsh settler in the United States; for it was settled, in 1698, by Welsh immigrants. Howard M. Jenkins has written its annals, which are to be found in his work entitled 'Historical Collections Relating to Gwynedd.'

THE public library of the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is a credit to its enterprising inhabitants. It has an aggregate of about thirty-five thousand volumes. It has an able and efficient librarian in the person of Klas August Linderfelt, and a zealous and faithful deputy librarian in Miss Theresa H. West. A 'Systematic Catalogue,' recently gotten up by them, is an admirable work of its kind, of eight hundred and seventy-one pages.

MR. JUSTIN WINSOR, in the Atlantic for March, has this to say concerning the collections made by German and French purveyors of "Americana," during the first forty years of the present century:

The first forty years of the nineteenth century were to organize the study of Americana in a way that has guided the more extensive accumulations of the succeeding forty.

. . . There is not a German list during these forty years worth considering, though Grahame tells us that in writing his history of the United States during the colonial period he found, in 1825, the university library at Gottingen richer in books for his purpose than all the libraries in Britain combined. It was also the example of a German professor which became so powerful during the early years of this century to direct and foster the study of American history. This was Professor Ebeling, whose American library of thirty-two hundred volumes and an extraordinary collection of maps was bought by Colonel Israel Thorndyke, in 1818, for \$6,500, and given to the library of Harvard college. Hardly a writer on American history since, engaged upon studies antedating the present century, but has found it indispensable to sound the depths of this Ebeling collection. No list of it was ever printed, except so far as it may be included in the general catalogue of that library in 1830-34.

Among the French, the labors of Boucher de la Richarderie and Fairbault were easily eclipsed by the collection formed by Ternaux-Compans. This embraced about twelve hundred entries, all of a date before 1700—an extent which, as Mr. Brevoort thinks, had not before been reached by any gatherer of the older books. This was in 1836, and the catalogue which described the collection, scantily supplied though it was with the notes of its learned possessor, has not yet ceased to be of great use to the student. It has been said that Ternaux formed the collection for the purpose of selling it. At all events, he took precautions to preserve the record of his bibliographical zeal, for his books, with his monogram and crest impressed on their covers, are among the much-prized nuggets of many an American library.

It is entertaining reading to go over the pages of works of fifty years ago, treating of the public improvements of the west, when canals were the principal thoroughfares for travel and transportation inland between the rivers and the lakes—when, indeed, railroads

were wholly unknown. The following is from John A. Bryan's 'Condensed History of Ohio,' in 'The Ohio Annual Register,' for 1835:

The Ohio canal, three hundred and eight miles in length, commencing at the flourishing town of Cleveland, on Lake Erie, and terminating at Portsmouth, on the Ohio, is one of the greatest works of the age, and second only, in point of importance, to the Grand canal of New York. This splendid improvement [the Ohio Canal] is truly an ornament to the state, and reflects the highest credit on its early projectors, and upon the gentlemen commissioners, through whose great skill and industry, faithfulness and perseverance, it has been carried successfully through to final completion. At the inceptive stages of this great work, many opposing obstacles presented themselves—obstacles that nothing but great foresight, and unshaken firmness and resolution could have surmounted. Ohio should not be easy to forget the services and exertions of those on whom the responsibility of this work was made to rest.

The Miami canal is another important link in the chain of western enterprise. This canal is sixty-six miles in extent, commencing at Dayton, now [1834] among the most popular and flourishing of the inland towns of the state, and terminating at Cincinnati. This also is a work of magnitude and of great public utility. It extends through the heart of one of the finest countries in the world. The Miami and Scioto valleys are supplied with a large body of the richest bottom land in America, and abound with the most fertile soil of any portion of the Union, of equal extent.

In addition to these two great public works, there are several lateral canals, extending from the main canals to the most prominent commercial and business points in the adjacent country. The lateral branch which terminates at Columbus, is forty-one miles in length. The Dresden side-cut and the slack-water navigation to Zanesville, is seventeen miles in extent. The Lancaster lateral canal, and the one leading from the Miami canal to Lebanon, are in a state of forwardness; the former, nearly or quite completed.

We have already more than four hundred miles of finished canals in the state, and when the Miami canal shall be extended, agreeable to the provisions of the act of the legislature for that purpose, and that of the Wabash and Erie line shall be completed, we shall have nearly or quite five hundred and fifty miles of canals in Ohio. These indelible marks of western industry and enterprise are flattering to the pride of all who love their country and rejoice in its prosperity.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

DEAR SIR: At Dixon's ferry, on Rock river, one of the few settlements then in northern Illinois, there arrived on horseback, fifty years ago, September 3, a young man who had just graduated as a physician and surgeon at his home in Massachusetts. We might, indeed, speak of him as a boy of twenty-five years, full of hope, energy, and possessed of much more than ordinary ability. If he had not then modesty, honesty, kindness of heart, love of his fellow men, he has changed much during the half century just closed. But such a change would not be consistent, or hardly possible. The simple fact that he has in all these years been held in love and esteem by his neighbors, leads us to believe that he has not, during that long period, changed in that which makes up all there is of true manhood. We refer to Dr. Oliver Everett, so long and well known. It is with more than ordinary pleasure that our people met to do him honor. We are proud of the fact that distinguished citizens and honored statesmen came from abroad to assist in celebrating the anniversary of the settlement of Dr. Everett at "Dixon's Ferry." It is well to honor such a life as that lived by such a man, and the respectful considerations manifested by outward demonstrations should come while he is still here with us; especially so in these days where people are so prone to post mortem honors, that are only matters of a pompous show after all. We might say, with the poet, that

"The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has prest
In their bloom;
And the names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb;"

but still he is surrounded with kind hearts that guide loving hands to smooth his pillow in sickness; and he has respected neighbors, whose kind wishes are ever prayerfully rendered in his behalf, and for his happiness,

During the afternoon there arrived from the country and neighboring towns many to pay their respects, and they were entertained royally and all enjoyed themselves much. In the evening, at what turned out to be a most delightful reception, the house was crowded with guests. At an early hour there was brought into the parlor an elegant reclining chair that had been purchased by the citizens to be presented to Dr. Everett. The Hon. E. B. Washburne, being present, was requested to make the presentation speech and complied on behalf of our citizens in a very earnest and touching address, clearly indicating that his heart was in the subject about which he talked. Mr. Washburne, in presenting the chair, spoke substantially as follows:

MY FRIEND: It has fallen to my lot to voice the kindly feelings of your many friends. It is with great pleasure I undertake the task. You and I have been friends for many years, and I have had no better than you. Both of us were Yankees seeking new homes. You were a little bit spryer than I, and came to Dixon's Ferry in 1836; I was four years behind you. But I remember 1840 well. I have a clear recollection of the campaign of that year. We remember with pride and pleasure our old friend Thomas Drummond, then a candidate for representative, and for many years a distinguished, able and honored United States judge. I well remember Hiram W. Thornton, of Mercer county, our other candidate, who afterwards moved to Galena. It was always a great pleasure for me to visit Dixon. Two of my dearest friends lived there. They were big hearted men, kind, honest and true.

"A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod,
An honest man's the noblest work of God."

I know of no man in honor of whose fiftieth anniversary of settlement I would go as far as I have on this occasion. To make your remaining years—and all hope and trust they will be many—more comfortable, and as a slight token of their great love for you, your friends have asked me to present this beautiful chair. It is with more than ordinary pleasure that I speak the feelings of these your neighbors who have presented you with this beautiful token of their respect and love. Two men who lived here I have known long as the most kind and honest men that I have ever known, and I need not say that I refer to

Father Dixon and you, Dr. Everett. You have lived to see remarkable changes in the half century you have lived here. I remember when I visited Dixon in early days the best I could do was to leave Galena at three o'clock in the morning and after riding continuously in the stage coach at three o'clock the following morning arrived on the north bank of the river, and sounding the stage horn loudly to call Father Dixon from his slumbers that we might be ferried over.

Hon. J. H. Bryant, who was here from Princeton to attend the Dr. Everett half century celebration, is a brother of the great poet, the late William Cullen Bryant. Mr. Bryant said that his brother had told him that many of his (the poet's) friends had expressed the belief that his poem entitled 'The Past' was considered the most charming of the great poet's work, and as the lines were so appropriate for the occasion Mr. Bryant desired to repeat them to the company assembled at Dr. Everett's house on that pleasant evening. The poem was recited with very charming effect by Mr. Bryant.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

ANOTHER RELIC OF THE PAST.

Our recent publication of the first advertisement of lots for sale in the settlement which subsequently became the borough of Elizabeth, seems to have proved interesting reading, judging by the frequent assurances we have had to that effect. The advertisement below, taken from a contemporary publication, while not having all the local interest attaching to the other, is yet quite interesting to any student of the early history of our region. Mr. Smith of Philadelphia, who unearthed it, sent it to Mr. Isaac Craig of Allegheny, an authority on local history, and he wrote the letter with which it is introduced, much of which has special interest to Elizabeth people :

ALLEGHANY, Nov. 12, 1885.

GEO. PLUMER SMITH, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR : I have received the *Elizabeth Herald*, containing Colonel Stephen Bayard's advertisement of lots in "Elizabeth-Town," also a copy of the advertisement of "Montmorin" from the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of February 13, 1788, for which you will please accept my thanks.

In 1879, when my statement regarding location of Logstown was disputed, I received from many sources evidence confirming the correctness of my position. Among others Mr. John Jordan, jr., vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,

very kindly copied and sent me the advertisement of Montmorin lots. It was entirely new to me. This paper town was, I presume, named in honor of Count Montmorin, who had in his childhood been a playmate of the king of France, and about 1778 succeeded D'Ossan as French ambassador at Madrid, and on the death of Vergennes, in 1787, became minister of foreign affairs. Spain was bitterly opposed to the United States in 1778, and Montmorin was a warm friend; but although active in promoting the alliance between France and the United States in 1778, in 1788 he, like Vergennes, became alarmed at the progress of this country and wrote to the French envoy in the United States : "It is not advisable for France to give America all the stability of which she is susceptible. She will acquire a degree of power which she will be too well disposed to abuse."

From the Hon. J. Simpson Africa, I received the following valuable letter, settling the question of the situation of the old Indian Logstown :

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, }
HARRISBURG, April 10, 1879. }

ISAAC CRAIG, ESQ.

DEAR SIR : I am now able to locate Logstown beyond all question. Daniel Leet's map of surveys made from April to July, 1785, embraces all the tracts along the north side of the Ohio from Little Sewickley creek to and below the mouth of Beaver. "Logs Town Run" is marked as entering the east side of the Ohio about one mile above the upper point of Crow's Island, on tract No. 20. "Old Logs Town" is marked as covering the ends of tracts No. 19 and 18—above the mouth of the run. The distance from the upper point of Crow's Island to the center of the town is about 430 perches. From the center of the town up the Ohio to the mouth of Big Sewickley, is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The road from Fort McIntosh to Fort Pitt runs near the river in tracts 20, 19, 18 and 17, and is marked as passing through the town. In tract 19, near the town, is marked "Good Situation."

I am, truly yours,

J. SIMPSON AFRICA,
Dep. Sec'y Internal Affairs.

Extract from the Journal of Colonel John May of May 5, 1788 : "I arose early on the morning of Monday, 5th; left the people and wagon behind, and advanced as fast as possible to finish my land tracks; dined at Simmerell's, on the Yohogana, and slept at Clark's, on the Monongahela. While at

Simmerell's, they used every stratagem to detain us all night, and perhaps as long as was General Putnam, who tarried at this place two months. They said it was better boating from this river than from the Monongahela; but they are Irish palaverers, and the truth is not in them. Clark keeps a tolerable house where it is called Elizabeths town, fourteen miles from Pittsburgh by land, twenty-two by water. The town is laid out in house lots, and now settling; he intends to make a city of it, but I think he will have his match. This day was raised here a large shed for building boats. Almost all the Kentucky boats from the east pass this place; near two hundred have passed this spring."

Colonel Stephen Bayard, the founder of *Elizabeth-town*, was born in Maryland in 1748; his ancestors were Huguenots from Languedoc. He was educated by his uncle, Colonel John Bayard of Philadelphia. In 1776 he was major in the Pennsylvania regiment commanded by Colonel Æneas Mackey; He was stationed at Fort Pitt during the latter part of the Revolutionary war, and after the war he and my grandfather, Major Isaac Craig, went into partnership and did an extensive business at Pittsburgh, as their books in my possession show. Colonel Bayard married *Elizabeth*, daughter of Colonel Mackey, and the town was named after her. Colonel Bayard died in Pittsburgh, December 13, 1815, and was buried in the First Presbyterian churchyard.

Yours sincerely,

ISAAC CRAIG.

MONTMORIN.

This town, laid out at the solicitation of several gentlemen, is delightfully situated on the north bank of the Ohio river, on a beautiful plain that is not liable to overflow, in a healthy and fertile country, about eighteen miles below for Pitt on the road to Fort M'Intosh, in Westmoreland county, in the state of Pennsylvania, and at the ancient settlement formerly called Logstown, which was abandoned previous to the peace of 1763, where an extensive trade was carried on many years.

Montmorin commands an extensive view of the river; the soil is equal to any on the Ohio, and abounds in coal; the navigation from thence down the river is superior to that from Fort Pitt, as the water is at all seasons much deeper at this place, and where provisions, boats, etc., may in a little time be as well furnished. It is on the great communication or route from the eastern and middle states to the Muskingum, Miami and Kentucky set-

tlements, as well as the Illinois, Mississippi, etc., and will probably become the new county seat; the rapid emigrations to the western country render it a very desirable spot, and afford a flattering prospect of its speedy establishment. The streets are spacious, being sixty-six feet wide, except Great George, Washington, Hancock and Clinton streets, which are ninety-nine feet; the squares are divided into twenty lots, each from forty-four to forty-seven feet front, and two hundred and twenty feet in depth, and all the lots are accommodated with lanes—five squares or one hundred lots, as distinguished on the plan, will be vested in trustees for public use, and to accommodate schools and religious societies of every denomination. The town contains seven hundred and forty lots, which will be numbered and arranged by draught to prevent any kind of preference, and to facilitate the settlement they will be sold at the moderate price of ten dollars each, to be paid on the delivery of certificates of purchase. Those who buy ten town lots will be entitled to a five-acre out lot gratis.

The appropriation of the lots will be made under the superintendence or direction of the Honorable Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Generals Muhlenberg and Hiester, Matthew Clarkson and Richard Bache, esqs., on or before the first of May next; after which, on application, indisputable titles in fee simple, agreeably to the said appropriation, will be delivered gratis to the purchasers, their agents or attorneys. Certificates for lots sold, and the plan of the town to be seen at the house of Mr. Levy Hollingsworth, Mr. Marsh Wilcox, and Mr. Thomas Bradford, Philadelphia; Mr. John Delafield, New York; Major Isaac Craig, Fort Pitt; and Colonel Stephen Bayard, Elizabeth-town.

ISAAC MELCHER.

Philadelphia, February 5th, 1787.

EXTRACT, PAGE 10, COLONEL BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION 1764, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5:

"In this day's march the army passed through Logstown, situated seventeen and a half miles fifty-seven perches, by the path from Fort Pitt. This place was noted before the last war for the great trade carried on there by the English and French, but its inhabitants, Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about sixty perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge, on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanded a most agreeable prospect over the lower, and quite across

the Ohio, which is about five hundred yards wide here, and by its majestic easy current add much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logstown we passed thro' a fine country, etc."—*Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, February 13, 1788.

MR. C. B. JOHNSON CRITICISED.

The following notice from the September number of the Southwestern Journal of Education will be of interest. The point made against Mr. Johnson's article in the September issue of the Magazine of Western History, "Slavery in America," has pith in it:

MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, illustrated. 145 St. Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. \$5. The engravings in this magazine are works of art. The field of its work is virgin soil. The great west, rich in unwritten history, offers to the investigator the most fertile and freshest field of labor. The September number is one of the most instructive and entertaining magazines we have ever read. The following subjects are treated: Slavery in America, C. B. Johnson; Indian Territory, Isaac Smucker; Pioneers of the New School of Medicine, D. H. Beckwith; The French in Texas, Will M. Clemens; The Municipal Growth of Cleveland, J. H. Kennedy; Samuel F. Hodge, W. B.; Hervey C. Park, Walter Buell; The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos, of Nizza,

Prof. Ad. F. Bandelier; An Antiquarian's Scrap Books, Hon. E. C. Mason; I. N. Topliff, J. H. K.; Michigan Jurists, Roger W. Butterfield; History of Ohio—I., C. W. Butterfield; The Defence of the Alamo, Charles K. Bolton; The Michigan Lumber Interests, W. B. Mr. Johnson's article, "Slavery in America," is well written, instructive and entertaining. We are so much pleased with its general tenor that we desire to see it complete, and venture to supply a slight omission. Mr. Johnson opens his article by telling us that in August 1620, a Dutch ship landed a cargo of negro slaves at Jamestown, Virginia. In December of the same year, he says, the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. He adds that slavery was thus planted at Jamestown, and liberty at Plymouth. "These events, so nearly coincident, contained the germs of two antagonistic civilizations that were to have place in the New World." To complete his picture, Mr. Johnson should have told us that these settlers in Massachusetts soon devoted their attention to the lucrative business of trading slaves. He might also have shown us how the early fortunes of Boston were acquired by selling negroes to the south. He might also have shown that the abolition of the slave trade was delayed by the urgent solicitation of New England slave-traders, who pleaded that time should be allowed to enable them gradually to withdraw their large capital invested in this nefarious business. The whole country was responsible for slavery, and no one of the thirteen original states can wash its hands of the transaction.

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